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PRESENTED BY

*Hon. Jas. M. Ashley*  
*12 Apr. 1895*



1. The first paragraph discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records in a business context, highlighting the benefits of digital storage and the challenges of data security.

2. The second paragraph explores the role of technology in modern business operations, specifically focusing on automation and its impact on productivity and cost reduction.

3. The third paragraph examines the ethical implications of artificial intelligence, particularly regarding job displacement and the need for workforce retraining.

4. The fourth paragraph discusses the importance of customer data in marketing strategies, emphasizing the use of analytics to personalize the customer experience.

5. The fifth paragraph addresses the challenges of remote work, including communication barriers and the need for flexible management practices.

6. The sixth paragraph explores the impact of social media on brand reputation, discussing how viral content can either enhance or damage a company's image.

7. The seventh paragraph discusses the importance of cybersecurity in protecting sensitive business information from cyber threats.

8. The eighth paragraph examines the role of innovation in driving business growth, highlighting the importance of research and development.

9. The ninth paragraph discusses the importance of financial literacy for small business owners, emphasizing the need for sound financial management.

10. The tenth paragraph explores the impact of global trade agreements on international business, discussing the opportunities and challenges they present.



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God our Father, Christ our Redeemer, Man our Brother.

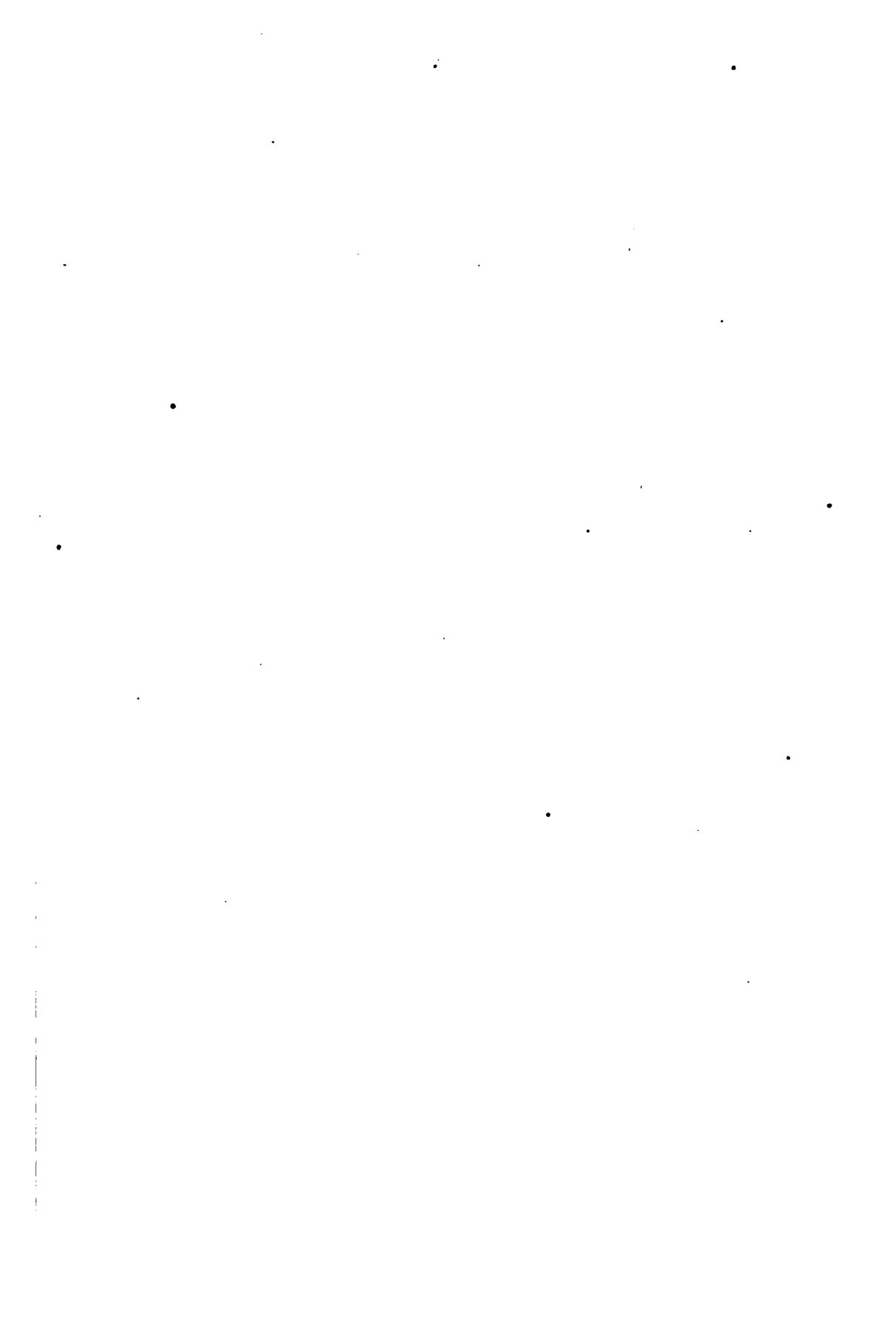
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Hon. J. M. Ashley Souvenir.









*Hon. James M. Ashley,*

*As he Appeared in the Thirty-sixth Congress.*

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OF THE

SOUVENIR

FROM

48405

THE AFRO-AMERICAN LEAGUE

OF TENNESSEE

TO

HON. JAMES M. ASHLEY

OF OHIO.

"That flag means more to you and to me to-night than ever it did before. . . .

"It means that never again, on the land or on the sea, can it be a flag of 'stripes' to any of God's children, however poor or however black."—p. 746.

"No more its flaming emblems wave  
To bar from hope the trembling slave;  
No more its radiant glories shine  
To blast with woe one child of Thine."

Page 384.

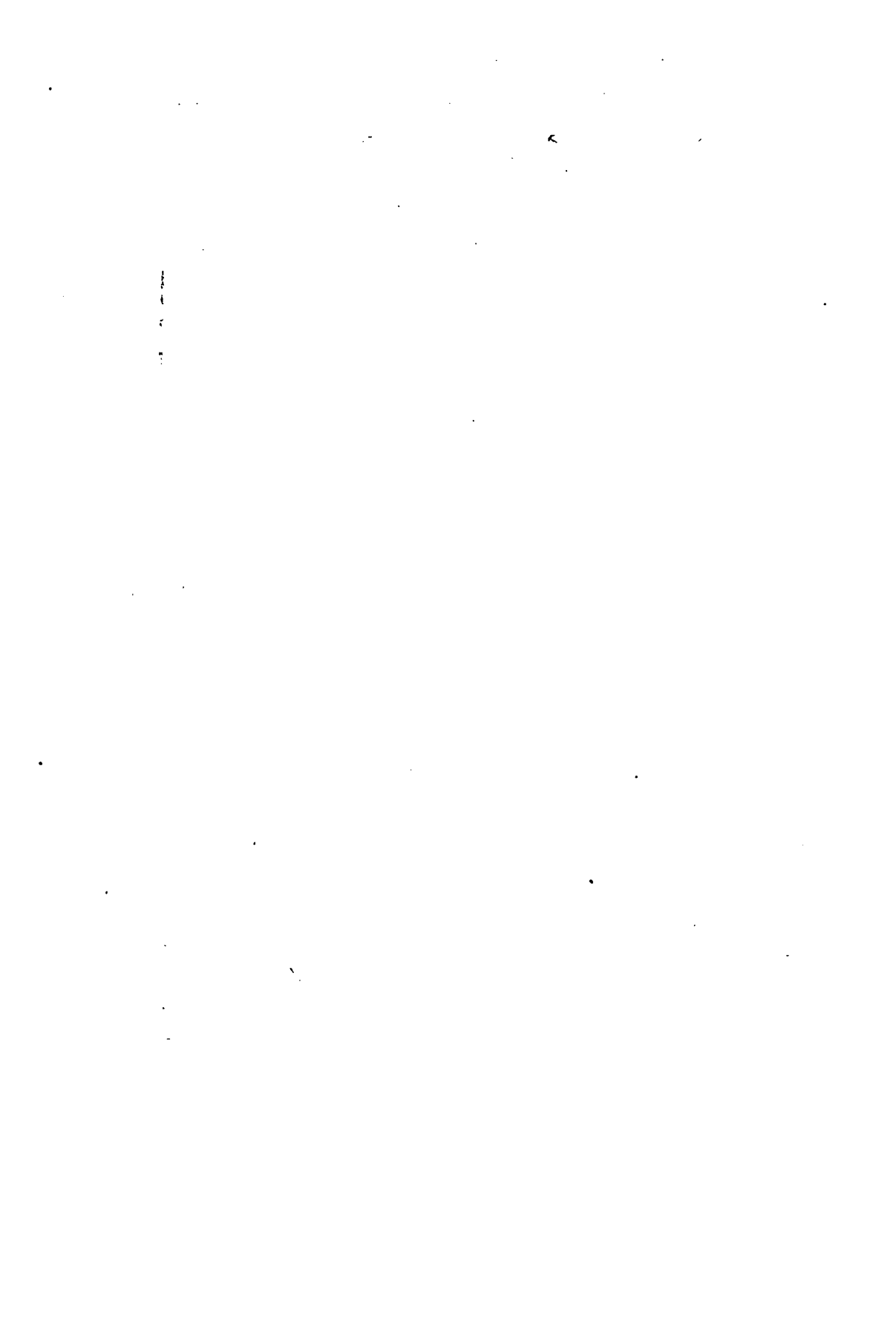
Edited by BENJAMIN W<sup>AR</sup>NETT,

*One of the Bishops of the A. M. E. Church,*

WILBERFORCE, OHIO.

PUBLISHING HOUSE OF THE A. M. E. CHURCH,  
631 PINE STREET, PHILADELPHIA.

1894.



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## INTRODUCTION.

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The name of Honorable James M. Ashley revives the most exciting events in the conflict between freedom and slavery in the United States. It brings to mind that grand uprising against the extension of slavery, which opposed the annexation of Texas, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the Missouri border ruffian raids into Kansas; which witnessed the capture by John Brown of Harper's Ferry, the election of Abraham Lincoln, the war of the Union, the assassination of Lincoln, the reactionary rebellion of Andrew Johnson, and the battle for the enfranchisement and citizenship of the negro. In every phase of that conflict James M. Ashley bore a conspicuous and honorable part. He was among the foremost of that brilliant galaxy of statesmen who reconstructed the Union on a basis of liberty. He was, so to speak, ever far out on the skirmish line, in the most exposed position. He was the subject of the most violent attacks, and, though he went down in the contest, the cause which he championed was largely indebted for its triumph to his courage and advocacy upon the floor of the House of Representatives. His eloquence and power in debate were clearly recognized and appreciated by his party, and he was, therefore, often put forward to do a work which many of his comrades felt reluctant to undertake.

With many others (the present writer included), Mr. Ashley plead the cause of the slave with poetic fervor. His speeches on the slavery question were enriched by splendid quotations from Whittier's burning verse.

In this he showed his appreciation of the profound insight and sublime ethical conscience by which that humane

poet was guided in all he had to say on this question, and indeed on all others where human rights were concerned.

Honorable James M. Ashley early caught the living faith and prophetic spirit of Whittier. He felt and fully understood the flagrant sin of slavery. This will appear vividly to all who shall read the addresses and orations which have been compiled by his negro friends and published in this volume. It was given to Mr. Ashley prior to and after the outbreak of the war of the rebellion, to point out the line of policy to be pursued in forum and field, for the salvation of the nation.

Conversant as I am with our anti-slavery literature for over half a century, and with the speeches and orations of our ablest anti-slavery leaders, I am warranted in saying that, among them all, there are few, if any, more worthy of preservation than are the prophetic speeches and orations contained in this book.

Remembering that truth is many-sided, and that few men, even with the best intentions, are able to see it except from its single or narrow side, the abundant charity to be found in Mr. Ashley's speeches becomes the more marked, and attests the nobility of the man.

To Mr. Ashley, as to few other great legislators, it was given to grasp with a firm understanding the problems involved in our great battle with slavery and in the reconstruction of the government after the war. Like Sumner, Wilson, Wade, and Thaddeus Stevens, he saw the necessity of arming the negro with the panoply of the elective franchise.

He was foremost in the debate for this great measure, and did not hesitate to risk the success of his own election, by the prominent part he took in face of formidable opposition. Nor was this opposition confined to the members of the opposite party. There were timid Republicans in those days, as there have been since, and this timidity was shared by his State and the people of his district, as well as by members of Congress, and it is no marvel that his prominence in furtherance of this measure of enfranchisement. caused his defeat.

With the aid of the Tribune Almanac, I am able to give the facts and figures in this case.

In 1867 Ohio astonished the country by voting against the granting of the ballot to her own colored citizens. No wonder, then, that Mr. Ashley, who championed the cause of enfranchisement, incurred the concentrated enmity of all those who hated the negro, and by their votes refused him the right of the ballot.

The vote of Ohio, in 1867, stood 255,344 against granting the ballot to the negro, and 216,987 in its favor.

The majority against the measure, on the vote actually cast for and against, was 38,353. The number of those not voting on the question was 12,276.

As the Constitution of the State of Ohio requires an affirmative majority of all the votes cast at such an election, the proposition to adopt this measure was defeated by a majority of 50,629. At all elections for amending the Constitution of that State, each blank ballot cast is counted against the proposed amendment.

In Mr. Ashley's own district, of the votes cast for and against giving the negro the ballot, a majority of 965 was against it, and 1,057 electors voted blank; so that in his district, the constitutional majority against the amendment was 2,022. At the State election, on the same day, the Republican party elected Rutherford B. Hayes governor, by the slender majority of 2,883, and the Republican State ticket had, in Mr. Ashley's own district, a majority of 975.

These figures disclose the fact that there was a formidable faction in the Republican party in Ohio, and also in Mr. Ashley's district, against granting the ballot to the negro.

Notwithstanding this astonishing vote, Mr. Ashley steadily battled in Congress and on the stump, as his speeches in this volume testify, for granting the ballot to the negro, and by an amendment to our national Constitution, as the records of Congress show, he materially aided in securing in all the States and Territories of the republic, the right of the negro to vote, and because of his fidelity to the cause of the negro, a fidelity maintained in despite of violent opposition, the negroes of Tennessee have prepared this "souvenir" volume, and have requested me to write this introduction to it.

A number of Mr. Ashley's congressional speeches and platform addresses in favor of negro suffrage, notably the one delivered in 1865, in San Francisco, California, will be found in this volume and read with interest. For ability and broad statesmanship these speeches impress me as being, beyond question, the master effort of his public life.

I do not believe that any intelligent man who reads these speeches can point to one important proposition introduced or advocated by Mr. Ashley, in Congress or on the stump, whether by bill or resolution, which is fundamentally wrong either in morals or politics; and if he cannot, then all men must conclude that they are fundamentally right.

Mr. Ashley's patriotic Centennial oration in 1876; his splendid orations on O'Connell (the early and steadfast friend of the negro); his touching and tender testimony at the grave of his friend, David R. Locke ("Nasby"); his address on Lincoln; his speech on Memorial Day at Wauseon; his noble tribute to Columbus, in his address to the early pioneers; and especially the grand speech made by him at Montpelier in 1856 — all stamp him as a remarkable platform orator. But of higher significance is the fact, that in all of his speeches, he puts the rights of humanity above every other right and, as inseparably connected with the rights of all races of men, he includes the rights of labor, and claims that humanity and labor have rights which are above and superior to the material interests of capital or governments!

Above tariffs and commerce, above financial interests and so-called vested rights, he places the rights of man!

He makes his plea for the protection of the weak against the combinations of capital, and with eloquence and power he denounces the spirit of caste and all special legislation for the benefit of any one class at the expense of labor and the rights of humanity. His address to the Train Dispatchers' Association of America is a generous appeal for the rights of labor, and his plea for the organization of all labor is worthy of careful study and of adoption by all prudent and thoughtful laboring men.

Conspicuous in the character and in the public life of Mr. Ashley was his moral courage. He never lacked the

courage of his convictions. What he believed, that he spoke and acted. Words were never allowed by him to conceal his thoughts and it was never his misfortune to be misunderstood. In the language of Abraham Lincoln, "He followed the right as God gave him the ability to see the right." Neither ridicule nor denunciation, though both were employed against him, could swerve him from his course.

He showed this quality in a remarkable degree while dealing with Andrew Johnson, who, when President, undertook to array the executive against the legislative department of the government and to substitute his own will for the policy of Congress. Johnson was no man with whom to trifle. There was in him much more of the lion than of the lamb. When his will was crossed he did not hesitate to use the whole power of the presidential office to punish offenders. He had little regard to consequences. His battle with Congress concerning reconstruction, was bold, fierce and bitter, and was even a menace to the peace of the country.

It became necessary for Congress to assert its power and curb this lion, and Mr. Ashley, as one of its members, dared to lead Congress in this perilous duty. There is no power in the American government, the employment of which is more dangerous than is that of the power of impeachment. It is emphatically a last resort, and when it is used by one party against another, the whole fabric of government is imperiled. And yet there are times when its employment is essential to the salvation of government.

Such a crisis was precipitated by Andrew Johnson, and though he escaped impeachment, the threat of this chastisement proved highly beneficial. I think in connection with this controversy that Mr. Ashley rendered, in the part he took, one of his best services to liberty and to the republic, yet it has happened to him, as it has happened to many other good men, to have his best work in the world least appreciated and commended by the world.

It is not necessary here to dwell upon the part which Mr. Ashley has taken in the great conflict with wrong.

His speeches contained in this volume are his best commendation, and I leave them to speak for themselves.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.



HON. WM. HENDERSON YOUNG,

President Afro-American League of Tennessee.

DEAR SIR: The undersigned, on behalf of the Publication Committee, beg leave to report that they have carefully compiled and caused to be published, the great anti-slavery speeches, orations and papers of public interest contained in this book.

We did this in pursuance of the plan adopted by the committee having in charge the preparation and publication of the "Souvenir," which the officers of the Afro-American League of Tennessee directed to be prepared and presented to Hon. James M. Ashley, of Ohio.

In discharging that agreeable duty, we have taken special care to collect such matter as we believed to be of historic interest to the public and especially to our race.

Our work has been a labor of love, and is herewith respectfully submitted.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Benjamin W. Arnett". The signature is written in black ink and is underlined with a double horizontal line.

Chairman.

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Bishop BENJAMIN F. LEE, Waco, Texas.

Rev. CHARLES S. SMITH, Nashville, Tenn.

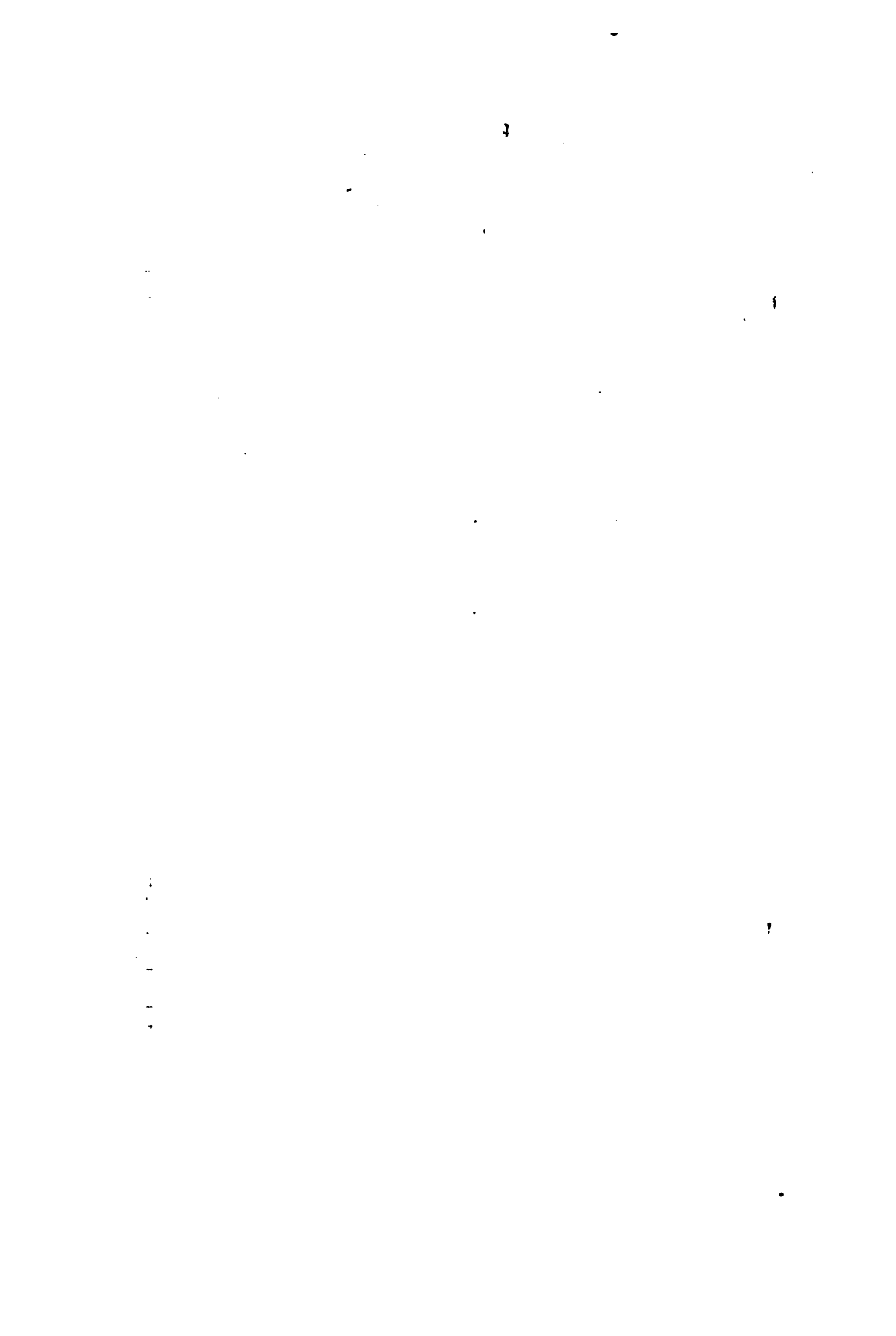
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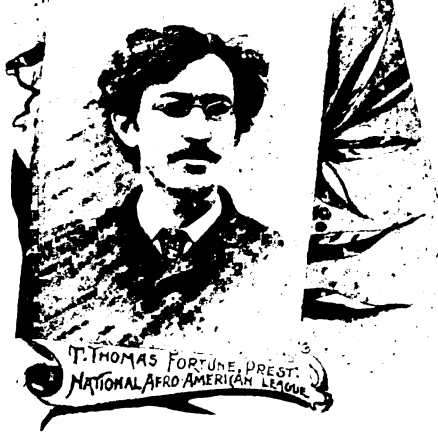
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NATIONAL AFRO-AMERICAN LEAGUE  
OF TENNESSEE



HON. W. A. CROSTHWAIT  
SECT. AFRO-AMERICAN LEAGUE  
OF TENNESSEE



HON. FREDERICK DOUGLASS, L.L.D.



T. THOMAS FORTUNE, PRES.  
NATIONAL AFRO-AMERICAN LEAGUE



W. H. ANDERSON, SECT.  
NATIONAL AFRO-AMERICAN LEAGUE



NASHVILLE, TENN., March 8, 1892.

HON. JAMES M. ASHLEY, Toledo, Ohio.

DEAR SIR: The American negro has, time and again, been charged with ingratitude toward his public benefactors and an incapacity to appreciate the public acts of the statesmen whose life-work has been directed toward securing him the full enjoyment of American citizenship.

In view of these facts, and in view of the further fact that your life has been an incessant warfare against the invidious distinctions which have been embodied in the customs and fundamental law of the American people; but which, happily for all, have been expunged from the organic law of the land by the enactment of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States: we, the undersigned citizens and members of the Afro-American League of Middle Tennessee, have determined, on behalf of the Afro-American League of this country, to present to you some kind of testimonial, in recognition of your distinguished services to the cause of liberty, in the dark days of slavery and reconstruction.

To the end that the passing generation may take new hope for its progeny, in having recounted to it the triumphs which your unselfish devotion in behalf of human liberty aided in accomplishing; and that future generations may have in their homes and schools a perennial fountain of inspiration; and that other men with noble aspirations may be encouraged to urge on "the harvest of the golden year, when all men's good shall be each man's rule," we ask that you grant us the privilege of publishing, in book form of convenient size, the prophetic and now historic speeches made by you in the Congress of the United States against the crime of slavery, and to include with said speeches such

of your orations and public addresses and articles from your pen, of historic interest to us and to all lovers of human liberty. We desire to present to you, your family and friends, a book which shall be an acceptable and historic souvenir.

If our plan shall meet your approval, you will do us a great favor if you and your friends will, place at our command such papers, orations and public addresses as may have been preserved, which are not to be found in public libraries, as their possession will materially facilitate our work.

With great respect we await your early reply.

WM. HENDERSON YOUNG,  
President.

WM. A. CROSTHWAIT,  
Secretary.

S. A. McELWEL.

J. H. KEEBLE.

M. VANN.

FELIX PASKETT.

L. MASON.

H. S. HOWELL.

M. HOPKINS.

L. W. CROSTHWAIT.

H. W. WHITE.

J. N. BRYANT.

D. N. CROSTHWAIT.

We approve and endorse the above

T. THOMAS FORTUNE,  
Prest. National League.

W. H. ANDERSON,  
Secretary.

TOLEDO, OHIO, March 19, 1892.

**GENTLEMEN:** Your esteemed favor of the 8th inst. is before me. I would not disguise the fact that your communication stirs my heart with pleasurable emotions. Indeed it is a source of unalloyed satisfaction to me to know that the officers and members of the "Afro-American League" of Tennessee remember me and my work in behalf of their race, at a time when they were held in cruel bondage and could neither speak nor act as they can now, and that they voluntarily propose to honor me in the manner indicated.

When the liberation of every slave beneath our flag was officially decreed by Abraham Lincoln's emancipation proclamation, it became our bounden duty as a nation to confirm and make perpetual that act of liberation, so that in the land of Washington a slave would be as impossible as a king.

In common with many others I did no more than my duty in that great historic battle. But I do not attempt to conceal from any one that I am proud of my anti-slavery record, and grateful for the evidence which your letter gives me, of its recognition by the colored citizens of Tennessee.

If you compile, as proposed, from official or authenticated sources, any utterances of mine, touching the enslavement of men, I am confident that from whatever page you may select, you will not find a word, act, or vote of mine, which either you or any of my friends could wish to change or blot.

In consenting to your request, I am not without hope that I may thus contribute, as you suggest, some word or thought that may aid in the advancement of your race.

I regret, however, that I can supply you with but little matter of personal or historic interest outside of the public records. My library, and all my valuable official and private papers, were destroyed some years ago by fire, so that I

cannot furnish you with papers which were to me personally of great historic interest. But such addresses and papers as I have been able to collect from friends, together with a half dozen or more public addresses made since I was in Congress, I shall be ready to place in your hands whenever you or your authorized agent may call for them.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully yours,

JAMES M. ASHLEY.

To

WM. HENDERSON YOUNG, ESQ.,  
President.

WM. A. CROSTHWAIT, ESQ.,  
Secretary.

and others,

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE.



J. C. PRICE.

Letter from Rev. J. C. Price, President of Livingston College, Salisbury, N. C.

WM. A. CROSTHWAIT, Esq.

DEAR SIR: Your letter and circular are received. I read with interest and pleasure the pamphlets of the Hon. James M. Ashley, which you so kindly sent me. I heartily endorse the movement that has in view a "testimonial" in recognition of Mr. Ashley's distinguished services in the interest of human liberty and of the equality of all men before the law. It seems to me not only a patriotic but a grateful endeavor as well.

I am yours sincerely,

J. C. PRICE.

## ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT CRANESVILLE, OHIO,

JANUARY 27th, 1859.

ENTHUSIASTIC MEETING OF THE PEOPLE OF PAULDING AND  
DEFIANCE COUNTIES.

On Friday of last week, says the Paulding Eagle, Hon. J. M. Ashley visited Cranesville, in this county, and stopped with General Curtis. The citizens of Crane and Mark townships, Defiance county, turned out en masse to welcome him. They came up feeling they were to see a man who would maintain their rights and endeavor to redress their wrongs. General Curtis had prepared an excellent dinner, after partaking of which, Esquire Hutchinson of Mark township was called to the chair, and Lewis S. Gordon appointed secretary, when the following toast was read :

“OUR CONGRESSMAN-ELECT—GEN. J. M. ASHLEY, of Lucas,—entitled to our confidence by his services in defense of our cause when there appeared no hope of success ; we welcome him with pride as our guest, and pledge him that the citizens of Paulding county, who were first to invite him to



JAMES HILL.

Letter from Hon. James Hill, Postmaster, Vicksburg, Miss.

The first three addresses which appear in this book were delivered, as the reader will observe, after Mr. Ashley's first election, and prior to taking his seat in Congress, and two years before President Lincoln's first election. Mr. Ashley was then a young man, and had never been in public life. When the time and circumstances are remembered under which these addresses were delivered, it will be conceded that they are remarkable, as well for their patriotic thought as for their breadth and depth, and for the clearness and hopefulness of their prophecy. The address at Archibald is a platform in itself, and will stand for all time as an epitome of republican principles. The address at Charloe is a masterly answer to the pro-slavery sophistry of Stephen A. Douglas, as delivered in a speech at Memphis, Tennessee, December 1, 1858. In this address, Mr. Ashley put Douglas's own words in the mouth of the Emperor of China with a force and truthfulness that could not be successfully answered then, nor now.

JAMES HILL.

the leadership, will be the last to desert him while he is faithful in the maintenance of the Union, and true to the principles of freedom. Again we say, we welcome him here.”

After which General Ashley made the following address :

I will be more than compensated, Mr. President, for all my past labors in the ranks of the Republican party, if, while representing this district at Washington, I shall be able to retain the good opinion and unwavering friendship heretofore shown me by the people of Paulding county. And if I am ever false to principle, unfaithful to duty, or should cease to defend and maintain a reverential regard for the union of these States, may you forget the past and condemn me as an unworthy and unprofitable servant.

I come to participate with you, ladies and gentlemen, in a social gathering, and not to make a speech, but in person to thank most cordially my fellow-citizens of this county for the support given me at the recent election. I am indeed greatly indebted to the true democracy of little Paulding for the past and present manifestations of their regard and confidence.

Over five years ago, and when comparatively a stranger in the district, it was you who first united in requesting me to become your standard-bearer ; you who first publicly expressed sympathy with me in the efforts I (in common with others) was making to organize, without regard to past party associations, the friends of freedom in this State and district into a new and honest democratic party, representing the principles of Washington and Jefferson. From that hour to this, your friendship has been uniform and your support most cordial, not only in conventions, but, when opportunity offered, at the ballot-box. For this generous confidence I feel deeply grateful, and hope so to discharge the duties of the position you have aided in assigning me as to merit its continuation.

The Democratic-Republican party of Ohio and in this district have achieved a glorious triumph over the allies of the slave barons. This triumph may rightfully be called a triumph of truth over error, of right over wrong, of liberty and political independence over despotism, and centralized government, in the hands of the President ; a triumph of the



friends of the Union over disunionists and political tricksters; of the constitution as interpreted by our fathers, over the sectional interpretation of the slave democracy and the Supreme Court. It is indeed a glorious triumph, and one well worthy of our congratulations. But let us remember that this triumph, although achieved by our union and energy, and the power of our principles, was not achieved alone for our benefit as a party, nor for any one of us as individuals, but that it was achieved for the benefit of the whole people against corrupt presidential combinations and party despotism.

As citizens we are divided in political opinions, and must of necessity act within different political organizations, and I am pleased to learn that some of our friends who differ from us are present this afternoon; it is proper that it should be so.

Jefferson said when speaking of the people, "We are all Republicans and all Federalists," and so we are to-day, all citizens of the same country, having common hopes and a common destiny. If the constitution confers any blessing upon us, it must, if the government be rightly administered, confer its blessings upon all. If the constitution be violated and the Union dissolved (which God forbid), a common ruin will come alike upon the whole people, regardless of men or party. If, however, the government be honestly administered under the constitution as its framers administered it, and the sovereignty of the people and the rights of the States be respected, this Union which, under the blessing of heaven, has come down to us, will continue forever, and a Republic and the Union of these States be one and inseparable. But let the true principles which are the foundation of our government, the sovereignty of the people, and the right of the States, be violated, and presidential, senatorial or judicial usurpation continue as it has begun, and there is no guarantee for either a continuance of the Union or a Republic. To preserve inviolate the constitution and the Union, to roll back the dark tide of sectionalism and fanaticism which is insidiously approaching us in the shape of a formidable political party organized under the lead of a privileged class, and bearing the sacred name of Democrat, is the purpose and mission of the Republican party.

♦

This we cannot accomplish at once, nor without great labor and a union of the friends of freedom, but we can and shall accomplish it, if we are true to the principles and doctrines of the fathers of the revolution, as I believe we shall be. If I thought it possible to fail, I should have no faith in the success of any just appeals to the people. But we shall not fail. I believe the right will yet triumph, and that the inherent power of our principles will make us invincible. Let us then rally around our banner, the banner of "liberty and union," bowing to no presidential dictations or judicial usurpations, acknowledging no higher earthly power than the constitution of our country, and the individual responsibility and sovereignty of the citizens, and a triumph, a glorious triumph, awaits us. Yes, the future, the golden future, promises to us the realization of all our hopes, the inauguration of a true democracy in the land of Washington, and the administration of our national government as it was administered by our fathers, so that in every State and in every Territory in all our broad Union, there shall eventually come an end to oppression and to slavery. Let us keep this faith or none. If as a people we so act as to deserve this deliverance, we shall get it, never doubt it. Since the organization of the Republican party, I have contemplated with rapture, not only this triumph, but the inauguration of the day long looked for which shall surely come, when not only in America and in Europe, but in every land beneath the sun, despotism shall cease, aristocracies and special privileges have an end, and the people of every race and religion be fully and freely enfranchised. This faith grows stronger with every contest, and though our principles and most generous aspirations for humanity have been everywhere condemned and disparaged with unbecoming mendacity by our opponents, we must not be deterred from the faithful defense of these principles, but remember that as citizens, we have a higher duty to perform than blind obedience to the behests of any party, and that these malignant assaults have ever been the favorite weapons of the enemies of right. During the last canvass I was personally assailed by the opposition, with a rudeness and bitterness which told too plainly the desperation of their cause in this locality and the unsavory character of the men who are its

recognized leaders. It is a source of much satisfaction to me now, as I trust it is to you and all my friends, to know that in my late canvass I nowhere descended to personalities, or appeals to the baser passions of men, or to the use of an argument or remark that would not have been entirely in place and proper in any legislative body.

I felt myself highly honored in being commissioned by you to stand up and defend the principles of Jeffersonian democracy when most bitterly assailed and insulted by its professed friends. The strength and confidence which I felt in defending them arose from no over-estimate of my own abilities, but from a simple reliance upon the power of truth. Yes, upon the rock of truth we rest our cause, and we have the promise that neither adverse winds nor waves shall prevail against it. When truth was born angels rejoiced. God in his love sent it down from heaven to earth for the guidance of man. It is a principle that will never die; humanity cannot measure its omnipotent strength. It has often been crushed to earth, but survives to-day in all its original power, and will live to witness the death of all its foes. Neither earthly wisdom nor worldly policy can stay its advance or prevent its final triumph.

In the mighty political conflict which is approaching between freedom and despotism in this country, it will gain a victory such as has not been recorded since the organization of governments by man, because it will be a victory for universal liberty, encircled in a halo of righteousness and peace. It may not be achieved this year or next, but it will come; be not deceived, it will surely come; no earthly power can stay it.

That this great party of freedom to which we belong will prove the salvation of our country, I firmly believe. Let us see to it, then, that none but good and true men are chosen by us as leaders, and that we preserve the organization free from the corrupting influences of compromises.

You have all read of the numerous schemes proposed by as many different political tricksters, all tending to a total abandonment of the Republican organization as a distinct national party. It was attempted by a large number of these disorganizers during the late contest in Illinois, where they made an effort to drive the Republican party in that State into

the support of Mr. Douglas. I know this to be true, for after our election in this State I went to Illinois and labored until the election for the success of the Republican cause. There I learned to my surprise that there were men here in Ohio, and all over the Union, editors, leading politicians, and members of Congress, who, having been entrusted by a Republican constituency, betrayed that trust far enough to unite (some openly and many secretly) in counseling and urging so shameful an abandonment of our principles and organization as the election of Mr. Douglas as senator, for the alleged purpose of obtaining a temporary triumph over Mr. Buchanan. Could the madness of folly have exceeded this?

By this means Abraham Lincoln, one of our best and truest men, was defeated in Illinois, although we have a Republican majority in that State, and Mr. Douglas is again returned to the Senate of the United States for six years. This may be particularly gratifying to that class of professed Republicans who aided in bringing about such a state of things, but it appears to me one of the greatest misfortunes that ever befell a free people.

Mr. Buchanan and his administration had been passed upon and condemned; he had no longer any power for evil; he is a stench in the nostrils of all honest people, and in two years more the country will be rid of him, and I trust of the party which elected him, but Mr. Douglas is fastened upon the country for six years, which probably could not have been done but for the powerful outside influence to which I have alluded. Suppose he does antagonize Mr. Buchanan's administration, which I do not believe he will, on any material issue, he will do it, if at all, only far enough, on the slavery question, to deceive and mislead the Northern people, while secretly he will be in league with every Southern scheme for the propagation of slavery, as he openly declares that he "does not care whether slavery is voted up or voted down."

These schemes for the disintegration of the Republican party originated either with vain, weak, and ambitious men, who hoped in the general disorganization thus effected to rise to the surface and become leaders, or else with cunning and designing traitors in our own ranks. It matters not, however, from whom these overtures for a surrender come;

if from those who have been entrusted with our confidence, they are spies in our camp and must be shot down. If from those who were our most bitter revilers, and caused our defeat in 1856, or those who profess to be in our ranks and entertain propositions for a surrender, they are unworthy of our confidence another hour. I trust that all these men may be ferreted out, in every State, and the people demand a surrender of the trust committed to them, no matter how high the station, because of their conspiracy, for the betrayal of a cause entrusted to them to defend. Let us set our faces as flint against such men and such schemes. We in Ohio, who left the old dominant party, having possession of all the departments of the National and State Government, did so because of the departure of that party from every principle of democracy; and whenever the alternative is presented again to the same democratic element in the Republican party, to abandon the principles which it cherished, and held, when in the old organization, to be paramount to all others, it will resolutely adhere to and defend them against any and every scheme for their abandonment. Did you, my fellow-citizens, who were nearly all members of the old Democratic party in this county, leave that organization in mass, as you did, and aid in the formation of the Republican party merely for the sake of change? [No, No.] Or was it because you determined to follow principles in preference to leaders? ["To follow principles."]

I knew you would thus respond. I may say further that the men who could thus leave a dominant party for a principle and join a party weak in numbers, struggling against a party having in its hands all the patronage of the National Government, and the prestige of many victories, may be relied upon to withstand the blandishments of power, and to prefer defeat to the humiliation of a triumph secured by a surrender of their cherished principles. To all true men one such victory would be a greater humiliation than a score of defeats. The live men in the Republican party, "The Old Liberty Guard," who have given it its life and vitality, have fought too many battles, when their numbers were comparatively insignificant and when there was no hope of success, to think of abandoning the Republican organization, now that

thousands of new recruits are daily joining the army of freedom and victory everywhere throughout the Free States has crowned our appeals to the judgments and hearts of the people.

The banner of liberty can wave gallantly only over well-contested fields, where brave, earnest men, armed with the panoply of truth, are battling against slavery and its allies for the liberty of the human race.

“Then let us rally 'round our banner,  
For none can better be ;  
Shout out the good old watchword,  
Death or victory.  
Blow the blasts upon your bugles,  
Call the battle roll anew,  
If months had well nigh won the field,  
What may not four years do ?”

You, my fellow-citizens, have aided most materially in commissioning me to represent the principles of the Republican party in the councils of the nation, and to defend, so far as the vote and watchfulness of a representative can, your interests and that of free labor everywhere, against the sectional fanaticism and combined forces of the slave barons. I shall go to the scene of my labors with a distrust in my own abilities, and a consciousness of the want of experience indispensable to success in legislative assemblies, but faith in the justice of our cause, and the immutability of our principles, shall be my shield of protection and defense. With them for my guide, I have no fears but that the inexperience of the most unskilful may become formidable, and their humblest defender be able to withstand the attacks of the strongest. But however true our principles and certain of ultimate success, a representative needs and must have the cordial coöperation and support of his constituents, or his efforts, be they ever so able and well-directed, will be in a great degree powerless. That I shall have this support from Paulding county, your past and present expressions of esteem and regard warrant me in believing. In conclusion, let me say that this social gathering is most agreeable and pleasant, and that I am amply repaid for the un-

avoidable disappointment we had on the 5th of October last. Had it not been for that disappointment, this gathering would not have been held, the meeting being intended, as I understand by General Curtis and my friends here, to compensate, in part, for that disappointment.

May we all live to witness many such reunions, and may each returning occasion of the kind find the cause of our rejoicing as ample as this afternoon, and the citizens of little Paulding as true to freedom, as faithful to the principles of right in any contest through which we may be called to pass, as the gallant patriot and hero of the Revolution in honor of whom your county was named.

## ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT CHARLOE, OHIO.

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On Monday, January 31, 1859, Hon. J. M. Ashley, of Toledo, visited Paulding county, and presented the Republicans of Brown township with a fine flag, it being the banner township of this county.

Early on Monday morning the people of Brown township, and from other portions of the county, began to gather at Charloe. They came with music—rich, soft and sweet—and an enthusiasm which far exceeded our expectations, and which told that the feeling in Paulding is not of a spasmodic nature.

At eleven o'clock Hon. Mr. Ashley presented to the Republicans of Brown the flag, in an appropriate speech setting forth the object of the gift, and requesting that they should give the flag to that township which shall hereafter give the greatest increased Republican vote over that of last fall.

J. W. Ayres, on behalf of the citizens of Brown, made some remarks which we were not able to report, after which a procession was formed, and the throng marched to the court-house, where Judge Shirley was called to the chair, and after calling the house to order, J. O. Shannon read the following sentiment :

“ GEN. ASHLEY, OF TOLEDO—OUR CONGRESSMAN-ELECT—  
We bid him welcome to the homes and hearts of the Republicans of Paulding. May his future efforts, in the councils of the nation, be as successful and as worthy of our hearty approval, as his past labors in defense of true democracy—ever battling against that kind of popular sovereignty, that would allow the majority to enslave the minority, because they were weak and defenseless, so that when he returns to his home we may say to him ‘Well done, good and faithful servant.’”



The chairman then introduced Mr. Ashley, who made the following address :

MR. PRESIDENT: I thank you, most heartily do I thank you, for your words of encouragement and confidence, and I trust that my acts and votes in the new and untried field of labor, to which you have commissioned me, will be such that on my return home I may find, to some extent at least, to have justified your expectations. I can hardly hope, however, with my inexperience, to be entitled to the full commendation of the sentiments just read.

I need not say, ladies and gentlemen, that it affords me much pleasure to meet and participate with you in the festivities of this afternoon ; my presence at this season of the year is a guarantee for that. When I was here in August last and addressed you, you promised me that Brown township would give the largest increased Republican vote of any township in the county of Paulding, and you have nobly redeemed that promise. For the support you then gave me, and the compliment of this afternoon's entertainment, I am deeply grateful, and shall spare no effort to earn a continuance of your confidence.

I indeed hardly know what to say, or how to say what I would, in return for the many acts of personal regard you have shown me.

I am a poor hand to make such a speech as is generally expected on occasions of this kind, and as I have already spoken before a meeting similar to this at Gen. Curtis's, where some of you were present, I will now only detain you long enough to refer briefly to such matters as suggest themselves to me on the spur of the moment.

The Republican party, my fellow-citizens, in the late contest in this district and State, and indeed all over the Union, has given evidence of its life and vitality, and the power of its principles. The basis of its faith is the rights of man. An investigation by the people of our claims to their support is all we ask.

We need no trickery, fraud, or falsehoods to commend the doctrines of the Republican party to the enlightened understanding of every independent citizen, and when once our principles are clearly understood we shall be invincible. Let

none be discouraged or weary in well-doing. Let all remember that liberty is the birthright of the human race, that no consistent believer in that greatest and best charter of human freedom can do otherwise than acknowledge the justice of that principle which recognizes the natural right of every human being, and claims that they are entitled to the protection of life and liberty, by every law of man's enactment.

The Creator made all men of every race and country free, and

“On this round earth, which God to Adam gave  
For freedom, there breathes no fettered slave  
That does not hope and long and pray to see  
And taste the fruit that grows on freedom's tree.”

And while this is true, I cannot believe that the Creator intended to leave man to struggle on forever without attaining that freedom. He destines a calmer and brighter future for the struggling millions of earth.

Conceived in the bosom of Everlasting Love, this principle, “that God is no respecter of persons,” was sent down to us and authoritatively proclaimed to the world by the great apostle of the new covenant, more than 1800 years ago. Neither you nor I can fix the day when this just principle will become a law universally received by man; but it will. I have an abiding faith in its ultimate fulfilment, and shall not cease to believe it because I cannot point to the hour when the final triumph shall be witnessed. It is enough for us to know our duty as men and to act it; to know that the right will triumph, that truth cannot fail; that amid all the sophistry of demagogues, of compromises with wrong and popular sovereignty deceptions, there will come an hour, with every man, when his conscience will refuse to submit to the doctrines and commands of any party which tramples upon the rights of man. Because the Democracy disregards the natural rights of man we oppose it, and cannot assent to the interpretation given by it to the so-called doctrine of popular sovereignty, which surrenders the natural rights of man to the unlicensed will of a majority, and by an enabling act of Congress would make it lawful for every fifth man in a ter-

ritory, by combining, to enslave the sixth, and keep him and his posterity in bondage forever. I believe in, and have always been an advocate of "true" popular sovereignty, "the right of a majority to rule (not enslave); that the clearly expressed will of a majority of the bona-fide electors of any legally organized territory, on all proper subjects of human legislation, should be the law of said territory."

But I cannot recognize that principle as Republican or Democratic that would concede the right of the majority to enslave the minority, merely because they were poor, or because they were black, and without sufficient power to resist the wrong. To do so, would be to establish, as the policy of our government, the doctrine that might makes right. I cannot consent that by any enabling act of Congress, for which the whole people of the United States would be responsible, the residents of any territory under our national jurisdiction, may, because they happen to be in the majority, subjugate even a few of its inhabitants and hold them under rules and regulations, or laws, if you choose to call them such, the most barbarous the world ever saw, to labor against their will, without compensation, and without hope for an end of their or their children's servitude but in the grave.

The natural rights of the rich and the poor, the learned and the ignorant, the strong and the feeble, of whatever country, caste, or religious belief, should be held sacred and inviolable by Republicans, because the right of a majority to enslave but one man—no matter who that man is—presupposes the right to enslave all, without regard to race or color, who by fraud and force can be reduced to chattelhood.

This kind of popular sovereignty would not be very agreeable to any of its present noisy advocates, if they or their friends were the persons upon whom its blessings were to operate. If any of them were reduced to slavery by a popular vote of any nation on the globe, the most solemn protests and appeals would be made by each victim to the mercy of the enslavers, and to the God of heaven for deliverance; just such appeals as can now be heard daily at the whipping-post on every plantation in the South.

Suppose the Chinese nation, many of whose citizens we are enslaving under the disguise of the apprenticeship sys-

tem, should by a popular vote in any of their territories decide, even unanimously, to enslave some of these popular sovereignty doctors, if found in that empire; and when those who were thus enslaved should appeal, as they doubtless would, to the head of that great empire for protection against such an outrage upon the natural rights of man, what would you think of the honor, or justice, or humanity of that ruler, if he should answer them in the language of their own great popular sovereignty champion, Douglas, only changing the word "black" to "white man," and say, "I cannot help you; individually I am very sorry for you, but it is a decree of heaven, as the difference in your organization and ours, your high foreheads and white skins clearly indicate that you are to be servants and 'hewers of wood and drawers of water,' and whether you are to be kept as slaves or not is left entirely with my people. I do not care whether slavery is voted up or voted down in any particular district or territory of my kingdom; that is a matter which belongs exclusively to the people of the several localities, and if a majority agree that they want you or any other race for slaves, they will have them; and wherever in my empire the soil, climate and productions make it the interest of my people to use slave labor 'they will vote slavery up,' and wherever climate, soil and productions preclude the possibility of slave labor 'they will vote it down;' they are left perfectly free to form and regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the supreme constitution. This is not a question between the Chinaman and the white man, but between the white man and the crocodile; and as between the white man and the crocodile we go for the white man, but between the Chinaman and the white man, we go for the Chinaman. The Almighty has drawn a line through my empire, on one side of which the soil must be cultivated by slave labor, on the other side by free labor. This slave line is not bounded by 36 degrees and 30 minutes, but in the sugar fields and rice plantations of the South, and"—

[The remainder of this sentence in the great popular sovereignty argument of the emperor, like Senator Douglas's speech at Memphis, was unfortunately lost amid the "noise and confusion" arising from the applause of the admiring Chinamen who surrounded the reporter, so that I am unable to give it to you.]

The emperor, however, continued by saying, "It is with me and my people a mere principle of dollars and cents. If it were not convenient and profitable to make slaves of you, we would not want you."

But our popular sovereignty doctors would probably protest against the practical application of their doctrine, and claim that pirates had stolen them, that they were born free and above all were "WHITE," and the Chinaman, to carry out the Douglas popular sovereignty theory to the letter, could reply as our Supreme Court and the slave democracy have done, by saying, "that all men were originally born free, and by pirates were first stolen and sold into slavery, and it is agreed that all who first steal men are pirates, and punishable by the laws of nations with death; yet the law regulating the receipt of stolen goods and compelling their return to their original owner does not apply in your case. When once sold you are legally the property of the purchaser. This traffic has been sanctioned by the usages of my people for more than two hundred years, and our laws and constitution recognize the right of man to property in man, and although you now have no remedy but submission, yet, if we capture the pirates who brought you here, we will try them and punish them, as our laws and treaties require, provided the juries in the localities where we order the trials to take place find them guilty. But my people having once invested their money in this kind of property, it is guarded with peculiar care by the supreme government, and you must remain in servitude. This is a fundamental principle of our democracy, 'to leave the people of this country perfectly free' to regulate their local institutions in their own way, and I learn with pleasure that it is the corner-stone of the democracy in your country, where some of these same kind of pirates have recently landed several cargoes of free men, who were immediately sold to good and kind masters, as they all unite in assuring the world, and only from motives of humanity and for the purposes of christianization. You will find that my people are governed exactly by the same benevolent principles, and I trust that their efforts under Providence will not be without good results in reclaiming you and your children from the heathen superstitions of your country. As to you being 'white,' the

court of last resort, the highest judicial tribunal known to our laws, has decided 'that white men have no rights that Chinamen are bound to respect,' so that your being WHITE is only an argument against you, and would make no more difference with my people, than it does with yours in America, as I find on examining many of your countrymen's newspapers, which contain advertisement after advertisement offering 'large rewards for runaway slaves, dead or alive, and described as branded on the cheek, breast, legs and arms with a hot iron, in the shape of the initial letter of the owner's name, and badly scarred on the back with whipping, and so white that they would readily pass for white persons,' all of which would be, I regret to say, lamentably too true. For as Bigelow says, and says truly, in this country

'Slavery aint o' nary color,  
'Taint the hide that makes it wus,  
All it keers for in a feller,  
's just to make him fill its pus.'

This is a true and faithful exhibition of popular sovereignty as advocated by the Douglas democracy, and is given in almost the exact words of their great champion in the foregoing Chinaman's argument, as a reference to Douglas's published speeches recently delivered at Memphis and New Orleans will show. I need not ask you if you are ready to abandon the principles and policy of the fathers, which are also the principles of the Republican party, and adopt such bogus democracy as this. I know you will not. You believe, all of us believe, that a truly democratic government will see to it that the poor and defenseless are protected against the aggressions of the rich and powerful, and that all their rights as individuals are carefully secured and guarded against any such abuse of "popular sovereignty" as that advocated by those who say that "they do not care whether your rights or mine are voted up or voted down, or whether we are slaves or free," and are willing to concede, and not only to concede, but to put it in the power of those who desire it, and to encourage them to enslave, if they can, all the defenseless

in our territories, and to hold them in servitude in defiance of the principles of our national constitution.

Against such popular sovereignty I protest, you protest, and honest men everywhere protest.

If this government was organized for any purpose, it was to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity, and not to enslave any man, nor to become the defenders of slavery. It was a maxim of Gen. Jackson, and in his day a cardinal principle of democratic faith, that "the government should be so administered as to secure the greatest good to the greatest number, protecting all, and granting special favors to none." This doctrine is now reversed, and a privileged class, who enslave the defenseless, are not only the special object and care of the government, but they control the government as absolutely as if they were the only citizens of the republic. To meet and resist the aggressions of this privileged class, who, with the stolen garb of democracy, are striving to force slavery into all the States and Territories of the Union, and reopen and legalize the African slave trade, the Republican party was organized, and though side and immaterial issues, and the so-called doctrine of popular sovereignty, may deceive and mislead the people for a time, these deceptions will all fail at last, and the cause of humanity and right shall triumph.

And what ought to be said of those who, in a free land like ours, privileged to do right if they will, yet permit themselves to be coerced by unprincipled leaders, and sacrifice their convictions of right and the better impulses of their hearts, to the despotism and tyranny of party, merely because it assumes to bear the sacred name of Democrat?

That the Republican party triumphed, in the late contest, in all the strongholds of the so-called Democracy, under the adverse influence of an alluring name, immense patronage, and all the resorts to frauds, falsehoods, and misrepresentation, demonstrates to my satisfaction, the truth and power of our principles.

Our success for the past two years is due in no small degree to the freedom-loving Germans. Let us not fail to acknowledge our indebtedness to them, and to thank them most cordially for their invaluable aid, for without them we should

have been defeated. Not only in this congressional district, but in States all over the country, this honest, sturdy, Saxon element is everywhere uniting with us, and if we are but true to the cause of freedom they will remain with us. Had it not been for the charge of Know-Nothingism, which was so persistently and falsely made against us, by the very party which has to-day, and had then, nearly all the pro-Slavery Know-Nothing leaders secretly in its ranks, we should have numbered with the Republican army in 1856 about the entire German element in the United States. They will be with us in 1860.

They can be deceived with the name of democracy no longer. In all our large cities, in Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Milwaukee and Toledo, and indeed in nearly all the States, we owe our success to the German vote. It was indeed a glorious sight to see that solid old Saxon element showing its true independence, and uniting with us, as they did in Toledo, in rallying around the banner of liberty. It is a good omen for the future, and if we but remain true to them and to ourselves, and without compromise stand by our organization, and our gallant and true leaders, who in four successive campaigns, in nearly all the free States, have safely led us to battle and to victory, there can be no such word as fail. Every pulsation of the popular heart gives us the assurance that the shout of the awakening is at hand, that the day for the triumph of our cause dawns upon us, that the people in 1860 will arise in their majesty to hurl the present corrupt, extravagant and sectional administration from power, and place a tried and true statesman of the national Republican party in the presidential chair.



## ADDRESS

DELIVERED IN GERMAN TOWNSHIP, FULTON  
COUNTY, OHIO.

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On Tuesday last, November 1, 1859, a large meeting of the Republicans of German township, Fulton Co., Ohio, was held at Archbold village, at which a banner was presented to the Republicans of that township in honor of their first victory over the Democracy, achieved at the late election. The banner was of white satin, upon which was the following inscription in gold and colors :

“From the Republican Mothers and Daughters of Fulton county to the Republicans of German township.” “We greet you as brothers.”

“In commemoration of the glorious victory of 1859.”

On the reverse—top and sides—“Fraternity,” “Liberty,” “Equality.” The filling in—“Where Liberty dwells, there is my Country.” “Free Homes for Free People.” “Lands to the Landless.” “Protection to Foreign-born Citizens abroad.”

After the presentation was made a resolution was passed complimenting Hon. J. M. Ashley, eliciting from him in reply the following remarks, which we find in the Wauseon Republican :

MR. PRESIDENT AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It is not my purpose to detain you long, for I come not so much to make a speech this afternoon as to be a listener, and to enjoy a social hour with friends who are convened to celebrate an event that should make glad the heart of every free man. For your compliments, and the manner in which you have been pleased to express your appreciation of my humble efforts for the cause, I return you my sincere thanks. And permit me to express the hope that no act or vote of mine in the new and untried field of labor to which you have com-

missioned me, and to which in a few days I must repair, will ever cause any of my fellow-citizens to regret that their suffrages were bestowed upon me.

The victory we have assembled to celebrate, my fellow-citizens, is not a victory for any one man, or a number of men, but a victory for principle, a victory for humanity, for right, for truth, for justice. It is indeed a glorious victory, the effects of which will soon be visible at the slaveholding capital of the Republic, where Ohio will again be represented in the Senate of the United States by a senator true to freedom. This is a consummation over which we may properly express our gratitude, and exchange congratulations, and to no township, of the same number of inhabitants, in the State, are we more deeply indebted for our triumph in Ohio this fall, than to German township in Fulton county. And I express to you, but imperfectly, the joy the Republicans of Lucas feel, especially the German Republicans of Toledo, at the redemption of German township from the control of a spurious and false democracy. You fought the battle well and gallantly, and the beautiful banner just presented to you by the fair daughters of Fulton county, tells you better than I can tell you, of the high esteem and regard in which you are held by those who, with you, are battling earnestly for the rights of man and the liberty and enfranchisement of the human race. I have faith that you will take no step backward, that you will stand firmly by the principles of freedom, and annually carry to the ballot-box the time-honored Democratic-Republican principle emblazoned upon the folds of your banner.

To you, my German fellow-citizens, the Republican party is under deep obligations for its past success. To you it looks with confidence for aid in the great battle of 1860. With gratitude we acknowledge its indebtedness to you, not only here in German township, but all over the country.

Everywhere the freedom-loving Germans are joining our ranks, and if, as a party, we are faithful to the constitution and the Union, and true to the doctrines of human brotherhood, they will remain with us. Had it not been for the charge of Know-Nothingism which has been so persistently and falsely made against us, by the very party which from the

first has had nearly all the pro-Slavery Know-Nothing leaders secretly in its ranks, almost every German elector in the United States would have been with us to-day. As it is, they will be with us in 1860, and, like brothers standing shoulder to shoulder on the Republican platform, will rally around the banner of liberty, and our cause shall triumph. Let no friend of humanity doubt it, for the principles and doctrines of the Republican party are such as to commend them to the judgments and hearts of the friends of liberty and justice everywhere, especially to the poor of every nation, who are seeking homes in this land of ours. The Republican party is opposed to the proscription of any man, whatever his nationality or religion; opposed to a strong centralized government in the hands of an aristocratic privileged class; opposed to fraud and corruption in the administration of the government, to an irresponsible government bank, to issuing millions of shinplasters for the purpose of carrying on the government in a time of profound peace, to borrowing money every year for the office-holders, and creating a national debt for posterity to pay; opposed to making war upon weak and defenseless neighboring nations for the purpose of robbing them of their territories over which to extend the blight of human slavery; opposed to the fugitive slave bill, to the reopening of the African slave trade, or to permitting slavery to go into and occupy our national territories to the exclusion of the laboring white man; opposed to selling the public lands to speculators, or permitting them to go into the hands of any person but actual settlers; opposed to an increase of the rates of letter and newspaper postage; opposed, as Washington was, to a large standing army in time of peace, believing it to be dangerous to the liberties of a free people; opposed to importing from Europe anything which we can manufacture as well and as cheaply at home; opposed to going to England to buy rails for our great network of western railroads, when we can make them as well and better from the iron mountains of Pennsylvania, where forges and furnaces, which are now idle and still, and immense beds of coal and iron ore and forests of timber, await but the touch of the American artisan and American la-

borer to put down every bar of railroad iron we need at our doors ; and finally opposed to the passage of all laws, either by the legislatures of the several States, or by Congress, granting privileges to the few which are denied to the many. These are some of the points in which, as a party, we stand in direct antagonism to the present national administration, and to those who placed it in power. But the Republican party is not, as has been charged by our opponents, merely a party of negatives. It stands forth and boldly proclaims to the world, not only its hostility to the wrongs and corruptions of the slave democracy, but in the language of General Jackson, declares that it is in favor of a "PLAIN AND SIMPLE GOVERNMENT, DEVOID OF POMP, PROTECTING ALL AND GRANTING SPECIAL FAVORS TO NONE," and that its first desire is to see the government so administered that "Like the dews of heaven, its blessings shall fall upon the rich and poor, the north and south alike." For this purpose was the Republican party organized, and on this platform it proposes to fight every battle ; it therefore favors from necessity, as well as from choice, peace with all nations and the full protection not only of the American-born citizen, but of the rights of the naturalized citizen, both at home and abroad ; favors the improvement of our great inland seas and western rivers and harbors, to protect and build up our growing commerce ; favors the readjustment of our revenue laws, so that money enough shall be collected for the use of an economical administration of the government, without issuing treasury notes or borrowing a dollar, and at the same time adopt such a scale of duties as shall afford ample encouragement to our manufacturing, commercial and farming interests, thereby restoring confidence, and by a proper division of labor bringing activity to every forge and furnace that is now lying idle and still in the coal and iron districts of Pennsylvania, and renewing the hum of the spindle and shuttle at every waterfall among the cotton and woollen factories of New England ; thus creating a home demand for our bread-stuff and produce, and infusing new life and new energy into every department of industry ; keeping our gold and silver at home, instead of sending it to Europe as now to buy our iron when we have iron mountains at our doors, to buy cotton

goods when we supply the world with raw material, to buy our cloth and woollen goods, when we can grow wool enough to clothe half the world. It also favors the prohibition of slavery in all the national territories, and more stringent laws to suppress not only the African slave trade but the enslavement of Chinese coolies, or any other race of men, under whatever form of pretense the attempt may be made; favors the repeal of the infamous fugitive slave act, and leaves the rendition of fugitives from SERVICE AND JUSTICE where the constitution leaves it, with the governors and legislatures of the several States; favors the withdrawal of the public lands from sale, and dividing them into farms of 160 acres each for the free use of actual occupants; favors such an administration of the government that in a time of profound peace they shall keep their expenditures within the limits of the money raised from the duties on imports, and not borrow or issue millions of paper money, as this administration has done, to carry on the government; favors cheap letter and newspaper postage so as to encourage the frequent interchange of thought and intelligence among the people; favors the election of all officers (so far as practicable) by the people, and the withdrawal from the President of the dangerous appointing power now in his hands; favors a small standing army and navy and a more rigid economy in their management; and last, though not least, it is for a NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION FAVORABLE TO NATIONAL FREEDOM. And this we shall have in 1860, if as a party we are true to ourselves and our principles.

The battle just fought and won is but a skirmish on the outposts. The great battle is to come, when we are to meet and dislodge from their fortresses a well-trained and well-disciplined army, who have long been in possession of the government, and who will fight desperately to maintain it. See to it, my friends, that the little army in this township, which so gloriously triumphed in October, shall have no traitor or deserter from that banner and its principles in the coming contest. Long may this joyous occasion and the month of October, 1859, be remembered, as it should be remembered, with gratitude to the Giver of every good; for October is a glorious month, and there ought always to be joy and thanksgiving at its annual return, joy for its fruits and golden grain.

It is the most beautiful, because the most mature month of all the twelve, and has rightly been called the golden month. It comes to us every year with its gorgeous robes of crimson and gold, and flying colors of russet-tinted leaves and autumnal flowers to make glad the heart of man, and we who are gathered here on this occasion, and all who sympathize with us, have added to our joy the happiness which this October brings to the people of Ohio, because of the verdict we have just rendered at the ballot-box for freedom; and not only in Ohio and in this county and township, but all over the country the month of October, 1859, will bring hope and encouragement to those who are struggling for their rights, and make it an ever-memorable year for its victories in favor of the principles of our National Independence.

From Pennsylvania there comes greeting to us, the welcome shoutings of her sturdy sons for the triumph they have achieved over a faithless President from their own State. From Iowa there comes back the echoing response of another victory, and from Minnesota, the young "North Star State," there comes also the rejoicing of a free people for their first undisputed Republican triumph. Ohio sends back the greeting of a full and complete victory, and gives to the friends of freedom everywhere the assurance that she is well prepared for the great battle of 1860. On her banner she has inscribed the glorious motto of "LIBERTY, UNION, JUSTICE," and she proposes to join her sister States in carrying it to the capital of the Republic, believing that its triumphant entry into the capital of the nation will give an impetus to freedom and free principles wherever a slave toils beneath the lash of a taskmaster or a tyrant tramples on the rights of a fellow-man.

"Right onward, oh, speed it. Wherever the blood  
Of the wrong'd and the sinless is crying to God,  
Wherever a slave in his fetters is pining,  
Wherever the lash of the driver is twining,  
Wherever from kindred torn rudely apart  
Comes the sorrowful wail of the broken of heart,  
Wherever the shackles of tyranny bind  
In silence and darkness the God-given mind,

There, God speed it onward. Its truth will be felt—  
The bonds shall be loosen'd—the iron shall melt.

“And you, bold-hearted yeomanry, honest and true,  
Who, haters of fraud, give to labor its due,  
Whose fathers of old sang in concert with mine,  
On the banks of Swatera, the song of the Rhine;  
The pure German pilgrim, who first dared to brave  
The scorn of the proud in the cause of the slave,  
Will the sons of such men yield the lords of the South  
One brow for the band—for the padlock one mouth?  
You, bow down to tyrants—you rivet the chain  
Which your fathers smote off on the poor slave again?”

“No, NEVER; one voice like the sound in the cloud,  
When the roar of the storm waxes loud and more loud,  
Wherever the foot of a freeman hath pressed,  
From the Delaware marge to the lakes of the West,  
On the south-going breezes shall deepen and grow  
Till the land that it sweeps o'er shall tremble below.  
The voice of a PEOPLE—uprisen—awake;  
Human rights for their watchword when freedom's at  
stake,  
Thrilling up from each valley, flung down from each  
height,  
OUR COUNTRY AND LIBERTY; GOD FOR THE RIGHT.”

## ADDRESS

DELIVERED OCTOBER 14, 1860.

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The following is the address of Hon. J. M. Ashley, at the Wigwam in Toledo last night [October 14, 1860], on the occasion of the Republican jollification over the recent victories in Ohio, Pennsylvania and Indiana.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: With pleasure I respond to your call, and announce that the Republican cause has again triumphed in this county, in this congressional district, and in the State. [Cheers.] It is fitting and proper that so glorious a victory should be commemorated by blazing bonfires, torch-light processions and illuminations. On every political battlefield where free speech and a free press are tolerated, and our opponents have been met, they are vanquished and we are triumphant. [Applause.]

From the pine-clad hills of Maine to the home of the gallant Blair, on the banks of the Mississippi, in the free-soil city of St. Louis, from the green hills of Vermont to the Territory of Nebraska, from the good old Keystone State (God bless her for her 30,000 majority), [Cheers for Pennsylvania] from our neighbor Indiana, just redeemed from the rule of a false democracy who fastened upon the country bogus United State Senators, and from all over our own broad and beloved commonwealth, the shouting of millions of freemen greet us to-night with the welcome tidings of glorious victories won. The revolution precipitated upon the country in 1854 by the madness of our opponents will be complete in November, and we shall witness the realization of our long-cherished hopes—the inauguration of a true democracy in the land of Washington. We shall see the national government in the hands of men pledged to administer it as our fathers administered it, so that in every State and Territory within



the limits of the Republic the rights of man shall be respected and protected by law. [Cheers.]

Since the organization of the Republican party I have contemplated this promised day with rapture. To see it has been my hope and prayer. That hope and prayer have buoyed me up in the darkest hours, when disaster and defeat have overwhelmed us, and when the battle seemed lost, as men estimate results who do not comprehend the great truth that no power can make oppression just, or eradicate from the heart of man the love of liberty; that wrong cannot be made right by the verdict of a majority, and that the legally constituted authority of no government on earth may lawfully take away, from any race, the rights with which their Creator invested them. [Cheers.] They have made me firm and unfaltering when many men have given up in despair, and when the doubting, the spoils-hunters and the camp-followers have found shelter (as some have here) in the ranks of the enemy; when we have been betrayed by pretended friends, and our most generous efforts for humanity have been wilfully misrepresented, and the characters of our leaders defamed with unbecoming mendacity by our opponents.

My faith has grown stronger and stronger with every contest, for I have always believed that in the great battle of life we gained new strength at every step by overcoming obstacles that beset our path. I believed that liberty could not be crushed out in this age and country; that truth and all the moral forces of nature were ever working on the side of right, and that disasters and defeats were necessary to test the constancy and courage of our men. And I now know, as I then believed, that all the trials through which as men and as party we have passed, have been for the best; for our ranks are more than filled up with good men and true, to supply the desertions of the weak and the venal, and to-night the voices of the timid and the doubting are silenced by the triumphant shouts of the new recruits, who, with us, are pushing on to victory. [Applause.]

Fellow-citizens, when the conspirators who abrogated the Missouri anti-slavery restriction, and rejected Kansas because she knocked at the door for admission into the Union as a free State, triumphed over the people in 1856, many good

men gave up. Senator Seward said the other day in Chicago, that Horace Mann, one of the noblest and best of men, once said to him, that he "despaired of the cause of humanity after the passage of the slavery laws of 1850," and I know from a conversation I once had with Mr. Mann on that subject in this city, when he was here lecturing before our Young Men's Association, that that was the principal cause of his retiring from public life, leaving Massachusetts and accepting the Presidency of Antioch college, at Yellow Springs, in this State. I confess that I heard this declaration from so great a man with sorrow, but I never despaired, and trust I never shall despair, of the cause of humanity either in America or Europe. [Cheers.] Instead of despairing, I rejoiced rather when the madness of the slave barons drove them to break down the Missouri compromise, and to attempt to force slavery not only upon Kansas, but, by action of the government, and a decree of the Supreme Court to make it national throughout the Republic, because I believed that nothing would more surely arouse the people to the dangers that threatened them. Had I been your representative in Congress then, I would not only have voted against these measures, but protested against them also, as I did as a citizen at the time of their enactment. I would not do wrong that good might come; but I believe that Providence now often permits bad men to scourge a nation for good and wise purposes, as He permitted Pharaoh of old to harden his heart so that he refused to let the oppressed children of Israel go.

I believe that these crimes of the so-called Democratic party were necessary, in order to arouse the American people from their supineness and lethargy. But for those crimes there would have been no Republican party in the United States to-day.

Horace Mann, however, was not the only leading man who has despaired of our cause. I could name more than a score. Only last week, one of the best and truest men in this district said to me: "Ashley, we have been working seven years for this cause with so little success that I am becoming disheartened, and if we fail to elect Lincoln I shall quit." I replied that I regretted to hear him say so, and reminded him of the 4,000 opposition majority we had to overcome in this

congressional district, that the National and State governments, with all their patronage, and every county here in the Northwest, were in the hands of our political opponents in 1853, when we first met together to organize a new party with all those who, in the old Democratic and Whig and Free Soil parties, would unite with us on a platform such as the Republican party now stands upon. I reminded him of the certainty of always having in every party, as in every church, faithless and untrue men; and the misfortune of always having indiscreet friends also; and I said to him, as I say to you to-night, that I grow more hopeful with every contest, and that as a party we are far stronger now than my most sanguine hopes led me to believe we should be when, seven years ago, we commenced the battle, for then I thought it would require a struggle of ten or fifteen years before we should be as strong as we are to-day.

I have always been guided in my political action by a simple rule, a rule which has taught me to confide in the intelligence of the people and their innate sense of justice. This, with a firm reliance in the living energy of truth, has given me courage when success seemed far off, and I have worked on because it has cheered me when overwhelmed by disaster and defeat. Of what I have done to aid in organizing the Republican party and to cause its success, not only in this district and State, but elsewhere, I will not speak. I leave that for others who will do it more impartially for me when party passions shall have subsided and local rivalries shall have been, as they will be, forgotten. I am and always have been content to do my duty and to forget and forgive the errors and prejudices of the hour.

To my fellow-citizens, not only here, but all over the district, I feel grateful for their generous support, and the renewed expression of their confidence as shown by the increased majority they have given me, and I trust that no act or vote of mine will ever cause any man to regret that his vote was bestowed upon me.

I told you last year that the battle we were then fighting was "but a skirmish on the outposts." The victories just gained leave but few outposts in the free States in the hands

of the enemy. When they are taken, as they will be, the citadel must surrender. [Cheers.]

And though we owe much for our past and present success to all classes, especially to our German and adopted citizens, to no organization are we more deeply indebted for our present triumph, than to the Wide-awakes all over the land. Their promptness, their fidelity to our cause, their fine military drill, their presence at all our meetings, has lent good cheer and kindled an enthusiasm in the hearts of old and young, unlike any organization that has preceded it. Wherever I have gone, I have met "around the blazing camp-fires" of the Wide-awakes, and found fresh cause for rejoicing and hope in the fact that the young men, with their generous and noble impulses, everywhere swelled our ranks; these with other classes of citizens make an army for freedom which you see is invincible. [Cheers.]

This victorious army, pledged to the defense of constitutional liberty and to the bringing back of the government to the principles and policy of its founders, is advancing with firm and steady tread to take possession of the national capital, and

"Beneath thy skies, November,  
Thy skies of cold and rain,  
Around our blazing camp-fires  
We'll close our ranks again.

For, God be praised, New England  
Takes once more her ancient place;  
Again the Pilgrim's banner  
Leads the vanguard of the race.

Along the Susquehanna,  
A shout of triumph breaks—  
The Keystone State is speaking  
From the Ocean to the Lakes.

The Northern hills are blazing,  
The Northern skies are bright,

And the fair young West is turning  
Her forehead to the light.

Then, Brothers, close up nearer,  
Press hard the hostile towers,  
For another Balaklava  
And the Malakhoff is ours.”

## SPEECH

OF HON. JAMES M. ASHLEY, OF OHIO.

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DELIVERED IN THE U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
MAY 29, 1860.

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The House being in the Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union—

Mr. Ashley said :

MR. CHAIRMAN: Respect for legislative, executive, and judicial authority is a peculiar characteristic of the constituency I have the honor to represent. Indeed, respect for all constitutional obligations, and for the laws passed in pursuance of the Constitution, as well as for all authoritative judicial decisions, may with propriety be said to be a leading trait in the character of the American people. Especially is this respect habitual, with the great body of the people of the free States.

Trained in the school of loyalty, taught to venerate the teachings of the fathers, and guided in their daily walk and in all their public and private intercourse with their fellow-

Letter from Bishop H. M. Turner, D. D., LL. D., Atlanta, Ga.

This was Mr. Ashley's first speech in Congress. It was an exhaustive and able appeal for the unconditional emancipation of the negro. In this speech and in the two following speeches his arraignment of the Supreme Court for the "Dred Scott" and other pro-slavery decisions, has never been answered. In a majority of Mr. Ashley's congressional and platform speeches will be found arguments for an ideal republic, such as the great men who achieved our independence contemplated, when they organized our National Government, and gave us a written Constitution. Uniformly there is blended with his appeals, the historical with the philosophical. These speeches are all characterized for their frankness and fidelity to the black man, and for their fairness to the Southern people. Every reader will be fascinated with their sincerity and clearness of thought, their marvelous political knowledge, and be charmed with their simple dignity and unaffected eloquence. H. M. TURNER.

men, by the stern principles of that wise Christian morality which has made New England at once the hope and glory of our country, it could not be that the citizens educated within her jurisdiction, and the States founded by her wisdom and enterprise, should be otherwise than loyal to the Constitution and the Union. Asking for themselves nothing that they would not concede to the humblest, they make the community of interests identical, and the loyalty of every inhabitant of the State a necessity.

This grand consummation has been practically achieved in eighteen States of the American Union. The system of government adopted by them, in my judgment, is the best system known to man. It is the best, because it rests upon labor, and is created and controlled by the free and untrammelled will of the laborer. It is the best, because experience has demonstrated that it is the only foundation upon which States and governments can safely and securely rest. In such a government, the laborers must not only be free, but they must be citizens; having rights which the government and all classes of citizens are bound to respect and defend—the poorest and humblest inhabitant being equal, before the law, with the richest and most powerful; sharing in its burdens, enjoying its protection, and feeling individually responsible for its good or bad management. This theory is daily growing stronger and stronger among all civilized nations; and THE WORLD IS BEGINNING TO UNDERSTAND THAT INJURING ONE CLASS FOR THE IMMEDIATE BENEFIT OF ANOTHER, IS ULTIMATELY INJURIOUS TO THAT OTHER; AND THAT, TO SECURE PROSPERITY TO A COMMUNITY, ALL INTERESTS MUST BE CONSULTED. This truly Republican idea of consulting the interests and obeying the wishes and wants of the people, was recently acquiesced in, to an extent before unknown, by the leading Powers of Europe, when they recognized the right of the people of the Roman States to declare, by ballot, whether they desired separate Governments, or a united Italy, with Victor Emanuel as their chief. The state of society necessary to form such governments, as we have in eighteen States of this Union, can only be secured where an untrammelled press and free speech are guaranteed, and public schools and a free church are secured to every inhabitant

in the Commonwealth. These institutions the free States have, to an extent unknown to any government or people on earth; and to them, more than to any other cause, are these States indebted for their unsurpassed development, and for that prosperity and growth which have made them the wonder and admiration of the world. It is impossible that such a people, living under such governments, as are secured by the laws and Constitutions of the free States, no matter what their former nationality may have been, should be otherwise than loyal citizens, or that they should be otherwise than the firmest defenders of the principles which lie at the foundation of these States, and the jealous guardians of that Constitution and Union which our fathers ordained, to secure and perpetuate these blessings.

In fifteen States of the American Union, practically, the reverse of all this is true. The exceptions are only in a few of the border counties of slave States, adjoining the free States, and in three or four cities whose commercial intercourse is extensive in the North. In all these fifteen slave States, a class is dominant which fills all the offices, and controls the legislative, executive, and judicial departments of the government. They do not pretend to be loyal to the national Constitution, or obedient to the laws passed in pursuance thereof, but claim that their first and highest allegiance is due to their several State governments and their institution of human slavery. They care nothing for the Union, except so far as it subserves their purposes of building up, and extending their peculiar institution, and perpetuating their own political power. They trample upon all treaties, compacts, and compromises, if they stand in their way to universal domination on this continent, and neither respect nor obey any law or judicial decision that does not sustain their imperious demands for special legislation and protection.

Trained in the disunion school of Calhoun, they reject not only the teachings of the fathers, but the doctrines of that Christianity which enjoins upon all, whether as individuals, communities, or States, the duty of doing unto the least and weakest as they would that others should do unto them. Hence in all the slave States the constitutional rights



of an American citizen are not respected, the constitutional guaranty for free speech and a free press is a mockery, free schools and an enlightened Christianity an impossibility. The laws to suppress the slave trade are openly disregarded, and violence and mob law reign supreme. The laborers upon whose toil these States exist are slaves, and have been declared not to be citizens, though born upon the soil, but simply persons, with no moral, social, or natural rights, that the dominant race are bound to respect, if the mere *IPSE DIXIT* of the Supreme Court is to be regarded as law. Their obedience and subjugation are secured by enactments and usages the most barbarous and tyrannical ever known to man. A reign of terror secures the obedience and co-operation of the poor whites; and because of this submission, they are claimed as loyal friends of the institution of slavery. But their loyalty is, in fact, a humiliating submission to the privileged class—a submission as abject in most of these fifteen States, as is the submission of the most spirit-humbled slave. The guaranties of the national Constitution, so far as they affect the individual rights of an American citizen, are denied alike to all men who are not of this privileged class or their open allies; and to be an American citizen secures no protection from insult and outrage, unjust imprisonment and terrible punishments, or even death. So complete is this reign of terror, that no man can print, or speak, or preach, or pray, unless he does it in the manner prescribed by this privileged class. These two forms of government and society are the antipodes of each other, and cannot coexist and peacefully endure. There must, of necessity, be serious conflicts and constant struggles for the ascendancy; and, eventually, the one must give way to the other. There is, then, an "IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT," as the distinguished Senator from New York has said, between the two forces or forms of government and society; and it will continue until freedom or slavery shall have complete dominion in every department of the government.

This privileged class, with Calhoun and his political disciples, have had, with the exception of one or two short intervals, almost complete possession of every department of the national government for the past twenty years. Taking

advantage of the well-known loyalty of the people of the free States to the Constitution and the Union, and their habitual respect for all laws and decisions of the Judicial department of the National and State Governments, they have, by threatening to dissolve the Union, and by appeals made in the sacred name of Democracy, secured the co-operation and aid of thousands of patriotic citizens in the free States who are conscientiously opposed to the institution of slavery. They have thus been enabled to obtain and keep possession of every department of the government, and so to shape its legislative, executive, and judicial action, as to foster, build up, and extend, this monstrous wrong of human slavery, and make it a National instead of a State and local institution, if the Dred Scott decision is to be taken and held, as the President and his party declare it is, the correct interpretation of the Constitution.

I propose, Mr. Chairman, to show the House and country how one department of the government has been taken possession of by this privileged class—I mean the Supreme Judiciary. I propose to show that, while they have been preaching concessions and compromises to us, they have for years been secretly and cautiously at work to obtain complete control of this important, as well as most dangerous, department of the National Government. That this department of the government is dangerous, I think the history of its usurpations since its organization will show.

The opinions of some of the ablest men of the Revolution—many of whom opposed the organization of this court with the powers granted to it, and predicted with singular foresight the dangers to which the rights of citizens and States would be exposed if it was established—have been more than realized. It would have been well for the present and future of our country if the admonitions of those who opposed the organization of this department of the government with its immense power had been regarded with more favor. It were well even now for our future peace if the warnings of Jefferson, Mason, Henry, Franklin, Grayson, and other distinguished men would be heeded. But, alas for freedom! their admonitions and warnings have not only been unheeded, but the scheme of a sectional and privileged

class, aided by Northern Representatives, has been accomplished so far as to secure complete control of this department of the government; and they now demand of the party, whose every movement they imperiously dictate, a change in their action and tone towards this Judicial department. In compliance with this demand, we find that the party today, which for years so vehemently denounced the usurpations of this court and opposed and disregarded its decisions, have come to regard it (if the declaration of their Presidents and Representatives and party conventions are to be credited) as the most "AUGUST TRIBUNAL" in the world—a tribunal whose opinions are infallible, from whose judgment there is no appeal, and before whose decisions and political decrees, citizens and parties, and even free States, are required to bow. On failure to acquiesce in this claim of prerogative, the Representatives of free States are denounced on this floor by the leaders of this privileged class as traitors to the government, and as perjurers, who have sworn to support a Constitution they intend to violate.

And here let me ask what there is in this tribunal, composed as it is of but nine men, that should entitle it, as a political authority, to the veneration and unquestioned obedience claimed for it by the present Administration party, any more than the same number of Senators and Representatives that might with ease be selected as gentlemen possessing at least equal, if not superior, legal and natural abilities? Is there anything in the character of these judges, in their services to the country, in their learning or qualifications as lawyers, that should entitle them to the appellation of an "august tribunal?" Is it not a fact well known to everyone, that so far from this court being composed of men of superior abilities, or of the ablest lawyers in the country, a majority of them were partisans, and that they were selected because of their partisanship when placed upon the bench? It is certainly a fact not unknown to the House and the country, that men of greater legal abilities, whose nomination had been submitted to the Senate for confirmation, have been rejected. The Committee on the Judiciary (a majority of which has been pro-slavery for the past twenty years), to which said

nominations are always referred, have, by some means unknown to the public, succeeded in prevailing on the acting President, whoever he may have been, to withdraw objectionable nominations, and substitute others more acceptable for the purposes contemplated by them, while some of the present partisans of this court were confirmed, instead of those whose names were thus withdrawn or rejected. Before I take my seat, I expect to show that a purpose was to be accomplished by those who secured the rejection, on a direct vote for confirmation in the Senate, of men of spotless characters, of great learning, and eminent judicial abilities, or their defeat by the withdrawal of their names by the President, at the dictation of this class interest. Debate was sought to be avoided on this delicate point, that their ulterior purposes might thus remain undiscovered, even in the secret archives of the United States Senate. Sir, if the country could understand how a majority of these judges were placed upon the bench, and the schemes resorted to by this class interest to secure men to represent their views and interests, the people would scorn their political decrees, and treat their usurpations as they deserve.

Sir, I expect to show that no men whose nominations have been submitted to the Senate for confirmation as judges of this court were rejected for want of learning, character, or ability as lawyers, but solely because of their known or supposed unsoundness on the question of slavery; all men known to entertain liberal views on that question were rejected, and partisans destitute of eminence or fitness confirmed in their stead, because of their known or supposed reliability in sustaining the claims of the slave barons in their judicial decisions. Such is the extent to which this scheme has been carried—and, I regret to say, successfully carried—by the carelessness, or incompetency, or criminal complicity, of Northern Senators, some of whom have had Southern plantations well stocked with slaves, while claiming to represent a free people. I say, but for the indifference or inability of Northern Senators to defend and guard the interests of those they were commissioned to represent, or their criminal complicity, this scheme never could have been accomplished as it has been; for it required the votes of Northern Senators to

do it, and by their action or indifference this court, which in former years stood so high in the estimation of the American people, is now looked upon by the great body of citizens with distrust, and regarded by many of the best men of the nation as little else than a partisan political tribunal.

Mr. Chairman, it is no pleasant task for an American Representative to declare on this floor, and to the country, as I now do, and as candor compels me to do, that I have lost all confidence in, and veneration for, this Supreme Court; and I could wish that even before the expiration of the next Presidential term I could see this Supreme Court reorganized. I wish I could see all laws repealed creating inferior United States District Courts, so that we might be able to get rid of the whole batch of these United States judicial officials as summarily as the Republican party under Jefferson got rid of the swarm of district judges created by what is familiarly known as the midnight judiciary act, passed on the night of the 3d of March, 1801. For while we cannot deprive these officials of their life tenures or titles by removal, it is an established principle in the National as well as in the State Governments—and the act under Jefferson to which I have referred is one of the earliest precedents on record establishing the right of the power that created and prescribed the duties of these courts—to repeal the law, and thus legislate these judges and clerks out of office by the power that breathed into them the breath of life. After a full investigation of this subject, I believe the only practical way, without a change in the Constitution, to reform the gross abuses, not only of the Supreme Court, but of the United States District Courts, is: First, to reorganize the Supreme Court, and either create additional judges, or redistrict the circuits in such a manner as to equalize the business, and require the judges to be residents of the districts for which they were respectively appointed, or in which, by law, they are required to attend courts; and, second, to repeal the laws creating district courts and defining their jurisdiction and duties; thus legislating your Judge Kanes, Magraths, and Joneses, out of office.

If new district courts are indispensable, let them be carefully organized, and the judges be clothed with just as

little power and as limited a jurisdiction as possible. We should make business and the wants of the country the only basis for creating districts; and not create districts and offices for broken-down politicians, as has been done to an extent that would astonish the country, could it be known. As an evidence of this fact, look at the State of Florida; with less than half the population of my Congressional district, she has two United States District Courts, and, of course, two judges; Tennessee, three; Missouri, two; and soon to the end of the list. Sir, unless a man has carefully examined this subject, he cannot conceive, and even after an examination will be reluctant to come to the conclusions which I confess I have, to wit, that this Supreme Court is, as Jefferson declared it to be, "A SUBTILE CORPS OF SAPPERS AND MINERS, CONSTANTLY WORKING UNDER GROUND TO UNDERMINE ITS FOUNDATION." "THEY ARE CONSTRUING OUR CONSTITUTION," HE ADDED, "FROM A COORDINATION OF A GENERAL AND SPECIAL GOVERNMENT TO A GENERAL AND SUPREME ONE ALONE." I feel confident, that if the usurpations of this court be not speedily checked, that the liberties of the people and the rights of the States will be endangered; and the danger is the more imminent, from the fact that a class interest has secured absolute control of this court; and having secured it, now demands that the party which it also controls, shall proclaim through their Presidents, and party conventions, and party press, the doctrine that the political decisions of a majority of these nine men are infallible, and binding upon the party, without the right of an appeal to the people. The extraordinary spectacle is presented to the world, of a once great party, which cherished and defended the rights of the masses, having been taken possession of by an oligarchy, and the doctrine proclaimed that there must be an uncontrolled absolute power in the government somewhere, from which there can be no appeal; and that power they claim to-day must be vested, not in Congress, or in the people, or in the States, but in a majority of the nine men, who constitute this Supreme Court.

Sir, the Republican theory is, that the government is not the master, but the servant. Every department was created by the people, not for the benefit of any class

interest, but for the safety and happiness of the whole, and every department is subordinate to their will. Government is but a means to an end; and whenever it ceases to answer the purposes for which it was created, the people can alter or abolish it.

Sir, neither the executive, nor judicial, nor law-making power is supreme. The Constitution is above them; and the people, who made the Constitution, and vested temporarily the authority of enacting, executing, and adjudicating the laws, are above and superior to all. This absolute power, therefore, claimed for the Supreme Court by the Administration party, must be resisted, because there cannot with safety be any department of a republican government from which an appeal to the people cannot be taken. If there is an absolute power in any government, above and superior to the people, it is a despotism. In an oration delivered by John Quincy Adams, July 4, 1831, and cited by Judge Story in a note to section 208 of his Commentaries, he says, in referring to this subject:

“It is not true, that there must reside in all governments an absolute, uncontrollable, irresistible, and despotic power; nor is such power in any manner essential to sovereignty. Uncontrollable power exists in no government on earth. The sternest despotisms in any region, and in every age of the world, are and have been under perpetual control. Unlimited power belongs not to man; and rotten will be the foundation of every government leaning upon such a maxim for its support. Least of all can it be predicated of a government professing to be founded upon an original compact. The pretense of an absolute, irresistible, despotic power, existing in every government somewhere, is incompatible with the first principles of natural right.”

Sir, these well-considered reflections, made by one of the wisest and best statesmen who since the days of Washington have adorned and dignified the Presidential office, are well worthy of the serious consideration of the people at this important crisis in the history of our country; when a great party, which for years has had possession of the government, has declared through its present Chief Executive that there is a power in the government to which every depart-

ment must yield, and to whose opinions the members of all political parties must give implicit obedience.

This anti-Democratic doctrine was broadly announced by Mr. Buchanan in that most remarkable passage in his late annual message to Congress, in which he said :

“I cordially congratulate you upon the final settlement, by the Supreme Court of the United States, of the question of slavery in the Territories,” etc.

And, strange to say, this dangerous anti-Republican, anti-Democratic doctrine, receives the support of the great body of Representatives on this floor claiming to be Democrats.

Mr. Chairman, the efforts of Mr. Calhoun to enlist all the Southern States in his disunion movement of 1832-3, under color of opposition to the tariff act of 1828, having failed, and the scheme exposed and effectually crushed out by the boldness and decision of General Jackson, and this desperate faction and their leader excluded from the Democratic party during the administration of that old hero, other expedients were resorted to by Mr. Calhoun to secure the accomplishment of his cherished purpose — namely, either a dissolution of the Union and the organization of a Southern slaveholding confederacy, or the recognition by the present government of his theory, that slavery is recognized by the Constitution, and that Congress had no power to abolish or exclude it from the Territories or the District of Columbia.

After the election of Van Buren to the Presidency, Mr. Calhoun and his followers were again received into a kind of QUASI fellowship with the Democratic party, and supported the leading measures of that Administration. The express ground upon which his support was given, was the alleged fact that Mr. Van Buren was disposed to favor Mr. Calhoun's theory that the Constitution of the United States recognized property in man. Whether such were Mr. Van Buren's views, or not, I am unable to say ; but certain it is, that he pledged himself in his inaugural address, unasked by the Democratic party, to veto any law which Congress might pass, abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia ; and before he had been one year in the Presidential office, he



acquired, for the first time in the history of the government, the unenviable appellation of a "NORTHERN MAN WITH SOUTHERN PRINCIPLES."

Failing, however, to secure the open endorsement by the Democratic party of that day of the favorite theory of the slave power, Mr. Calhoun hit upon the plan of getting possession of the Supreme Court, because it is a power the furthest removed from the people, is held in great esteem by them, and such acts of aggression as Mr. Calhoun contemplated, if committed by the Supreme Court, he knew would be so quietly done as to excite no alarm, and pass almost unnoticed.

In this scheme, as the history of the country will show, Mr. Calhoun was successful.

Let us look at this point for a few moments.

The Supreme Court was organized by an act of Congress passed on the 24th of September, 1789, by which act the court was made to consist of one Chief Justice and five Associates.

By act of April 29, 1802, districts (each State being then called a district) were formed into circuits, as follows :

"The districts of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, shall constitute the first circuit.

"The districts of Connecticut, New York, and Vermont, shall constitute the second circuit.

"The districts of New Jersey and Pennsylvania shall constitute the third circuit.

"The districts of Maryland and Delaware shall constitute the fourth circuit.

"The districts of Virginia and North Carolina shall constitute the fifth circuit.

"The districts of South Carolina and Georgia shall constitute the sixth circuit."

It will be noticed that this law gave the North and South each three judges and three circuits.

By the act of February 24, 1807, the Supreme Court was made to consist of seven judges; and the seventh circuit comprised the States of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio.

By act of 3d of March, 1837, two additional judges and Southern circuits were created, and the district of Ohio detached from the circuit of Kentucky and Tennessee, and

the seventh circuit made to consist of the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan. In this act it was declared that "the districts of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, shall form and be called the eighth circuit;" and "the districts of Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Arkansas, shall form and be called the ninth circuit."

By the creation of the eighth and ninth circuits, the South, with less than half the population, and not more than one-fourth of the business in the Supreme Court, obtained a majority of the judges. Since the organization of the eighth and ninth circuits, the free States of Iowa, Wisconsin, California, Minnesota, and Oregon, have been admitted into the Union; and although these States contain a population and have an amount of judicial business equal at least to one-third of those of the entire fifteen slave States, they have not been erected into or attached to judicial circuits, and have no representative on the bench of the Supreme Court. The reason for refusing or neglecting to place these States upon an equal footing with the new Southwestern States, whose populations are far less, will be manifest, I trust, before I get through.

When Mr. Tyler, by the death of General Harrison, became President, and betrayed the party which elected him, by throwing himself into the arms of the disunion wing of the Democratic party, and placing Mr. Calhoun in the office of Secretary of State, for the purpose of acquiring Texas, a point was gained by this faction, which they have not only never lost, but having secured the control of the succeeding administration of Mr. Polk, they have advanced with rapid strides from a small and once powerless minority, as they were when treated as General Jackson treated them, until they have for years completely controlled the Democratic organization, and changed its fundamental principles.

For the first time in the history of the government, under Mr. Tyler's administration, the opinions of men selected for the Supreme Court on the question of slavery were made a test of their promotion to that exalted position. No man who was known to entertain views hostile to the interest and political opinions of the privileged class repre-

sented by Mr. Calhoun could be nominated, or, if nominated, confirmed to a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court. And one of the present judges—Justice Nelson, of the State of New York—was selected by President Tyler, with the approval of Mr. Calhoun, because of his reputed fidelity to this class interest. Having secured by the death of President Harrison the executive branch of the government, their next step was to obtain the control of the Senate committees, especially the Judiciary Committee, to which all nominations for the Supreme Court are referred; and, as a result of this policy, the Judiciary Committee for the last twenty years has been completely in the hands of this faction. The following Senators were members of the Judiciary Committee at the time of which I am speaking: Ashley of Arkansas, chairman; Breese of Illinois, Berrien of Georgia, Westcott of Florida, and Webster of Massachusetts. They recommended the confirmation of Robert C. Grier, of Philadelphia, and the rejection or withdrawal by the President, if not of each of the following names, at least of such men as John M. Read, Edward King and George W. Woodward, of Pennsylvania, who were severally nominated, and rejected or withdrawn because of their known opposition to slavery, and their belief that Congress had the power, under the Constitution, and that it was their duty, to abolish and prohibit slavery in all national Territories.

During Mr. Fillmore's administration, the Judiciary Committee recommended the rejection, or postponement, or withdrawal of the nomination of E. A. Bradford, of Louisiana, one of the most distinguished lawyers of that State, and also the indefinite postponement of the nomination of William C. Micou, of the same State, ON THE SAME DAY THE NOMINATION WAS SENT TO THE SENATE. Mr. Micou was at that time a law partner of Senator Benjamin, of Louisiana, and a distinguished member of the bar. This was disposing of a man summarily. These nominations were made by Mr. Fillmore, as was also the nomination of Hon. George E. Badger, of North Carolina, whose confirmation was refused, and the consideration of it postponed on the recommendation of this committee by a test vote of 26

to 25, simply because he believed, with Henry Clay, that Congress had the power to exclude slavery from the Territories. So close was this vote, that the slave interest were compelled to telegraph to Alabama for Senator Fitzpatrick to come on and aid in his defeat by postponing the consideration of the subject until the inauguration of Mr. Pierce, who at that time was elected. After Mr. Pierce came into office, he submitted the name of John A. Campbell, of Alabama, and he was confirmed. This committee were: Butler of South Carolina, chairman; Downs of Louisiana, Bradbury of Maine, Geyer of Missouri, and Badger of North Carolina. It will be observed that on this important committee but one member was from the free States, and he a supporter of the Administration.

How many of the best and most distinguished men have been rejected during the past twenty years, after having been nominated for seats on the Supreme Bench, the public have no means of determining, as the official action of the Senate is locked up in its secret archives, into which the people are never permitted to look by the leaders of the Democracy, who fear being called to an account for their base betrayal of the interests and wishes of their constituents. Many things have been said and done in the secret sessions of the United States Senate, which, if made public at the time, would have consigned the utterer to the shades of private life, and the party to a hopeless minority. This practice of holding secret sessions of the Senate is a feature in our system of government for which I have no partiality, and for which there is, in my judgment, no justification, except, perhaps, when the country is engaged in a foreign war, or discussing the proposed ratification of a treaty. No business touching or affecting the interest of the country at home should be done in secret, and kept from the people. The following are some of the names which I remember, although there are doubtless more persons who have been nominated for places on the Supreme Bench, and either rejected or their names withdrawn: John C. Spencer, of New York; Reuben H. Walworth, for many years chancellor of the State of New York; Edward King, George W. Wood-

ward, and John M. Read, of Pennsylvania; E. A. Bradford and William C. Micou, of Louisiana; George E. Badger, of North Carolina; and others, whose names I cannot now recall.

And in the places of such distinguished jurists and most worthy and learned citizens, we have to-day, as the result and success of the Calhoun conspiracy, Nelson of New York, Grier of Pennsylvania, Campbell of Alabama, Daniel\* of Virginia, and Clifford of Maine; some of whom certainly would never have been thought of for a seat on the Supreme Bench, but for their loyalty and devotion to the interest and wishes of the slave power. To the political opinions of a court thus constituted, the people of the United States are called upon by the President, and the so-called Democratic party, to bow in submission; and are denounced as traitors to the Constitution and the Union, unless they yield up their political views, and embrace those of a majority of this packed and irresponsible tribunal.

If the neglect to organize the five free States I have named into circuits, and give them representatives on the bench, and the unfair manner in which the present nine circuits are constituted, in order, as must be apparent to every one, to secure a majority of the Supreme Court judges to the South, is not, of itself, sufficient to satisfy any impartial mind of the covert designs of those who control and dictate the policy of the Democratic party, a glance at the population of one or two of the judicial circuits, and the business before the court, will satisfy the most skeptical that this inequality is not the result of mere accident, but of a deliberate, well-laid, persistently-pursued scheme.

Take the population of the ninth circuit, composed of the States of Arkansas and Mississippi, and compare it with the seventh, Judge McLean's circuit, which comprises the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan. The ninth circuit, Justice Daniel's, contains little, if any, over half a million of white inhabitants; while Justice McLean's contains over six millions. The second circuit, Justice Nelson's, composed of the States of New York, Connecticut, and Vermont,

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\*Deceased since the delivery of this speech.

contains over five millions of freemen; while the fifth circuit, Justice Campbell's, composed of the States of Louisiana and Alabama, has but little over a million white inhabitants.

But, if the inequality of population is great in these circuits, the inequality of labor and business disposed of by each of the judges of these circuits is far greater. I have taken the trouble, since I have had the honor of a seat here, to examine into this matter, and have obtained the following accurate statement of the business of the five Southern circuits, and the circuit of Judge McLean, from the 1st of January, 1856, to the 1st of January, 1857, to which I invite the special attention of the House, as demonstrating, more forcibly than any argument of mine, the deliberate purpose of the representatives of the so-called Democratic party to secure to this Southern privileged class, who are but a small minority of the people, the absolute control of this important and dangerous department of the government.

This statement will show the number of cases on the docket in five of the Southern circuits, also Judge McLean's circuit, on the 1st of January, 1856, and the number added during the year 1856, the number tried and disposed of that year, and the number remaining undisposed of, January 1, 1857.

CIRCUITS.	Whole No. cases on the docket Jan. 1, 1856.	No. added during the year 1856.	No. disposed of in 1856.	No. remaining undisposed of Jan. 1, 1857.
For the fourth circuit, composed of the States of Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, Chief Justice Taney presiding, the returns show.....	444	328	388	384
For the fifth circuit, composed of the States of Louisiana and Alabama, Judge Campbell presiding, the returns show.....	350	379	412	317
For the sixth circuit, composed of the States of Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina, Judge Wayne presiding, the returns show.....	133	289	311	111
For the eighth circuit, composed of the States of Missouri, Tennessee, and Kentucky, Judge Catron presiding, the returns show.....	316	257	316	257
For the ninth circuit, composed of the States of Arkansas and Mississippi, Judge Daniel presiding, the returns show.....	333	170	294	210
<b>Total for five Southern circuits</b>	<b>1,576</b>	<b>1,423</b>	<b>1,721</b>	<b>1,279</b>
For the seventh (Judge McLean's) circuit, composed of the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, the returns show more business than all the five Southern circuits.....	1,481	2,037	1,782	1,736

It will be seen by this statement that Judge McLean has more business in his single circuit than all the five Southern judges in their five Southern circuits. That the number of cases docketed in the course of the year was greater; the number disposed of greater; and the number remaining undisposed of on the 1st of January, 1857, was grèater.

What justification, excuse, or apology, can the members of the Democratic party in the North give for this shameful neglect or betrayal of the interest of their constituents?

Let any impartial man look over this table, and answer the question, "how ought these circuits to be constituted?" and he will answer you, "IN PROPORTION TO THE AMOUNT OF BUSINESS DONE BY EACH JUDGE OF THE SEVERAL CIRCUITS." If this just principle should be adopted, as it ought to be, and will be some day adopted, and the average business of the present five Southern circuits should constitute the basis for creating new judicial circuits and judges of the Supreme Court, the North would be entitled to at least fourteen or fifteen more circuits and judges, without including the States of Iowa, Wisconsin, California, Minnesota, and Oregon, which I have not included in the above calculations.

Why is it that this inequality is permitted to continue? Why is it that the Representatives of the so-called Democratic party from the North have not long ago moved to equalize this department of the government, and obtain for their constituents a representation on the bench equal to their numbers, business, and wealth?

To say that all this is the result of accident, and the unexpected increase of population in the North, is a mockery. I tell you, as all reflecting and observing men who are not partisans will tell you, that it is but one of the many schemes to which the Democratic party, since its surrender to the Calhoun faction, has lent the use of its great name and influence to establish and make permanent and universal the institution of human slavery in all the States and Territories of this Republic.

Mr. Chairman, the time was, and that, too, within the memory of many members on this floor, when slavery was regarded and admitted by the great majority of the Ameri-



can people, by men of all parties and all religious creeds, to be a moral, social, and political evil, from which it was the duty of the States to free themselves as speedily as possible, and for the existence and continuance of which the National Government should in no way be held responsible before the world. Now all this is changed; and a great party to-day, through its Representatives in this Hall, with here and there an exception, claim that slavery is a moral, a Christian, and desirable political institution, established by the Great Supreme, for the happiness alike of the white and black races. And not only this, but they claim that the National Constitution, which our fathers declared they ordained to secure the blessings of liberty, carries, sustains, and protects, of its own force, the right of the master to the person and service of his slave on every foot of soil, and wherever floats the national ensign, save only in States where, by positive enactments, its existence is prohibited; in other words, that slavery is a natural, legal, and universal relation, and freedom unnatural, exceptional, and local, and only made exceptional by the exercise of the arbitrary will of the electors of the States, expressed in the form of positive legislative inhibition. Even this pretended right, unsustained as it was by any respectable number of men from the organization of the government until the birth of the Calhoun party, in 1844, has become the cardinal point in the Democratic creed.

This desperate faction was unfortunately recognized and negotiated with at that time, and its leaders succeeded in making a secret treaty with the recognized chief of the Democratic party, from the bad effects of which the party never recovered. Since that time (1844), this mere faction—a clique that twenty years ago could be easily numbered—have been constantly gaining in power and strength, until at last they have been able to force from the party an authoritative recognition of their doctrines. They have baptized them in the name of Democracy; and from this time forward, not only are the living principles of the old Democratic party to be abandoned, but the doctrine is to be maintained that the Dred Scott decision is the true interpretation of the

Constitution ; that the logical result of that decision prevents the people of any State from excluding slavery.

On the 17th of November, 1857, the Washington Union, the organ of the Administration, and the special mouth-piece of the President, in speaking of this subject, said :

“THE CONSTITUTION DECLARES THAT ‘THE CITIZENS OF EACH STATE SHALL BE ENTITLED TO ALL THE PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES OF CITIZENS IN THE SEVERAL STATES.’ Every citizen of one State coming into another State has therefore a right to the protection of his person, and that property which is recognized as such by the Constitution of the United States, any law of a State to the contrary notwithstanding. So far from any State having a right to deprive him of this property, it is its bounden duty to protect him in its possession.

“If these views are correct—and we believe it would be difficult to invalidate them—it follows that all State laws, whether ORGANIC or OTHERWISE, which prohibit a citizen of one State from SETTLING IN ANOTHER, AND BRINGING HIS SLAVE PROPERTY WITH HIM, and most especially declaring it forfeited, are direct violations of the original intention of a government which, as before stated, is the protection of person and property, and of the Constitution of the United States, which recognizes property in slaves, and declares that ‘the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States,’ among the most essential of which is the protection of person and property.”

And, in my judgment, this will be the next aggressive step made by the present Administration party upon the free people of this country. Yes, sir ; I firmly believe that we are to have a second Dred Scott decision by the present Supreme Court, which will fully sustain this monstrous claim now openly set up by many of the leaders of this Calhoun party, provided, always, that they are successful in the coming Presidential election, and the Supreme Court can thereby have the assurance it had when Mr. Buchanan was elected, that its decrees will be enforced by the strong arm of the Executive department of the government, with the army and navy and purse of the nation at its command. I infer this both from the manner in which the members of this court have been selected, and from the history of the first Dred

Scott case. The Lemmon case, as it is familiarly called, but which I designate the second Dred Scott case, has been, as gentlemen are aware, carried up on appeal by the authorities of the State of Virginia from the Supreme Court of the State of New York to the Supreme Court of the United States, and presents a case exactly in point; and I doubt not is prosecuted by Virginia for no other purpose than to obtain another political decision from this court to sustain their pro-slavery interpretations of the Constitution. If this is not the case, why is the decision of the New York court to be carried up for revision, as the State of Virginia did not own the slave liberated by Judge Payne; and Mr. Lemmon, I believe, was paid the full value of these slaves by the cotton merchants of New York, soon after their liberation?

There can be but one motive for the action of Virginia in the premises; and that is, to secure another pro-slavery opinion from the Supreme Court, sustaining their interpretation of the Constitution—an interpretation which even Mr. Calhoun never openly claimed, but which his disciples, emboldened by their success, now claim to be the true one—namely, that slaveholders have the right, under the Constitution of the United States, to go, not only into all the organized Territories, but into any or all the organized Northern States, with their slaves, and there have them protected by the National Government, in defiance of the local laws of the State. It is my solemn, deliberate conviction, that this clearly unconstitutional claim will be sustained by the Supreme Court, if a President is elected this year by the pro-slavery party of the country. And let me ask, gentlemen, if such a decision is any more unlikely to happen than the first Dred Scott decision? And does it not necessarily follow, if the Dred Scott decision is correct, that the decision of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, in the Lemmon case, is wrong?

Let us look at this point a moment. The Kansas-Nebraska bills contained the germ from which both these pro-slavery questions were dug up. Both bills declared—

“That it is the true intent and meaning of this act, not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude

it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

At the time the Kansas-Nebraska bills were under discussion, no person was able to discover why the clause "NOT TO LEGISLATE SLAVERY INTO ANY TERRITORY OR STATE, NOR TO EXCLUDE IT THEREFROM," was inserted in said acts; and their distinguished author, from that day to this, has never enlightened the country on this point, although frequently and urgently pressed to do so. The concluding line of this extraordinary section, "SUBJECT ONLY TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES," was understood and denounced at the time as a cunningly-devised scheme for getting the political question of the power of Congress over the subject of slavery in the Territories before the Supreme Court, which was now, for the first time in the history of the government, regarded as a partisan tribunal, completely in the hands of the pro-slavery party, who had selected a majority of the judges for their well-known sympathy with the privileged class and their fidelity to the interest of slavery.

The meaning of the words, "NOT TO LEGISLATE SLAVERY INTO ANY TERRITORY OR STATE, NOR TO EXCLUDE IT THEREFROM," was soon comprehended after the Presidential election of 1856, from the authoritative interpretation given by the President and his party to this apparently harmless declaration, and the subsequent action of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case. About a year after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, the Dred Scott case is first heard of by the people, and an unpleasant apprehension immediately took possession of the public mind. Arguments were made by counsel in the winter of 1855 and 1856, but the decision was reserved. The Presidential election was approaching, and this "AUGUST TRIBUNAL" thought it prudent to defer their decision, and not submit it to that higher, better, and safer court of appeals, the people, so soon after its delivery. They therefore reserved their opinions, and ordered the case to be reargued; and thus a year's time was gained, which carried them over the Presidential election of

1856, and enabled the court to know positively whether they could rely upon the executive and legislative departments of the government to sustain and enforce their contemplated usurpation.

The Cincinnati convention in the mean time had been held, and reconstructed the creed of the party, and nominated Mr. Buchanan. In this platform, the Southern members of the party, understanding what would be the probable action of the court in the Dred Scott case, determined to aid the court in their contemplated decision, by giving two interpretations to the Kansas-Nebraska act, while claiming, authoritatively, to give but one. The manner in which they did this, was by resolving that the people of Kansas might determine for themselves whether they would have slavery or not, "WHENEVER THE NUMBER OF INHABITANTS JUSTIFIED IT." This was a cunning play upon words, and intended to deceive the people, by permitting one interpretation in the North and quite a different one in the South, for the double purpose of political effect during the Presidential campaign. After the election, if successful, they were to make a new definition, which was necessary, in order to harmonize the conflicting views of the party leaders, and in order the more effectually to aid in the pretended settlement of this "VEXED QUESTION." The public pledge of the party was everywhere cautiously secured in advance, through all the appliances known to this wonderful party organization, to abide by and sustain, as a final settlement, the interpretation, whatever it might be, that the Supreme Court would give to this plank in the Cincinnati platform.\* With this arrangement, the slave barons

\*Senator Benjamin, of Louisiana, in a late speech which I regard as one of the ablest and most forcible yet made against the position and consistency of Mr. Douglas, frankly declared, on the floor of the Senate, that the above charges of a secret conspiracy were true; and though this fact was well known to many, it had never before been admitted by any leading member of the Democratic party.

Mr. Benjamin said, substantially, that—

"Both wings of the Democracy agreed, in a caucus of the Senate, in 1854, that each should maintain its particular theory before the public—ONE SIDE SUSTAINING 'SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY, AND THE OTHER PROTECTION TO SLAVERY IN THE TERRITORIES, BUT PLEDGING THEMSELVES TO ABIDE BY THE DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT, WHATEVER IT MIGHT BE."

This was the secret bargain which Mr. Benjamin charged Mr. Douglas with violating, declaring that he (Douglas) had failed to keep good his pledge.

In this manner, the people of the free States were deceived into the support of Mr. Buchanan, in 1856. Let the freemen of the North see to it that they are not again deceived by secret bargains in 1860.

felt safe and confident, after having secured the election of Mr. Buchanan, and as soon thereafter as they thought it expedient, they openly, through the outgoing and incoming Executives, and in the Halls of this Capitol, claimed the extreme Southern interpretation to be the true one.

The true interpretation having been thus authoritatively established by the court, and declared to be, that "THE PEOPLE OF THE TERRITORIES SHOULD NEVER HAVE THE POWER, WHILE IN A TERRITORIAL CONDITION, TO ABOLISH OR EXCLUDE SLAVERY," the abandonment of the deceptive and alluring catch-words of "POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY" became a necessity with all who were members of the party, except a few who were denominated "REBELS," or the undisguised demagogues who still remain with the party. Mr. Buchanan, in his inaugural, openly sustained Calhoun's theory on this question, and, in the Silliman letter, declared that slavery, by virtue of the Constitution, not only existed in all the Territories of the Union, but that "IT EXISTED IN KANSAS AS COMPLETELY AS IN GEORGIA OR SOUTH CAROLINA;" and he adds, in his last annual message, to complete the record, and sustain in advance the well-known forthcoming decision of the Supreme Court in this second Dred Scott case, to which I have alluded, "THAT NEITHER CONGRESS NOR THE TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE, NOR ANY HUMAN POWER, HAS ANY AUTHORITY TO ANNUL OR IMPAIR THIS VESTED RIGHT," claiming that the Supreme Court has finally established the right of every citizen to "TAKE HIS SLAVE PROPERTY INTO THE TERRITORIES, AND HAVE IT PROTECTED THERE UNDER THE CONSTITUTION." He would thus irrevocably fix the STATUS of all national Territories as slave Territories, and deprive the people of the power to alter or change it; and, as if to extinguish the last vestige of "POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY," the President declares that, if it "HAD BEEN DECIDED THAT EITHER CONGRESS OR A TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE POSSESSED THE POWER TO IMPAIR THIS RIGHT OF PROPERTY IN SLAVES, THE EVIL WOULD HAVE BEEN INTOLERABLE." He claims that the Supreme Court have the power, and should protect this class interest against the will of the people; and that Congress, if necessary, "MUST STRENGTHEN THEIR HANDS BY FURTHER LEGISLATION." Comment on such a political record is unnecessary.

During the Presidential contest of 1856, the Supreme Court and slave barons held their breath, and only breathed freely again after the smoke of the battle had cleared away, and they found that they had secured another four years' lease of power by the election of Mr. Buchanan. That result could only have happened then, and can only be repeated now, by the folly and division of their opponents, who were then, and are to-day, a large majority of the people.

About the time of the inauguration of Mr. Buchanan, the Dred Scott case was reargued, as ordered, and the court were now prepared to take the course so long and cautiously contemplated; when all the precedents of this tribunal, even their own decisions, and the adjudications of such men as Jay and Story and Marshall were to be overruled, and the doctrine officially proclaimed to the world, "that the Constitution of the United States recognized property in man."

In order that the nation might be prepared to submit to almost any new aggression of the slave barons, the leaders of this class interest, who always rule with an unrelenting despotism, saw to it that the outgoing President of the United States should prepare the party, and especially all the hungry swarm of applicants for official favor under the incoming Administration, to defend, in advance, the decision of the Supreme Court, whatever it might be.

In accordance with this cunningly-devised programme, President Pierce, in his last annual message, claimed that the people, in the election of Mr. Buchanan (although all knew he was elected by a minority of the votes), endorsed the Kansas-Nebraska act; and apprised them of the fact that this Dred Scott decision, although not at that time officially announced from the bench, had been agreed upon, and that the court "had finally determined this point, to wit: THAT CONGRESS HAD NO POWER TO EXCLUDE SLAVERY FROM STATES OR TERRITORIES, IN EVERY FORM IN WHICH THE QUESTION COULD ARISE." He thus advised, in advance, all the aspirants and politicians of the country, who desired favors or promotion at the hands of the slave barons, under the incoming administration of Mr. Buchanan, the course necessary for them to pursue, in order the more effectually to secure a recognition of their claims. The following extract from the

message referred to, though expressed in ambiguous and carefully selected language, applies to, and was intended to apply to, the Dred Scott case. The use of the words, "IN A LONG SERIES OF DECISIONS," was intended to mislead and deceive the masses of the people, for the court had never established any such doctrine as claimed by "A LONG SERIES OF DECISIONS," but had uniformly decided directly the reverse, so far as regards the power of Congress to exclude slavery from the Territories.

The manner in which the author of this part of the message (whom Colonel Benton alleges was Caleb Cushing, then Attorney General) couples the terms "PRIVATE RIGHTS," "NAVIGATION," "RELIGION," and "SERVITUDE," cannot fail to attract the attention of the careful reader. What rights of "RELIGION" were affected or secured by this decision, in either States or Territories, has not transpired. The President says:

"Thereupon this enactment [the Missouri compromise] ceased to have binding virtue in any sense, whether as respects the North or the South [BECAUSE THE NORTH WOULD NOT AGREE TO EXTEND IT TO THE PACIFIC], and so in effect it was treated on the occasion of the admission of the State of California, and the organization of the Territories of New Mexico, Utah, and Washington.

"Such was the state of the question when the time arrived for the organization of the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska. In the progress of constitutional inquiry and reflection, it had now at length come to be seen clearly that Congress does not possess constitutional power to impose restrictions of this character [the exclusion of slavery] upon any present or future State of the Union. IN A LONG SERIES OF DECISIONS, on the fullest argument, and after the most deliberate consideration, the Supreme Court of the United States had finally determined this point, IN EVERY FORM IN WHICH THE QUESTION COULD ARISE, whether as affecting public or private rights in the questions of PUBLIC DOMAIN, OF RELIGION, OF NAVIGATION, and of SERVITUDE."

Colonel Benton characterizes, and very justly, that part of the message from which the above extract is taken, as follows:

"The last annual message of Mr. Pierce was the last opportunity for this defensive pleading (declaring the Mis-



souri compromise unconstitutional, and sustaining the court), and being the last, it was carefully seized on and vigorously improved to the best advantage. The message was big with it. It was a large plea and a bold one, and conspicuously presented. In quantity, it filled eleven octavo pages (leaving but seventeen for all the appropriate subjects which belong to that official paper); in boldness it inaugurated a new era in our Presidential messages—the era of historical falsification in these high papers—heretofore considered the sacred receptacle of veracious history; in conspicuity, being thrust in front of the message, instead of being relegated to its fag-end, where such low matter should go, if, indeed, allowed to enter a message at all, which it never was before. Veracious history must rebuke this first attempt to make the Presidential annual message a vehicle of historical falsification; and the work is easily done, all the facts necessary to the correction of the fallacious statements being of record in the debates and Journals of Congress, and other authentic public evidence.”

Mr. Buchanan, in his inaugural address, referred to the forthcoming decision in the Dred Scott case, and with apparently great regard for this “AUGUST TRIBUNAL,” which in former years, and before it was regarded as partisan, he and the whole Democratic party had denounced as an unsafe depository of power, says :

“To their decision, in common with all good citizens, I shall cheerfully submit, whatever this may be.”

In reference to the differences of opinion that had arisen as to the point of time when the people of a Territory should have power to exclude slavery, he says :

“This is happily a matter of but little practical importance. Besides, it is a judicial question”—when, or why, or on whose authority, this became a judicial question, he does not inform the country—“which legitimately belongs to the Supreme Court of the United States, before whom it is now pending, and will, it is understood, be speedily and finally settled. To their decision, in common with all good citizens, I shall cheerfully submit, whatever this may be.”

These declarations of the outgoing and incoming Presidents simply meant that the politicians and applicants for official favor should not only endorse this decision themselves, but that they should prepare the minds of the people, so far as

possible, but especially the Democratic party, for one of the most startling decisions ever announced by any judicial tribunal in the world; and so successfully did this well-laid plot work, that partisans and place-hunters in many of the free States succeeded in having the decision of this court endorsed by their party conventions, with apparent enthusiasm, immediately after its delivery. If there had not been something unusual and alarming at the bottom of this forthcoming decision of the Supreme Court, in a case which only involved the title to an old superannuated black man, whose value was not one hundred dollars in any slave market in the world, and who, I believe, died within a year after this decision was made, would there have been any such anxiety about this case as was manifested by the slave barons? Can any gentleman on the administration side of the House answer the question? No, sir, he cannot; and it will not be attempted. This court has decided cases, time and again, involving the title to millions of property, and yet no President and no party conventions, or party press, ever in advance called upon or appealed to the litigants, much less a party, or the people at large, to submit to a forthcoming decision of this tribunal.

After all this skilful preparation, comes the long-delayed decision of the court, which substantially declared, that as black men had no natural or political rights, and were not citizens, that they could not maintain a suit for their freedom, or have a hearing for any purpose in the courts of the United States. Had the court stopped right here, and contented themselves simply with deciding all the points there were in the case, as I understand it, there would have been no such extraordinary effort on the part of the slave barons, through the official influence and patronage of two Presidents, to induce the party and people of the Northern States to submit to this decision. For though I regard the declaration of the court that a black man, the descendant of Africans who were stolen from Africa and enslaved by pirates, has no claims either to a hearing or protection to life and liberty from this department of the government as monstrous, and contrary to the spirit and genius of our institutions, which should protect and defend the rights of every

human being, however humble, within our jurisdiction, yet I say, if this had been all of the case, and the court had not traveled out of the record in its attempt to get hold of, and pass upon, political questions, which were not and could not properly be before it, there would have been no anxiety or alarm on the part of the slave barons as to the probable submission of the great mass of the people to this decision, especially of their Northern allies.

On this point, the late Colonel Benton, in his examination of the Dred Scott case (page 5), justly remarks:

“The court, in repulsing jurisdiction of the original case, and dismissing it for the want of the right to try it [after dismissing it], found great difficulty in getting at its merits — at the merits of the dismissed case itself; and certainly, still greater difficulty in getting at the merits of two great political questions, which lie so far behind it. The court evidently felt this difficulty, and worked sedulously to avoid it—sedulously at building a bridge long and slender, upon which a majority of these judges crossed the wide and deep gulf which separated the personal rights of Dred Scott and his family from the political institutions and the political rights of the whole body of the American people.”

Mr. Justice Wayne, in constructing one of the spans of this shaky and unsubstantial judicial bridge, on which a majority of the court crossed the deep gulf referred to by Colonel Benton, assigned as a reason for traveling out of the record, and passing upon the constitutionality of the Missouri compromise, its necessity, in order to give peace to the country. He said:

“The case involves private rights of great value, and constitutional principles of the highest importance, about which there had become such a difference of opinion, that the peace and harmony of the country required the settlement of them by judicial decision.”

From whence the Supreme Court derived their authority to settle political questions, in order, as Mr. Justice Wayne says, to secure “PEACE AND HARMONY” between contending political parties, neither he, nor either of the judges concurring in this opinion, have seen proper to inform the public.

When the court thus traveled out of the record, and assumed to pass upon the power of Congress and the Terri-

torial Legislatures to prohibit and exclude slavery in the Territories of the nation, and declare, as it did in this case, that neither Congress nor a Territorial Legislature possessed the power, notwithstanding the uniform practice of the government for seventy years had been to exclude and prohibit slavery by Congressional enactment, there was fear, and just cause for fear, on the part of the slave barons, the President, and the court itself, that the people would not submit to a decision that virtually changed their Constitution. Hence the great anxiety of the privileged class — for whose sole benefit this decision was made — to secure acquiescence in the endorsement by the people of this usurpation of the Supreme Court.

To secure this, the first necessary step was to compel the President to proscribe all the leading men in the party, and all applicants for office, who did not submit to, and accept with alacrity, the decision of the court as "final." These were required to join the government in the use of all the power and patronage at its command, and the unscrupulous use of all party appliances, to secure the most unqualified endorsement of this decision by every State convention of the party in the North, thus making a judicial decision a party question; and, so far from settling the points assumed to be adjudicated by the court, making the opinion of the court itself a new and a test question of party fidelity, "BRINGING THE COURT INTO THE POLITICAL FIELD," as Colonel Benton has said, and making the new questions thus raised "THE VERY WATCHWORDS OF PARTIES." For assuredly this is a question which must become far more bitter and malignant than the slavery question itself, when the people fully comprehend the alarming power assumed by this irresponsible department of the government to change or annul their Constitution at pleasure. I say irresponsible department; because, holding their offices for life, and not amenable to the people for their acts, they have no fear of removal, and do not regard, as Mr. Jefferson has said, the power of impeachment even as a "scarecrow."

The important points which the Supreme Court assumed to decide for the interest of the slave barons were : first, that

no slave, or the descendant of a slave, could maintain a suit at law for any purpose in any of the courts of the United States.

This decision was demanded and deemed necessary, in order that the precedent might be settled favorable to this class interest, while the pro-slavery party had possession of the courts, so that thereafter no slave, or person held as such, should be allowed to bring suit for his or her freedom, or sue out a writ of HABEAS CORPUS before any of said courts, to compel the party holding any such persons as slaves to show by what authority said person or persons were distrained of their liberty, unless the court should first overrule this decision.

The point thus gained by the slave barons was an important one, because it made it necessary thereafter for all persons suing for their freedom, to bring their suits in the State courts, where, the law-makers, the judges, and juries, being all slaveholders, there would be no question that the interests and wishes of the privileged class would be omnipotent. But little danger could be apprehended, with such laws as are enacted by Southern States to guard and protect this class interest, of any persons obtaining their freedom, though they might be so white that they would readily pass for white persons, and though it might be well known to the claimant, as well as judge and jury, that the person thus held was born free. Hence the importance of this point to the slaveholder, else such suits as I have alluded to might, and doubtless would, become troublesome and inconvenient to the privileged class, as there are a number of States whose Constitutions and laws do not establish slavery as an institution, but simply recognize the relation of master and slave without establishing the right.

2. That the Constitution, of its own inherent force, extends to all Territories as soon as acquired. On this point, I quote the testimony of Mr. Benton, because it is of great value, as showing what views were entertained by all departments of the government on this question up to the time this decision was made. (I do not, however, desire to be understood as endorsing Mr. Benton's views in full on this point.)

He says, in his Notification to the Reader, in his volume examining the Dred Scott case:

“ Without going further into that history, in this brief POSTSCRIPTUM notification, and confining himself to the precise point in issue, the writer will say that the administration of Mr. Monroe expressly, by unanimous decision, and each House of Congress impliedly, and without division, decided that no part of the Constitution and no act of Congress went to a Territory unless extended to it by act of Congress.”

3. That the Constitution recognized slaves as property as well as persons, and, because thus recognized, Congress had no power to prohibit the introduction of, or to exclude after it was introduced, this species of property from the Territories; and

4. “ If (as the court say) Congress cannot exercise this power (to exclude slavery from the Territories), it will hardly be claimed that it can delegate the power to a Territorial Legislature.”

In this summary manner, and in these words, did the Supreme Court, whose decisions Mr. Douglas pretends to endorse, dispose of his boasted theory of popular sovereignty, and thus were the deception and fraud practiced upon the people of the North in 1856 unblushingly proclaimed.

The doctrine that the Constitution of the United States recognizes slaves as property, and that Congress has not the power to exclude it from the Territories, having been established, so far as the authority of the Supreme Court and the united voice of a great party can establish it, the next step in the series of aggressions and usurpations contemplated by this tribunal, and the class who created and control it, is to declare that slavery cannot lawfully be excluded from any of the States of the Union; that so long as one State in the Union recognizes and sanctions slaveholding, whether by her Constitution, her laws, or custom, slaveholding shall be legal in all the Territories, and in every State, and neither Congress nor State nor Territorial Legislatures shall have the power to prohibit it. It is difficult to see how it can be lawfully excluded from a Territory or State, or on what just principle the purchase and importation of slaves is declared

piracy, if it be true that the national Constitution recognizes slaves as property; for article six of the Constitution of the United States declares that

“This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the laws and Constitution of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.”

Any legislative enactment, therefore, either by Territories or States, excluding the master with his slaves; or, if he enter a Territory or State, destroying his property by depriving him of it without compensation, must be clearly unconstitutional, as must also be the law which declares the slave trade piracy; for, if slaves are property by virtue of a constitutional provision, they are property, not only in the Territories and in all the States — Ohio as well as Missouri — but are also property in every part of the world wherever the flag of the country protects the lives and property of her citizens. The only exception that can possibly be made to this rule, provided the premises claimed be admitted, would be where our citizens, with their slave property, were temporarily residing in or passing through the territory of a foreign nation whose laws prohibited slavery. In such a country they probably could not hold them without express treaty stipulations. But if a citizen of the United States, under the protection of his country's flag, buys slaves in Africa, or in any other country, they are as legally his as though he purchased them in South Carolina, provided slavery is not prohibited by law in the country where the purchase is made. And there being no law in Africa to prohibit slaveholding, but a usage recognizing it, the act of Congress that prohibits citizens of the United States from purchasing slaves there, or, if he purchase them, deprives him of his property without compensation, the moment he sets foot on the soil of his own State with them, and, in addition, inflicts the terrible penalty of death upon him for having in his possession persons who are recognized by the Constitution of his country as property, is clearly unconstitutional.

The Supreme Court, however, did not dare, when deciding the Dred Scott case, to declare, in so many words, that the States of this Union could not exclude slavery and prohibit its existence within their jurisdiction. The supporters of the slave power knew that the public mind of the North was not prepared for such a declaration of their purposes. They therefore preferred to take the safer course, and first secure the endorsement and acquiescence of the people in the Dred Scott decision, knowing that the logical result of that decision would legalize slavery in all the States and Territories of the Republic, notwithstanding their State Constitutions and laws might prohibit it.

Judge Nelson, of the majority of the Supreme Court, who concurred in the Dred Scott opinion, is the only judge who approached near enough to this point to give any intimation of what would be his views in a case such as Virginia has carried up from the Supreme Court of New York. In stating his views, he admitted that the several States of the Union had legislative power over all subjects, except in cases where the power is restrained by the Constitution of the United States. He adds:

“The law of the State is supreme over the subject of slavery within its jurisdiction, except in cases where the power is restrained by the Constitution.”

And for this opinion he may be nominated at the Baltimore Convention on the 18th of next month. But if the Constitution of the United States recognizes slaves as property, the State cannot legally exclude them, for the national Constitution “is the supreme law of the land,” and provides, in article four, section second, expressly that

“The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the citizens in the several States.”

This provision secures beyond question the right of every citizen of a State to pass through or reside in any State, with any and all descriptions of property recognized by the national Constitution, and all laws, enactments, and judicial decisions, of every State, destroying or depriving a citizen of any State of this right, is violative not only of the letter



but the spirit of the national Constitution, if slaves are property by virtue of any provision of that instrument. Hence I claim, and always have claimed, that either Jefferson and the Republican party are right on this question, or Calhoun and his disciples are right. There can be but two sides to the question.

But, Mr. Chairman, I do not believe that the Constitution of my country recognizes property in man. If I did, then, sir, I never could, and I never would, have laid my hand upon the Bible, and taken such an oath as I did when I became a member of this House, to support such a Constitution; and which, by becoming a member of this body, I must either violate or vote to sustain and protect the right of the master to his slave property in all the Territories and in all the States of the American Union, by the whole power of the government—by the use of the army and navy and the purse of the nation. For, if such are his vested rights under the Constitution, I cheerfully concede it to be the duty of those who administer the government to give him adequate protection, to the full extent of their power and jurisdiction. I would simply decline participating in such an Administration; for I do not subscribe to the extraordinary statesmanship of the author of the Kansas-Nebraska act, which concedes the constitutional right of one man to property in the person of another; placing it exactly upon the same tenure of other property, and then admitting that he may be legally deprived of that property, without compensation, by what he terms the “UNFRIENDLY LEGISLATION” of a Territorial Legislature, which even he does not pretend to claim can exercise sovereign power.

Sir, if I could believe that our fathers who formed this Union, which I have been taught to love, and this Constitution, which I have been taught to cling to as the palladium of our liberties—I say, if I could be made to believe that they intended to declare or did covertly and insidiously declare in any line or section of that Constitution that there could be property in man, then I would cease to cherish or venerate their memories, and, rather than hold a seat on this floor for a single hour, and by holding a seat here be obliged by my

oath to sanction and support the institution of human slavery, I would become an alien to such a government, and refuse to be classed as a citizen with a people who, with the light of centuries beaming upon them, persisted in the crime of upholding a Constitution which recognized property in man.

But, Mr. Chairman, it is claimed that the question as to whether the Constitution recognizes property in man or not, is no longer an open question; that it is a question which cannot with safety be submitted for determination to the people, or be intrusted to the individual opinions of their Representatives in Congress, nor to the officers in any of the co-ordinate departments of the government, except the Supreme Court.

It is said that the question has been, as the President informs us, "FINALLY" and authoritatively settled for us by that "AUGUST TRIBUNAL." Men of all parties, in office and out of office, are called upon by the party through whose instrumentality this decision was procured, to submit to and endorse it; and the demand is made and insisted on, that, by our votes and acts here, we shall conform the legislation of the country to this political decision, without regard to what may have been the action of the government or the opinions entertained by the leading statesmen of the past and present day upon this question. Thus, sir, if this theory is to be acquiesced in by the country, all individual responsibility in the government ceases; and I must swear, and every officer of the government must swear, to support the Constitution, not as I or they may understand it, but as a majority of the nine men who compose the Supreme Court understand and interpret it for us. And this, sir, is called Democracy in the year of grace 1860!

Sir, this kind of Democracy I repudiate, and appeal to the common sense of every man, and the record of our fathers, to prove that it is a spurious species of Democracy.

Sir, when I took an oath to support the Constitution, I swore to support it as I understood it, and not as a majority of the Supreme Court may understand it, or any other number of men, individually or collectively. On this point I

believe the Supreme Court has no more right to control the action of members of Congress, than Congress has the right to interfere with and dictate a decision in any case before that tribunal for adjudication.

In Colonel Benton's introductory note to his examination of the Dred Scott case, he uses the following language, which I fully endorse:

“Congress holds its powers from the Constitution, where every grant of authority is preceded by the words, ‘shall have power to,’ and to the support of which the members are sworn. The grant of power is in the Constitution, and the oath is to the Constitution; and it is written, that its words, always the same, may be always seen, and no excuse for disregarding them. The duty of the member, his allegiance, his fealty, is to the Constitution; and in performance of this duty, in the discharge of this allegiance, in the keeping of this fealty, he must be governed by the words of the instrument, and by the dictates of his own conscience. The member may enlighten himself, and should, with counsels of others; but as authority, as a rule of obligation, as a guide to conduct, the Constitution and the oath alone can govern; and were it otherwise, was Congress to look to judicial interpretation for its powers, it would soon cease to have any fixed rules to go by; would soon have as many diverse interpretations as different courts, and, like the Holy Scripture in the hands of councils and commentators, would soon cease to be what its framers made it.

“The power of the court is judicial — so declared in the Constitution, and so held in theory, if not in practice. It is limited to cases ‘in law and equity;’ and though sometimes encroaching upon political subjects, it is without right, without authority, and without the means of enforcing its decisions. It can issue no MANDAMUS to Congress or the people, nor punish them for disregarding its decisions, or even attacking them. Far from being bound by their decisions, Congress may proceed criminally against the judges for making them, when deemed criminally wrong — one House impeach, and the other try, as done in the famous case of Judge Chase.

“In assuming to decide these questions [constitutionality of the Missouri compromise, etc.], it is believed the court committed two great errors: FIRST, in the assumption to try such questions; SECONDLY, in deciding them as they did. And it is certain that the decisions are contrary to the uniform action of all departments of the government — one of them for thirty-six years, and the other for seventy years—

and in their effects upon each are equivalent to an alteration of the Constitution, by inserting new clauses in it, which could not have been put in it at the time that instrument was made, nor at any time since, nor now."

As long ago as when a bill for the organization of the Territory of Oregon was under consideration of the Senate of the United States, an attempt was made to get this political question of the power of Congress over the subject of slavery in the Territories in shape, so that at the proper time (that is, when the court was so constituted as to suit the slave barons) it could be carried up on an agreed case, and decided as the Dred Scott case was decided.

Hon. John Bell, then a Senator of the United States from Tennessee, opposed the bill, and declared "THAT THE COURT WAS THE WEAKEST OF THE THREE CO-ORDINATE BRANCHES OF THE GOVERNMENT—TOO WEAK TO COMMAND OBEDIENCE, OR TO SETTLE SUCH QUESTIONS; AND HE DREW THE INFERENCE THAT A DECISION OF IT BEFORE A TRIBUNAL SO FEEBLE MIGHT BREAK DOWN THE COURT, WHILE IT FAILED TO SATISFY THE PUBLIC MIND." The result of the action of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case testifies how just and wise were the conclusions of that distinguished Senator.

General Jackson, in his message returning the bill for the recharter of the Bank of the United States, replies, in the following well-timed remarks, to the claim then set up, that as the Supreme Court had decided the constitutionality of a similar charter creating this same bank, it was the DUTY of Congress and the Executive to acquiesce in that decision:

"If the opinion of the Supreme Court covered the whole ground of this act, it ought not to control the co-ordinate authorities of this government. The Congress, the Executive, and the Court, must, each for itself, be guided by its own opinion of the Constitution. Each public officer, who takes an oath to support the Constitution, swears that he will support it as he understands it, and not as it is understood by others. It is as much the duty of the House of Representatives, of the Senate, and of the President, to decide upon the constitutionality of any bill or resolution which may be presented to them for passage or approval, as it is of the supreme judges, when it may be brought before them for judicial decision. The opinion of the judges has no more authority over Congress than the opinion of Congress over the judges; and, on

that point, the President is independent of both. The authority of the Supreme Court must not, therefore, be permitted to control the Congress or the Executive when acting in their legislative capacities, but to have only such influence as the force of their reasoning may deserve."

Such, sir, were the opinions of two of the most illustrious Democratic statesmen of the past generation on this question of the power of one department of the government to bind or control by any decision of theirs the action of any other co-ordinate department, or of any member thereof. These opinions were entertained by nearly all the leading statesmen until the slave barons obtained complete ascendancy in the government, and by no one was these opinions more distinctly and fully maintained than by the present Chief Magistrate, as will be seen by the following extract from a speech delivered by him in the Senate of the United States, on the 7th of July, 1841, which may be found in the tenth volume of the Congressional Globe, No. 2, page 163:

"But even if the Judiciary had settled the question, I should never hold myself bound by their decision whilst acting in a legislative character. Unlike the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Bates], I shall never consent to place the political rights and liberties of this people in the hands of any judicial tribunal. It was, therefore, with the utmost astonishment I heard the Senator declare, that he considered the expositions of the Constitution by the Judiciary to be equally binding upon us as the expositions of the moral law by the Saviour of mankind, contained in the Gospel, were upon Christians; and that these judicial expositions were of equal authority with the text of the Constitution. This, sir, is an infallibility which was never before claimed for any human tribunal; an infallibility which would convert free-men into abject slaves; an infallibility which would have rendered the famous sedition law as sacred as the Constitution itself, the Judiciary having decided this law to be constitutional; and which would thus have annihilated, throughout the whole extent of this Union, the liberty of the press and the freedom of speech. No, sir, no; it is not the genius of our institutions to consider mortal men as infallible.

"No man holds in higher estimation than I do the memory of Chief Justice Marshall; but I should never have consented to make even him the final arbiter between the government and people of this country on questions of constitutional liberty. The experience of all ages and countries

has demonstrated that judges instinctively lean towards the prerogatives of Government; and it is notorious that the court, during the whole period which he presided over it, embracing so many years of its existence, has inclined towards the highest assertion of Federal power. That this has been done honestly and conscientiously, I entertain not a doubt."

Sir, if the political opinions of a majority of the Supreme Court in this Dred Scott case are to assume the form of a decree, and be "IRREVOCABLE," as is claimed by the President in his annual message, and all future political decrees of this tribunal are also to be "IRREVOCABLE" and binding upon the Democratic party, as is claimed by the leaders of this party, and this monstrous assumption of the slave barons is to be acquiesced in and sustained by the people, in the election of another pro-slavery President, then indeed will the revolution inaugurated by Mr. Calhoun, less than twenty-five years ago, be complete. There will then no longer be either free Territories or free States in the American Union, but every State and every Territory, so far as the National Government can decree it, will be consecrated to the everlasting curse of human bondage.

Now, sir, as to the propriety of intrusting this Judicial department of the government with the powers claimed for it by the present Administration party. On this point I prefer to quote from the speeches and writings of some of the most distinguished men who aided in the formation of the government.

John Randolph, of Roanoke, said:

"To me it appears that the power which has the right of passing, without appeal, on the validity of your laws, is your sovereign." . . . "But are we not as deeply interested in the true exposition of the Constitution as the judges can be? With all due deference to their talents, is not Congress as capable of forming a correct opinion as they are? Are not its members acting under a responsibility to public opinion, which can and will check their aberrations from duty? Let a case, not an imaginary one, be stated: Congress violates the Constitution by fettering the press; the judicial corrective is applied to; far from protecting the liberty of the citizen, or the letter of the Constitution, you find them outdoing the Legislature in zeal—pressing the

common law of England to their service where the sedition law did not apply. Suppose your reliance had been altogether on this broken staff, and not on the elective principle; your press might have been enchained till doomsday, your citizens incarcerated for life; and where is your remedy?"

Joseph H. Nicholson, of Maryland, said:

"By what authority are the judges to be raised above the law and above the Constitution? Where is the charter which places the sovereignty of this country in their hands? Give them the powers and the independence now contended for, and they will require nothing more; for your government becomes a despotism, and they become your rulers. They are to decide upon the lives, the liberties, and the property of your citizens; they have an absolute veto upon your laws, by declaring them null and void at pleasure; they are to introduce at will the laws of a foreign country, differing essentially with us upon the great principles of government; and, after being clothed with this arbitrary power, they are beyond the control of the nation, as they are not to be affected by any laws which the people by their representatives can pass. If all this be true, if this doctrine be established in the extent which is now contended for, the Constitution is not worth the time we are now spending upon it. It is, as it has been called by its enemies, mere parchment; for these judges, thus rendered omnipotent, may overleap the Constitution, and trample on your laws; they may laugh the Legislature to scorn, and set the nation at defiance.

"To me it is a matter of indifference by what name you call them; I care not whether it be kings or judges. Arm them with power, and the danger is the same. For myself, I have no hesitation in declaring, that I would rather be subject to the absolute sway of one tyrant than to that of thirty; as I would prefer the mild despotism of China to the hated aristocracy of Venice, where the vilest wretch was encouraged as a secret informer, and the lion's mouth was ever gaping for accusation."

Robert Williams, of North Carolina, said:

"If this doctrine is to extend to the length gentlemen contend, then is the sovereignty of the government to be swallowed up in the vortex of the Judiciary. Whatever the other departments of the government may do, they can undo. You can pass a law, but they can annul it. Will not the people be astonished to hear that their laws depend upon the will of the judges, who are themselves independent of all law?"

Nathaniel Macon, of North Carolina, on the same day said:

“According to some gentlemen, we were to regard the Judiciary more than the law, and both more than the Constitution. It was a misfortune the judges were not equal in infallibility to the God who made them. The truth was, if the judge was a party man out of power, he would be a party man in. The office would not change human nature.”

Mr. Grayson, one of the best and ablest men in the old Republican party in the days of Jefferson, said, in speaking of the claim set up by the Federalists for the supreme power and purity of this court, that—

“Such had been the argument in all countries where a concession of power had been in agitation. But that power ought to have such checks and balances as will prevent bad men from abusing it. It ought to be granted on a supposition that men will be bad, for it may eventually be so. With respect to the Judiciary, my grand objection is, that it will interfere with the State Judiciaries; there being no superintending central power to keep in order these two contending jurisdictions. This is an objection which is unanswerable in its nature. In England they have great courts, which have great and interfering powers. But the CONTROLLING POWER of Parliament, which is a central focus, corrects them. But here each party is to shift for itself. There is no arbiter or power to correct their interference. Recurrence can only be had to the sword. The State Judiciary is the principal defense we have. If its independence is to be destroyed, our only defensive armor is taken from us. Something has been said of the independence of the Federal Judges. I will only observe THAT IT IS ON AS CORRUPT A BASIS AS THE ART OF MAN CAN PLACE IT.”

The Hon. James Barbour, United States Senator from Virginia, made a report on the 5th of December, 1820, on the petition of Matthew Lyon, asking for redress for wrongs suffered under the sedition act, which has been sustained by the Supreme Court. He said:

“The committee entertain a high respect for the purity and intelligence of the Judiciary. But it is a rational respect, limited by a knowledge of the frailty of human nature, and the theory of the Constitution, which declares not only that judges may err in opinion, but also may commit crimes, and hence has provided a tribunal for the trial of offenders.



“In times of violent party excitement, agitating the whole nation, to expect that judges will be entirely exempt from its influence, argues a profound ignorance of mankind. Although clothed with the ermine, they are still men, and carry into the judgment seat the passions and motives common to their kind. Their decisions on party questions reflect their individual opinions, which frequently betray them unconsciously into error. To balance the judgment of a whole people by that of two or three men, no matter what may be their official elevation, is to exalt the creature of the Constitution above its creator, and to assail the foundation of our political fabric, which is, that the decision of the people is infallible, from which there is no appeal but to Heaven.”

Thomas Jefferson was one of the most earnest and able opponents of the doctrine that the court is supreme, and above all the co-ordinate departments of the government. In a letter to William T. Barry, dated Monticello, July 2. 1822, he said:

“We already see the power installed for life, responsible to no authority (for impeachment is not even a scarecrow), advancing with a noiseless and steady pace to the great object of consolidation. The foundations are already deeply laid, by their decisions, for the annihilation of constitutional State rights, and the removal of every check, every counterpoise, to the engulfing power of which themselves are to make a sovereign part. If ever this vast country is brought under a single government, it will be one of the most extensive corruption, indifferent, and incapable of a wholesome care over so wide a spread of surface. This will not be borne, and you will have to choose between reformation and revolution. If I know the spirit of this country, the one or the other is inevitable. Before the canker is become inveterate, before its venom has reached so much of the body politic as to get beyond control, remedy should be applied. Let the future appointments of judges be for four or six years, and renewable by the President and Senate. This will bring their conduct, at regular periods, under revision and probation, and may keep them in equipoise between the general and special governments. We have erred in this point by copying England, where certainly it is a good thing to have the judges independent of the King. But we have omitted to copy their caution, also, which makes a judge removable on the address of both legislative houses. That there should be public functionaries independent of the

nation, whatever may be their demerit, is a solecism, in a republic, of the first order of absurdity and inconsistency."

I must, however, close this valuable and instructive testimony, which might be multiplied indefinitely, and conclude by quoting the characteristic answers given by Franklin in the Federal Convention, when asked: "WHAT MEANS WOULD SECURE THE BEST, PUREST, AND ABLEST MEN FOR JUDGES?" Franklin arose and answered: "IMMEDIATE ACCOUNTABILITY TO THE PEOPLE." He was then asked: "WHAT PROVISIONS WERE BEST CALCULATED TO PRESERVE THESE MEN PURE AND ABLE WHEN PLACED IN OFFICE?" To which Franklin at once responded: "LIMITED TENURES, SHORT PERIODS IN OFFICE, AND IMMEDIATE ACCOUNTABILITY TO THE PEOPLE." This was Democracy in the days of Jefferson, Franklin, and Jackson. Contrast it with the Democracy of James Buchanan and the so-called Democratic party of 1860, and tell me if the doctrines of ancient Federalism and the teachings of the Administration party to-day are not identical? Yet because, as individuals and as a party, we will not cease to venerate the teaching and be guided by the advice of the Republicans of the Revolution, but choose rather to carry out in the administration of the government their convictions, which are also our own, we are denounced as faithless to the Constitution and the Union, by a class interest, who, by diplomacy and stealth, have obtained complete ascendancy in the old Democracy; who, though clinging to the name, have changed its mission and purpose from one of republicanism and liberty to one of despotism and slavery.

Mr. Chairman, this class interest have for years been as dominant in the government as they are to-day in the old Democratic party; and so accustomed have they become to dictating to, and exacting obedience of, their Northern allies, that they are not a little discomfited in finding that the members of the Republican party are made of sterner stuff, and that all Northern people are not such as Randolph described those to be who defended the institution of human slavery.

Sir, I come not here as the representative of a class interest, much less to be dictated to and told what my constitutional obligations are by the representatives of such an interest. I come as the representative of a free people, who

are as loyal to the Constitution and the Union as the same number of citizens in any other State, or in any Congressional district of the Nation—a constituency who will exact of any man whom they commission to represent them upon this floor, not only fidelity to the Constitution and Union, but, above all, fidelity to freedom—a constituency who will demand that no act or vote of their Representative shall be circumscribed by the narrow bounds that limit the geographical division of countries which make up his Congressional district; but that in every vote he gives here he will see to it that equal and exact justice is withheld from no locality or State in the Union. With this view of my duty, sir, and the obligations I assumed when the oath of office was administered to me, I cannot, and will not, knowingly give any vote that will impair or destroy the constitutional rights of a single individual, nor of any State. Although I am thus national, and represent a constituency who are equally national and conservative in their views, yet I am denounced, and the party to which I belong is denounced, as hostile to the Union. Sir, I deny it. Never has there a Republican uttered a disunion sentiment on this floor or elsewhere; and no Republican has either proposed or given a vote for any measure, here or elsewhere, that would not have commanded the cordial support of Washington and Jefferson, and the early fathers of the Republic. But we are also denounced as a sectional party; and this charge of sectionalism has been made, and so persistently made, by the Administration party, both North and South, that some people in the country act as if they believed it; and by no one has this change been made with more vehemence than by Mr. Douglas himself.

In the Illinois campaign of 1858, this was the staple of Mr. Douglas's speeches; and Mr. Lincoln, our present gallant standard-bearer, in one of his masterly answers to Mr. Douglas, after replying to and refuting the charge, made the following remarkable prediction, which has been fully realized by the action of the Charleston Convention:

“I ask his [Mr. Douglas's] attention, also, to the fact, that by the rule of nationality, he is himself fast becoming

sectional. I ask his attention to the fact, that his speeches would not go as current now, south of the Ohio River, as they have formerly gone there. I ask his attention to the fact, that he felicitates himself to-day, that all the Democrats of the free States are agreeing with him. If he has not thought of this, I commend to his consideration the evidence of his own declaration, on this day, of his becoming sectional too. I see it rapidly approaching. Whatever may be the result of this ephemeral contest between Judge Douglas and myself, I see the day rapidly approaching when his pill of sectionalism, which he has been thrusting down the throats of Republicans for years past, will be crowded down his own throat."

But it has been claimed that we were a sectional party, because we had no representative of the Republican party on this floor from a slaveholding State, while the Administration party have a few allies from the free States. Let me say, in all fairness, to Southern gentlemen, that if the Northern Representatives on this floor, who support this Administration, openly avowed the pro-slavery doctrines in their own States which are daily uttered here by four-fifths of their party, without rebuke from them, the places "which now know them would know them no more forever." A majority of those who are now upon this floor from the North, claiming affiliation with the so-called Democratic party, obtained their places by as impassioned appeals to the people in favor of free institutions and free States as were ever made by Republicans, and by insisting that they were not only hostile to slavery extension, but that they were even better friends of freedom than the most ultra members of the Republican party. But let me add, further, that if the Republicans, and those opposed to slavery in the free States, were to forbid, by law and by mob violence, as successfully as Southern States have done, the free exercise of the elective franchise, and the discussion, either through the press or on the stump, of the principles of the so-called Democratic party, you would not have, to-day, an ally upon this floor, except, perhaps, from one or two districts, in all the Northern States. Only because of this toleration and respect for the constitutional obligations which are binding alike upon every State, are there any supporters of the Administration party

upon this floor from the entire North. If the same system of tyranny and terrorism prevailed against the minority in the free States that in the Southern States is universal towards us, no Chief Magistrate could again be elected, representing the special interest of a sectional party, as was done in 1856.

It is only our toleration of the freedom of speech and of the press that permits even the existence of a party to-day among us, which in the name of Democracy, sends Representatives here who covertly support, apologize for, and defend the most extravagant demands of the slave barons. Yet the charge is made and repeated, again and again, upon this floor, that we are not only a sectional party, but that we disregard and trample upon the Constitution which we are sworn to support. I ask gentlemen to make their charges more specific, and not to deal so indiscriminately in generalities. I ask them to point out the proposed policy, or any vote that has been given by the Representatives of the Republican party, as a body, in this House or in any Congress since the Republican party was organized, that is violative of the constitutional rights of any section of the Union. I know of no vote they have given, or of any proposition they have made, that would not have commanded the support of Washington and Franklin, of Jay and Jefferson, of Adams and Madison; and I am content to follow in the footsteps of such men, and accept their interpretation of the Constitution, rather than the so-called interpretation of the Supreme Court. Sir, indiscriminate, wholesale charges, such as have been repeated with so much vehemence upon this floor, come with a poor grace from the Representatives of States that openly trample upon and disregard not only the plainest provisions of the national Constitution, but the obligations due from the citizens of one civilized country to the citizens of another.

The Constitution guarantees the freedom of speech and of the press, and provides expressly that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States;" and are not these plain provisions of the Constitution daily violated throughout the entire South? Can a citizen of any State speak or publish the sentiments of Washington and Jefferson and Henry upon

the question of slavery in the Southern States? Can he even reside in or pass through those States, and be free from danger or of personal violence at the hands of infuriated mobs? The history of the country for the past few years gives a full answer to the question. In many of the States, the severest legislative enactments have been passed against the liberty of speech and of the press; the United States mails are even rifled and private correspondence subjected to a censorship not tolerated in the monarchies of Europe. States that were most violent in their hostility to the alien and sedition laws have, by a strange combination of events, become the enactors of sedition laws themselves, and mob violence has become so common, that it is now regarded as the settled policy of the dominant party in the South, wherever they have the numerical force thus to punish and overawe their political opponents.

But not only are the plainest provisions of the national Constitution thus violated, and the comity due from one State to another, and from the citizen of one State to the citizen of another, disregarded, but laws are absolutely passed making odious discriminations in favor of persons who are not citizens of the United States. Thus, if a steamer of Massachusetts or New York sail into Charleston or New Orleans, having on board colored persons, who are free, and, by the laws of the States named, are citizens, they are subject to police regulations whose severity has no parallel in any civilized nation on the face of the earth. This is where they are citizens of one of the States of the Union, and have a constitutional guaranty for protection. A special provision is made, however, to exempt all colored persons who are subjects of Great Britain and France, and perhaps other foreign governments. Thus an odious and unconstitutional distinction is deliberately made against our own citizens, and in favor of the citizens of foreign nations. But, worse than this, unconstitutional enactments are passed and enforced, which consign free citizens of the Northern States, guilty of no crime, to hopeless slavery. The laws of Congress, made in conformity with our treaty stipulations and the enlightened sentiment of the civilized world, punishing the African slave trade as piracy, are openly disregarded, and the power of the National Government declared to be impo-

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tent; and yet scarcely a speech is made upon this floor by members from these States in which they do not proclaim their devotion to law and order, the decision of courts, and their fidelity to the Constitution and the Union, which simply means obedience to such laws as they desire enacted, submission to such decisions of courts as they can dictate, and fidelity to the Constitution and the Union so long only as they are intrusted by the people with the administration of the government and the interpretation of the Constitution. When this ceases, as I trust and believe it will on the 4th of March, 1861, their fidelity to law will cease, their love of the Union will cease, and their new-born veneration for that "AUGUST TRIBUNAL" of which we have heard so much of late—the Supreme Court—will also cease; and they will be, **IF THEIR THREATS ARE TO BE PUT INTO EXECUTION, IN OPEN REBELLION AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT, AND ENEMIES OF THE CONSTITUTION AND THE UNION.**

But, Mr. Chairman, it is also charged that because, as a party we are opposed to the extension and nationalization of slavery in the Republic, and condemn the inhuman laws enacted for the maintenance and perpetuity of that institution, we must of necessity favor the equality of the negro race with our own, and desire to see them intermarry and become one people. Sir, this cry of "negro equality" is about all the argument now left the Northern allies of the slave barons, to be used in the free States in their appeals to their constituents, when justifying themselves for the support they uniformly give the slave interest in Congress.

Now, sir, what are the facts on this point of negro equality? First, the Republican party oppose the further spread of slavery and the increase of political power in the hands of slaveholders, because they believe the enslavement of one human being by another, or of one race by another, to be one of the greatest wrongs that man or government can inflict. They do not desire to see this government in the hands of men who will use it to favor and strengthen such a policy. Second, they believe the enslavement of any race by another, injures the race who enslaves, as well as their victims; and that the contact of any free people with slaves demoralizes and degrades the free people. In support of this

proposition, I appeal to the history of the world for six thousand years to sustain me. But if all the past were a blank; if all history were silent, and slavery was unknown to man until the inauguration of this government, and all we know about it and its blasting and blighting effects was what we have learned, by sad experience, in the United States, I think, even here, we would have just cause to desire not only its exclusion from all new States and Territories, but its final extinction on every foot of soil over which our national Constitution extends. This was the hope, the expectation and the prayer, of the illustrious men who achieved our independence and made our Constitution.

Sir, the charge of "NEGRO EQUALITY" and "AMALGAMATION" comes with a very bad grace from either the Northern or Southern wing of this pro-slavery party; and, in order that I may not be misquoted or misunderstood in what I propose to offer on this point, let me say, right here, that while I shall condemn in unmistakable terms the institution of slavery as a social and political system, and the crime of amalgamation, which is inseparable from it, I exempt, with pleasure, from any sweeping denunciation which I may make, thousands of good and true men, who find themselves born to this inheritance, and whose whole lives give assurance to the world that their hearts are better than the system. Intrust a class of men in any society or government with absolute power over a servile race, and the bad men will not only use it and abuse it, as I shall show, but, by their clamorous cry of danger to the State, will perpetrate and give sanction to outrages that good and true men will be powerless to prevent. It is not that Southern men and slaveholders are worse than other men, but because they are no better, that it is unsafe, if it were not in itself an indefensible wrong, to intrust them with absolute power over any part of the human race.

And now, sir, what are the practical effects of slavery, as exhibited in the working out of this much-talked-of and universally-denounced negro equality and amalgamation of the races? Has not slavery corrupted the blood, to say nothing of the morals, of millions in the South? If it has not, whence spring the octoroons, the quadroons, and the myriads



who are tinged with the blood of the dominant race, in every Southern State? Sir, it is in the land of slavery you must look for amalgamation, and that negro equality, which is inseparable from such amalgamation. But for a negro equality all over the South that must be nameless here, there would be no blue-eyed, light-haired octoroons, the children and descendants of African slaves, in every Southern city, and in every neighborhood, appealing to the liberal, as we see them almost daily in this capital, asking for aid to purchase their right to that which God gave not only them, but to all the human race, the right to themselves. Sir, than Mormon polygamy, about which even Southern Representatives profess to be so shocked, this crime of Southern amalgamation is worse; for while the Mormon system is voluntary, and must have the sanction of a public church ordinance, and the full and unqualified assent of the first wife, and the children be entitled to all the rights of protection and property which are secured to the children of the first marriage, this Southern system is an involuntary, forced, and revolting concubinage, from which there is no escape, if the victim desires it, there being no law to punish the aggressor. And, sir, the offspring of this criminal negro equality are slaves. If there were laws to punish such crimes, the testimony of slaves could not with safety be admitted; for if such were the case, and the penalty attached should be, as it ought to be, the liberation of all slave children whose fathers were white men, together with their mothers, then Wilmot provisos would be unnecessary, and further opposition to slavery would be a useless occupation with the people of the North. The institution would fall by the fascinating graces and seductive power of these black dulcineas, by whose irresistible charms the aristocracy and plebeians of the South alike appear to be captivated.

Sir, it is only in the land of slavery where this crime is tolerated. There it is unrestrained. There alone it is cherished; and if slavery continues, it must become universal, blighting and corroding the life-blood of the nation, by eradicating from the heart of man all love for his own offspring, and filling the land with slaves who are the children of the dominant race. How frightful has been the progress and

increase of this desolating and destroying evil! Sir, do you suppose there is one Southern State, nay, one Congressional district in all the slave States of this Union, in which slaveholders do not own and sell their own children? where they do not see them toil daily beneath the lash of a taskmaster, and see them driven in coffle gangs to the Southern market — their sons to the shambles, and their daughters to the hells of Southern cities? But it may, and probably will, be claimed that these octoroons and quadroons are not the children of the masters, but they are the children of the poor whites. I care not, Mr. Chairman, whose they may be; the fact of their existence is evidence of the crime; and the further fact that the law-makers, who are always slaveholders in all the Southern States, do not punish the crime by law, as they would if they desired to restrain it, is certainly a circumstance not very favorable to their own innocence.

Sir, go into any colored church in any Southern city, and a majority of the audience will be of the mixed race, many of them so white that it would require a close inspection to detect that they were tintured with negro blood.

Sir, how long do you suppose this mixed race will remain in servitude without a struggle for their freedom? It is impossible that it should be long, for many of them to-day are conceded to be smarter than their reputed fathers. If this unrestrained Southern negro equality is to be not only continued, but encouraged, a hundred years will not elapse — if the importation of fresh Africans can be effectually stopped — before the last unmixed African slave will have disappeared before this bleaching process of Southern amalgamation. In forty years there will be over ten million slaves and free colored people in the present slave States, if they continue to increase in the same ratio that they have done for the past sixty years. At a moderate estimate, five million will then be of the mixed race, many of them so white, as advertisements for runaway slaves often inform us is the case now, that “they would readily pass for white persons.” In fifty or sixty years more they will have increased, at the same ratio, to at least twenty million, and the unmixed Africans can be easily counted. In less than one hundred years from to-day, the

slave population will have increased to near thirty million, numbering about eighty to every slaveholder, and almost, if not quite, half of these slaves will be so white that they cannot be distinguished from white persons. How long, I again ask, can such a servile population of thirty million be kept in subjection by less than half a million masters?

Sir, if so great and good a man as Wesley could denounce this institution to the Christian people of the world as "the sum of all villainies," I, who have witnessed some of its brutality and felt its tyranny, may, without impropriety, pronounce it, as I now do, to be the sum of all barbarisms, for whose continuance and further spread over the Territories of the nation the people of the United States, both North and South, will be held responsible in history and before God.

Sir, no lover of his country and the human race can contemplate this picture without a shudder.

Notwithstanding all that has been said and written, and all that is being said and written on this subject, to induce the slave barons to pause and take a practical view of this subject, they not only refuse, but rush madly on, disregarding alike the teachings of the fathers and the warnings of history. And to-day they claim that slavery is a benefit to the country, and a blessing to the slave and master, as well as to the non-slaveholding whites.

Senator Hammond, the leader of the South Carolina oligarchy, in speaking of the manner in which the poor whites of that State obtained a subsistence, a year or two since, did not draw quite so flattering a picture of their happy condition as has been done by Southern members on this floor. Mr. Hammond says:

"They [the poor whites] obtain a precarious subsistence by occasional jobs, by hunting, by fishing, by plundering fields or folds, and too often by what is in its effects far worse—trading with slaves, and seducing them to plunder for their benefit."

And yet we are told that this is a desirable condition of society, and that slave and poor white alike are satisfied with it. In speaking of this subject, one of the honorable mem-

bers from South Carolina, in a speech delivered before the organization of the House, boasted not only of the happiness of the people, but of the contentment and fidelity of the slaves to their masters, as also of the loyalty of the poor whites of the South to the institution of slavery; and stated that, out of a large number who volunteered to go to Virginia and aid Governor Wise during the John Brown troubles, but five or six were slaveholders, and instanced this fact as proof of their loyalty. If it be true that they are thus loyal — and I do not intend to controvert the fact as stated — why is it that this class of poor whites are not permitted to read whatever they may prefer to read, as the slaveholders do themselves?

I will say nothing about the penal enactments prohibiting, by fine, the lash, and imprisonment, any and all classes of persons, white or colored, whether Christian or not, from teaching their slaves to read or write; for such laws are inseparable from the system. It is well known that the loyalty of the slaves can only be depended on while they are deprived of the power of communicating with each other. But if the poor whites are loyal, why are they also proscribed? Why are they deprived of the pleasure and profit which they would derive from reading that stanch old Democratic paper, the New York EVENING POST? or that invaluable paper, the New York TRIBUNE? or that first of all religious journals, the New York INDEPENDENT? Why is it that they are forbidden to read such a book as Uncle Tom's Cabin, or the Octoroon, or any paper, whether Republican or independent of party, that is unfriendly to slavery, or even to receive and read private letters from the free States, unless first subjected to a censorship by the privileged class? There can be but one answer to these questions; and that is, a distrust on the part of the ruling class of the fidelity of the poor whites, and fear of their political power, should they unite, as they might do at any time, and take possession of all the Southern State Governments, and administer them for the benefit of the whole people, instead of permitting them to be administered, as they are to-day, exclusively for the benefit of a class interest.

It appears, from the facts elicited during the extraordinary discussion which was indulged in here by Southern Representatives before the organization, that many of them had read and examined with care, some two years ago, this incendiary Helper book. Now, if they had the right to possess and read such books and papers, why have not their constituents, the poor whites, the same right, by whose votes most of these gentlemen come here, for the poor whites constitute a majority of the electors in all the Southern States? Sir, there are reasons, and good reasons, why they should not, if the policy of the privileged class is to be sustained and continued. The poor whites of the South, in whose hands, if united, resides the political power, must be kept divided, as they are to-day; and in order to keep them successfully divided, and fighting their supposed enemy, the free negro, and those who favor the prohibition of slavery in the Territories, they must be kept in ignorance. Hence, all that was said, and so vehemently said, in denunciation of Helper and his book, was said, not because it was an appeal to the slaves or free colored people to rise in rebellion, but because its arguments and appeals were addressed to the poor whites of the South by one of their own number. Mr. Pryor, of Virginia, in speaking of the characteristics of Helper's book, said:

“What is the characteristic feature of that work? Some gentlemen have stated that they have not read it. I have read it, and read it some two years ago. These gentlemen who have signed it tell us that they never saw it. I have read it, and know all about it; and let me tell you what the characteristic distinction and feature of that work is; let me inform the candidate for Speaker upon the other side of the House [Mr. Sherman], who seems ignorant of the production he endorses. It is not that the author proposes that the North shall come down in an avalanche of invasion, and destroy the tie that subsists between the slave and the master. No, sir; that is familiar talk. Nor is it the literary execution of the work; for I never read a book which is more feeble in conception and inartistic in execution. It is unworthy of respectable criticism.”

“But the peculiarity of that book was, that Mr. Helper, for the first time in the history of this country, had invoked, with all the power of passion, with all his limited resources of rhetoric, THE NON-SLAVEHOLDERS OF THE SOUTH TO RISE

IN REBELLION AGAINST THE SLAVEHOLDERS. That was the peculiar merit of his book.

“ Now, the candidate for Speaker upon the other side [Mr. Sherman] told us yesterday explicitly, and cited his political record as proof of it, that he would not urge the Federal Government, nor the people of the North, to interfere with the relations of master and slave. I tell him now, again, that that is not the characteristic of the book.”

Here, sir, is disclosed the real point of danger to the ruling class of the South—the fear of a rebellion on the part of the poor whites whom they now claim as loyal subjects. A rebellion, sir. Can a people, from whom all political authority emanates in a Republic, be classed as rebels, for desiring to change, in a peaceful and constitutional manner, their law-makers? If not, from whose rule is it feared the poor whites will rebel? Their own rule? No, sir; but a “REBELLION AGAINST THE SLAVEHOLDERS,” says Mr. Pryor. This is the fear, this the danger, the bare contemplation of which makes all slavery mad. This is the power before which they tremble; and well they may, for despite their sedition laws and prisons and mobs, the time is coming when God’s truth cannot longer be shut out from the minds and hearts of the non-slaveholders and poor whites; and when that time comes, their power shall again be felt, and their voices again be heard in these halls in defense of liberty, where now are only heard the voices of the representatives of a class interest, defending and justifying slavery.

Sir, I look upon the loyalty of the slave as a suspicious kind of loyalty, where it is necessary not only to keep them in ignorance, but subject to the most rigorous laws and inhuman physical punishments, in order safely to hold them in any kind of subjection. And I think the loyalty of the poor white man equally uncertain, when there is no safety or security that he will not combine against you, unless you shut out from his mind and conscience all arguments in favor of justice, and all appeals to his humanity. With this kind of censorship, with this kind of domination, with this kind of despotism, are the slaves and the poor whites of the South alike made loyal. The poor whites of Poland and Hungary are also called loyal by the Emperor of Austria.

The poor whites of France are called loyal by the usurper of the 2d of December. The poor whites of the South are called loyal because of their obedience to the mandates of the ruling class; and they may be, and I believe they are, to-day, more loyal than the poor whites of the European despotisms to which I have referred. They hug the chains that drag them down, and volunteer with alacrity to sacrifice their lives at the bidding of this privileged class. The slave interest intend to keep them loyal; and in order to be doubly sure that they shall remain so, their school-books for what few schools they have, their literature, their political journals, their so-called religious periodicals and Christian teachers, are permitted to talk and preach and pray—if at all about slavery—only in favor of its divinity and its blessing, within the hearing of the slaves and poor whites alike. This is the kind of loyalty that can be found in despotisms only; the kind of loyalty which you exact of your Northern allies. It is the kind of loyalty, let me assure you, which cannot flourish in the free States; and I do not believe it can endure many years in the slave States.

An end will and must come to such despotism, peaceably and constitutionally, I hope; but it will come. No human hand can stay it. No government ever has existed permanently, or ever can remain stable, that tramples deliberately and with impunity upon the rights of humanity and the laws of God. While I cannot adopt, to the fullest extent, the declaration of the great Irish liberator "THAT NO REVOLUTION WAS WORTH ONE DROP OF HUMAN BLOOD"—because that would be a condemnation of our own Revolution, and of all just revolutions—yet I can say, with all my heart, that I desire a revolution of peace; but, peaceable or bloody, I believe, with Jefferson, that it will come. The millions of the South who are crushed and groaning beneath this despotism—the poor whites, as well as the free and slave colored, from the octoroon to the quadroon and the unmixed black, if there should be any of the latter then remaining—will one day be compelled to strike hands and shake this despotism off; or the poor whites will first be disfranchised, then classed socially, as they are to-day, to a great extent, with the

servile race, and at last they and their children will be melted down in the slave population forever.

That this is the ultimate purpose of the ruling class of the South, may be fairly adduced from the fact, that they do not hesitate to-day at enslaving Indians, Mexicans, Chinamen, and even whites of American birth and unmixed blood. Governor Hammond, of South Carolina, does not scruple publicly to denominate free white laborers as the "MUD-SILLS OF SOCIETY;" and more than twenty years ago asserted, on the floor of Congress, "THAT THE SOUTH HAD LESS TROUBLE WITH THEIR SLAVES THAN THE NORTH HAD WITH HER FREE LABORERS, AS THE RECORDS OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND THE NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS OF NORTHERN MOBS FULLY SHOWED." Senator Mason, of Virginia, in speaking of the free States, calls them "servile States," because their laborers are free men. I might quote from many leading men and public speakers in the South, if time would permit, to show that these men have no moral or religious convictions against enslaving any race, and that, having no principles to deter them from the commission of such a wrong, all they want is the power, and they would reduce, without hesitation, the entire laboring population, of whatever race or color, to bondage.

Twenty-five years ago, this anti-Democratic doctrine, justifying the enslavement of the laboring man, of whatever race or color, was publicly proclaimed by many of the ruling men of the South, of both the old political parties. Benjamin Watkins Leigh, a leading Whig statesman of Virginia, declared, in a speech in the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1829 (before the anti-slavery agitation had commenced in the North), that—

"There must be some peasantry; as the country fills up there must be more — that is, men who tend the herds and dig the soil, who have neither real nor personal capital of their own, and who earn their bread by the sweat of their brows. I ask gentlemen to say whether they believe those who depend on their labor for their daily subsistence can, or ever do, enter into political affairs? They never do, never will, never can."

No distinction of races or color is made here. But the white laborers were especially referred to, as the argument



was against extending the right of suffrage to that class. True, he did not then propose to reduce them to chattelhood, but it is evident that he regarded them as belonging to the servile population, with no more rights than negro slaves.

Mr. Pickens, of South Carolina, in a speech in this House, in 1836, said :

“I lay down this proposition as universally true, that there is not, and never was, a society organized under our political system for a period long enough to constitute an era, where ONE CLASS would not, practically and substantially, OWN ANOTHER CLASS, in some shape or form. LET NOT GENTLEMEN FROM THE NORTH START AT THIS TRUTH. We are yet a people in our infancy. Society has not yet BEEN PRESSED DOWN to its classifications. Let us live through an era, and we shall discover this great truth. All society settles down into a classification of capitalists and laborers. THE FORMER WILL OWN THE LATTER.”

The argument of Mr. Pickens is undoubtedly correct, if this government, by special legislation, is to build up and sustain an oligarchy of slaveholders, who own all their laborers. The “pressing-down” process to which Mr. Pickens refers has been going on at a frightful rate since the delivery of this speech.

Governor McDuffie, of South Carolina, the bosom friend of Calhoun, and one of the most distinguished Democrats of that State, in a message to the Legislature, in 1836, said, in speaking of the subject of slavery:

“No community has ever existed without it, and we may confidently assert, never will. In the very nature of things, there must be classes of persons to discharge all the different offices of society, from the highest to the lowest. Some of these offices are regarded as degrading, though they must and will be performed. Hence those manifold forms of dependent servitude, which produce a sense of inferiority on the part of the servants. WHERE THESE OFFICES ARE PERFORMED BY MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL COMMUNITY, A DANGEROUS ELEMENT IS INTRODUCED INTO THE BODY POLITIC. Hence the alarming tendency to violate the rights of property by agrarian legislation, which is beginning to manifest itself in the older States, WHERE UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE PREVAILS, WITHOUT DOMESTIC SLAVERY; a tendency that will increase, in the progress of society, with the increasing inequality of wealth. No government is worthy of the name, that does not protect the

rights of property; and no enlightened people will long submit to such a mockery. Hence it is, that, in the older countries, different political orders are established to effect this indispensable object, and it will be fortunate for the non-slaveholding States if they are not, **IN LESS THAN A QUARTER OF A CENTURY**, driven to the adoption of a similar institution, or to take refuge from robbery and anarchy under a military despotism." . . . **"IN A WORD, THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY SUPERSEDES THE NECESSITY OF AN ORDER OF NOBILITY, and the other appendages of a hereditary system of government. If our slaves were emancipated, and admitted, BLEACHED OR UNBLEACHED (i. e., white or colored), to an equal participation in our political privileges, what a commentary should we furnish upon the doctrines of the emancipationists, and what a revolting spectacle of republican equality should we exhibit to the mockery of the world! No rational man would consent to live in such a state of society, if he could find a refuge in any other. DOMESTIC SLAVERY, therefore, instead of being a political evil, is the CORNER-STONE OF OUR REPUBLICAN EDIFICE."**

In a work called "Sociology for the South; or the failure of Free Society," published in 1854, by Mr. George Fitzhugh, of Richmond, Virginia, may be found the following declaration in favor of white slavery:

"Slavery protects the weaker members of society, just as do the relations of parents, guardian and husband, and is as necessary, as natural, and almost as universal, as those relations.

"Ten years ago, we became satisfied that slavery, **BLACK OR WHITE**, was right and necessary. We advocated this doctrine in very many essays."

Some three years ago, the Richmond **ENQUIRER**, then and now one of the leading organs of the so-called Democratic party, in discussing and defending the right to enslave any race, said:

"While it is far more obvious that negroes should be slaves than whites — for they are only fit to labor, and not to direct — **YET THE PRINCIPLE OF SLAVERY IS ITSELF RIGHT, AND DOES NOT DEPEND ON DIFFERENCE OF COMPLEXION.**"

In another article on this same subject, this Democratic (?) paper declared:

"**FREEDOM IS NOT POSSIBLE WITHOUT SLAVERY. Every civil polity and every social system implies gradation of rank**

and condition. IN THE STATES OF THE SOUTH, AN ARISTOCRACY OF WHITE MEN IS BASED ON NEGRO SLAVERY; AND THE ABSENCE OF NEGRO SLAVERY WOULD BE SUPPLIED BY WHITE MEN."

In every slave State, I believe, without exception, the fate of all offspring born of the servile race is made by statute to depend on the condition of the mother. If she be a slave, her children, though white, are also slaves. The laws and judicial decisions of all the slave States on this point are uniform. From this law of the slave master there is and can be no escape, to the latest generation. Hence the advocates of this system do not hesitate to defend the enslavement of all weak and defenseless races, and even boldly to justify the enslavement of white men.

This is the logical result of the American slave system. If slavery should be confined by law to the unmixed African, the slave master understands that in time, by the mere force of Southern amalgamation, there would come an end to the existence of this institution. To avoid this, the slave master throws around his victim such safeguards in the shape of legislative enactments as will effectually secure to himself, as property, all children born of his female slaves, whether they are white or colored.

If the deliberate intention of slave masters is not to reduce to chattelhood all black and white persons whom they can by such laws enslave, why are not these barbarous statutes repealed, and laws passed making amalgamation a crime, which shall punish not only the wrongdoer, be he master or not, but which shall work the liberation of all children born of slave mothers who have a "VISIBLE ADMIXTURE" of white blood in their veins, and also the immediate unconditional freedom of every such slave mother?

In 1839, Henry Clay delivered a speech in the Senate of the United States, which may be found in the Appendix to the Congressional Globe, page 358, in which he said:

"It is frequently asked, what is to become of the AFRICAN RACE, among us? Are they forever to remain in bondage?"

He thus answers his own question:

"Taking the aggregates of the two races, the EUROPEAN is constantly, though slowly, gaining upon the AFRICAN

portion." . . . "In the progress of time, some one hundred and fifty or two hundred years hence, but few vestiges of the BLACK race will remain among OUR posterity."

In one hundred or one hundred and fifty years, then, according to Mr. Clay, the "black race" will have disappeared before the bleaching process of Southern amalgamation, and "our posterity"—the descendants of slave mothers—though white, and having in their veins the best blood of the dominant race, are not only to remain slaves forever, but all laboring men, without regard to color or birth, who can be, are to be reduced to chattelhood. And this is to be the final consummation of the barbarism of American slavery, unless the purposes and policy of the slave barons are defeated by the triumph of the Republican party.

And this doctrine of the right to enslave any race has not been, and never will be, repudiated by the present Democratic party in the South. Mr. Chairman, I ask the honest portion of those who, in the free States, brought this Administration party into power, how much longer they intend, by their money and suffrages, to aid in keeping the government of this country in the hands of an oligarchy who in the sacred name of Democracy, preach and practice such despotism as this? If the independent freemen of the nation do not rally to the standard of Lincoln and Hamlin, and give us deliverance this year, then I know not when it will come. I have an abiding faith, however, that we shall triumph; and that the day cannot be far distant when this deliverance, by a popular revolution, must come, if the enslavement of the poor whites of the South is to be averted. When it does come, I pray Heaven that it may be a revolution of the ballot-box instead of the cartridge-box—a revolution which, while it brings deliverance to the slave, shall not blast the land with universal ruin and the bloody horrors of a St. Domingo. For among a homogeneous people, of one language, living under a republican form of government, where a majority may, if they choose, control, I think the true way, the surer and better way, to secure the abolition of a great wrong, is to appeal to the hearts and consciences of those who have the constitutional power to act, and whose voice and votes

will not be wanting to secure this result, whenever their judgments are convinced.

Wherever these constitutional rights cannot be enjoyed, a revolution by force is not only indispensable, but a duty. For the purpose of averting such a revolution, with all its attendant horrors, the poor whites and non-slaveholders of the South ask for the freedom of speech and the press, and the right to the ballot. But this is denied them in almost every Southern State; and not only denied them, but the persons of those who ask it, and attempt to exercise it, are not safe from violence and death. To this open and undisguised violation of the national Constitution, for which Southern Representatives on this floor profess such veneration and reverence, may be added the violation by this class of all covenants, compact, and compromises, with the people of the North; and those rights which are more sacred and above all compromises and Constitutions — the rights of humanity — are everywhere within their borders disregarded and trampled in the dust. Sir, the representatives of this class interest, by the aid of the machinery of a once great and glorious party, with the immense patronage of the government in their hands, and by inflammatory appeals to the passions and prejudices of the people, have at last succeeded in lashing the popular mind in nearly every Southern State into a furious fanaticism that will not brook control; and Presidents and Cabinets, the National Legislature, and even the Supreme Judiciary, bow to its terrible decrees. He who seeks place and power in the ranks of this party to-day must ride upon the storm, and add fuel to the conflagration already kindled. To no exaction, however monstrous, must he hesitate. Prostrate before it, he must bow in humble submission to its despotic authority, and recognize its wildest claims to universal domination. No constitutional provision, however plain; no compromise, however sacred; no law, however just; no judicial decision, however venerable, must stand for a moment in its way. He who would be a successful leader in the ranks of this party to-day cannot, if he would, quiet this pro-slavery fanaticism, or secure its submission to the just requirements of the Constitution. If he refuse blind and unqualified obedience to

every demand, however revolting, political ostracism is his fate. If he fail to keep pace with every new movement, no matter what may have been his past services, he will experience the doom which, without remorse, was meted out to Douglas at Charleston; for, whatever may be the action of the adjourned session of the rump Convention which is to meet in Baltimore on the 18th of June, the well-informed friends of Mr. Douglas admit that politically he is a doomed man; and they may as well admit that, from this time forward, every leading man in the party is forever doomed who does not give up every aspiration for freedom, surrender unreservedly his convictions to the behest of this privileged class, and use all his power and influence to extend, and make permanent and universal, the institution of human slavery.

Sir, from this hour the pro-slavery Democratic party is dead. The disease of which it died was Calhounism. It was attacked with this fatal malady in 1844, when James K. Polk was forced upon an unwilling people; and though the rank and file of the Northern Democracy have been struggling heroically from that day to this against the wiles of its cunning enemy, their political leaders have been false; and the organization, once so powerful, has at last yielded to the violence of the attack at Charleston. The party of Calhoun, which was spurned by Jackson and the Democracy of his day, now stand with defiant foot upon its new-made grave, and demand the surrender of every member of the old Democratic party in the North to these Southern usurpers, who, under an alluring but piratical flag, whereon is emblazoned the glorious name "DEMOCRACY," are fighting against the rights of man and the liberty of the human race.

From this spurious Democracy, this political intolerance, and party despotism, the honest portion of the Northern Democracy, which has been basely deceived and betrayed, will be compelled to separate. No intelligent citizen, sincerely opposed to the extension and perpetuity of human slavery in the Republic, can retain his manhood and longer sustain the disgraceful affiliation.

Sir, how is it possible for an intelligent, independent citizen, who is in truth a Democrat, and opposed to all despo-

tism, longer to remain with a party which not only tramples upon and violates the Constitution, but which aids and encourages the outrages inflicted all over the South upon innocent and defenseless persons for opinion's sake; outrages that would not be tolerated in any despotism of Europe, even when engaged in open hostilities? Witness the hangings, the tar-and-featherings, the imprisonments, the infernal indignities, to which the citizens of this country, guilty of no crime and no wrong, are subjected at the hands of this party in almost every Southern State. Even women, lone and defenseless, are not exempt from indignities that ought to and must forever disgrace the States and people who would tolerate and sanction them. No trial, not even the poor mockery of a trial, but the merest suspicion that the person is unfriendly to one of the most infernal despotisms that ever blighted the land or cursed the earth, is enough to bring upon him tortures, outrages, and wrongs, that will scarcely be credited by the Christian nations of the world.

Sir, such things could not be done under the despotism of Austria, the most despicable and intolerant government among civilized nations, without shaking the throne to its foundation; and yet such outrages are committed in one-half the States of the American Union by a great party, whose leaders were once composed of able and eloquent defenders of the rights of man. These outrages are endorsed and approved by the party press and party leaders of the South, while no word of condemnation or denunciation falls from the lips of their Northern allies upon this floor, who must speak, if they speak at all, with great deference in the presence of their political rulers. For all these wrongs and outrages there is no redress, and no probability of any redress, until the inauguration of a Republican President. If such outrages were committed by the citizens or government of any foreign Power upon the persons of any of our citizens who might be temporarily residing in or passing through their country, no matter what might be the opinions they entertained of the government or any of its institutions, so that they committed no overt act, it would be cause, and just cause, for war, if prompt redress were not given, and a

guaranty against the commission of such outrages in the future were not secured. But here at home, in our own country, with a people who sprang from the same ancestry, with the same language, and equal rights under a common Constitution, these outrages are committed, not only with impunity, but are boasted of as feats of marvelous heroism.

Sir, do gentlemen expect the country to be blind and dumb while such crimes are being committed upon American citizens? If such is the expectation of Southern gentlemen, let me beg them to undeceive themselves. Why, what would you say, what would the world say, of our manhood, if such a thing were possible as silence and submission under the infliction of such monstrous wrongs? Sir, there will be no such silence as is sought, there can be no such submission as is desired and demanded; and let me ask how long you suppose it will be, if these outrages are to continue, before there will be a hundred John Browns invading your weak and defenseless points at once; not John Browns with mercy to their captives, and anxiety to save human life; not John Browns controlled by a supposed religious duty; but John Browns burning for revenge under the smart of outrages unjustly inflicted? Think you that such a system of terrorism can continue without retaliation? Do you suppose that these men whom you outrage will flee from your States into the free North, and quietly sit down and submit to this kind of treatment? What would be the first impulse of a Southern man under such treatment? Would it not be for retaliation? And if a hundred, or five hundred, or a thousand of you were outraged and wronged in the brutal, barbarous, and cowardly manner that Northern citizens, guilty of no crime, have been, would it not follow, as certainly as daylight follows the rising of the sun, that a majority of those who thus suffered, and as many of their friends as they could collect, would get together for the purpose of retaliation and revenge? If we of the North were living in a magazine, as you of the South are, which could be exploded at any moment a match should be applied to it, would not the victims of such outrages be inclined to apply the match, and let consequences take care of themselves? I think the history of John Brown



and his associates in Kansas and in Virginia ought to be a lesson to you on this point.

Sir, if there was any such spot in any of the free States of the North, not even excepting Egypt, in Illinois, where, twenty years ago, violence reigned supreme, and as gallant and brave and true a man as ever lived fell a victim to this despotic pro-slavery fanaticism; and where, even now, the representatives of the dominant party declare openly and unblushingly their willingness to do the "DIRTY WORK" of slave-hunters if demanded by the party—I say, if there was any such spot, not even excepting Egypt, that would tolerate such crimes and outrages as have been inflicted upon free men of the North, and not only tolerate them, but openly boast of and glory in them, I do not hesitate to declare that the united voice of the people of my district would be, that such a spot needed a purification such as the earth received in the days of Noah; and, if they had the power, they would submerge it for at least a generation, not even providing an ark to save alive, for future exhibition, the representatives of such a totally depraved race.

Sir, all these crimes to which I have alluded, all violations of the National or State Constitutions, sacred compacts and covenants, all disregard of solemn treaties and just laws, have been the direct result of the existence of slavery in the government. Without slavery, all would have been peace, union, and concord. With it, and while it continues, all will be discord, division and strife. And, for men claiming to be not only Democrats, but Christians, with the history of six thousand years to guide them, and the light of an everlasting Gospel to direct them, to stand up before the world and claim that human slavery and the human auction-block are good and desirable institutions in any country, tropical or temperate, seems like blasphemy. For Southern Representatives on this floor to boast of the happy and contented condition of their slaves at home, while declaring that they will dissolve the Union and light up the country with the torch of civil war if we repeal one of the most odious and obnoxious laws ever enacted for the express purpose of keeping these happy and contented slaves at home, or of forcing them back by all the power of the government, should they

escape, seems like self-contradiction. The assertion that slaveholders are the only true friends of the slave would appear to most men outside of slaveholding States an assumption too transparent even for ridicule, especially when it is remembered that the slave system must, of necessity, completely eradicate all manhood from the nature of the slave. The assertion that the Republican party are madmen and fanatics, enemies to good government, and law and order, is the assumption of Francis Joseph of Austria and Napoleon of France, and the despots of all ages and all countries.

Mr. Chairman, slavery, like other despotisms, cannot live where it permits free speech and a free press. Hence its sedition laws and unconstitutional enactments. It is only because there is free speech and a free press, free schools and a free church, in eighteen States of the American Union, that slavery is dying to-day; and because it is dying, its apostles are mad with the madness of destruction. What the most distinguished members of the Republican party could not do, they are doing for us. The speeches made during the eight weeks we remained unorganized in this House have opened the eyes of thousands who, until now, had been blinded to the purposes of this power. They can be blinded no longer; and they will join the friends of freedom in the coming contest, and aid in taking possession of the government; and when once fairly taken possession of, the supremacy of the slave barons will be forever destroyed, slavery be assigned to limits which it shall never pass, a Republican party be organized in all the slave States, and the present noisy advocates of slavery here and elsewhere will be reduced to insignificance and silence.

Mr. Chairman, the causes that brought the Republican party into existence, and which give it its life and vitality to-day, are as eternal as the principles of God's government; and as certainly as truth and justice shall triumph over error and wrong, so shall the triumph of freedom in this country depend upon the fidelity of our party to its principles. Let no friend of our cause be discouraged, here or elsewhere; for action and reaction are reciprocal in the moral as in the natural world. It cannot be that one class of mankind shall forever exercise the same dominion over another class of their fellow-men

that they do over the brute creation. The nation or community which is guilty cannot escape without encountering the retribution which the ways of an all-wise Providence have ordained, and which will inevitably come upon the wrong-doer. "GOD IS NOT MOCKED; AND HIS JUDGMENTS WILL NOT SLEEP FOR EVER;" and so sure as justice is the foundation of His government, so surely shall there come an end to oppression and to slavery. I will keep this faith or none. For, however strong and apparently all-powerful the oppressor may be to-day, we should remember that there is a Power above all human power, which proposes and disposes among the inhabitants of the earth as seemeth to Him best; and to Him the oppressed may ever look for succor; for as, in His greatness and excellence, He overthrew the hosts of Pharaoh of old, who rose up against the children of Israel, and with the blast of his nostrils blew the waters together, so that the floods stood upright as a heap, and the depths were congealed in the heart of the sea until the fugitives passed over on dry land, and then sent forth His wrath upon the face of the deep, so that the waters returned again unto their places, and the sea covered the slaveholders who were pursuing them, and horse and chariot and rider sunk as lead in the mighty waters, so will He to-day, as in the past, avenge the wrongs done the least and weakest of His children, and bring destruction as a whirlwind upon the wrongdoer.

Thus hath it ever been, and thus shall it ever be. The nation or people who do not rule in righteousness "shall perish from the earth." All history proclaims that this is a decree as enduring as time and as unchangeable as its author. When the time for the exodus of this oppressed and wronged race shall have come, as in the providence of God it surely will come, then neither the power of your heretofore invincible army, your Congressional slave codes and fugitive slave bills, your system of terrorism and mob laws, nor the pretended adjudications of your "AUGUST TRIBUNAL" will avail you in that hour; but the weakest slave mother, with her simple and sublime faith uplifted in prayer to the Great Supreme, may call down against you, as did the bondmen of Egypt, a Power in whose presence your squadrons shall be

consumed as stubble, and from before whose face every oppressor of the land shall flee, and the hearts of the judges if your Supreme Court shall be turned to dust and ashes.

Sir, it is the purpose and mission of the Republican party to avert, if possible, the impending doom which hangs like a black pall over the future of the Republic. It is their purpose, if possible, to prevent, first, the political slavery and then the final subjugation of the poor whites to a despotism which, in all ages and all countries, has been inseparable from even a milder form of servitude than ours. Remembering that the result of slave systems has ever been the same; that it has destroyed all the empires and republics which have perished from the earth; and believing that it will destroy this Republic of ours unless we provide and prepare the way for its ultimate extinction, they have proposed to the people of all sections and all former political parties a union — first, to prevent the further spread of this evil, as our fathers did; and secondly, to provide a way for the final freedom of all. If some just and fair plan is not adopted to prevent the further spread of this evil, and secure the liberation of every slave, then indeed may we look back in vain through the history of all the republics and nations that have flourished and fallen, to find a people whose condition was not preferable to the slaveholders of the Southern States; preferable in that security to person and property which is indispensable to peace and happiness. Sir, there is scarcely a government, today, in civilized Europe, whose citizens do not enjoy greater security for their persons and their families than do the slaveholders of the South. Overtaxed and oppressed though they may be and are, yet they enjoy a freedom from apprehension which the slaveholder can never know — an apprehension fearful and dark as the grave, and which all must dread who sleep beneath the overshadowing wing of slavery. There is and there can be no security from this terrible apprehension. It is inseparable from the slave system. Night never closes her mantle around the plantation home, that a shudder does not creep through the heart of the master, and suspicion, like an ever-watchful sentinel, sit upon his eyelids.

Sir, the policy of the Republican party is, by an ultimate emancipation of this race to secure the liberty and happiness

of both master and slave, and remove forever the cause of this cruel alarm and apprehension, and thus to bring safety and prosperity where now sectional jealousy and alienation, desolation and fear, are supreme; to cause the white-winged sail of commerce, whose mission is peace, to cover every Southern river and fill every Southern harbor; to reclaim her impoverished wastes, and make her desolate places the home of peace and plenty. If this cannot be done, and speedily done, and peacefully done, then indeed I fear the day is not far distant when the genius of despair, like an atmosphere, will pervade every habitation, and flap its dark and desolating wings over your fairest heritage; when peace shall flee from your borders, and the terrible cry of "to arms! to arms!" shall be heard from mountain to mountain, and by the side of every river and in every valley; when the shrieks of flying women and helpless children will be borne upon every gale, and the avenging hand of Heaven shall be laid heavily upon you, as it was of old upon the oppressors of the children of Israel. Sir, I know of no way of escaping the like impending doom, which has sealed the fate of all nations and people who have preceded us that were guilty of this wrong, except by dealing justly, loving mercy, and permitting this oppressed people to go. When this is done, peace and concord, prosperity and happiness, shall again return to bless us as a free and united people; and it can only return when, throughout the nation, on every foot of American soil, and everywhere beneath the national ensign, the rights of humanity are fully recognized and respected, and your law-makers, and your General and State Governments shall again be directed by the genius of universal emancipation.

## SPEECH

OF HON. JAMES M. ASHLEY, OF OHIO.

DELIVERED IN THE U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
JANUARY 17, 1861.

A CONTINENTAL REPUBLIC, WITH NO SLAVE BENEATH ITS FLAG!

THE MAJORITY MUST GOVERN. IT IS TREASON TO SECEDE!

MR. CHAIRMAN: For more than a quarter of a century, the citizens of the free States of this Union, powerful in numbers, indomitable in energy, superior in wealth and culture, have submitted to the constitutionally expressed will of the people, and a few thousand slave-owners of the South, in the name of Democracy, have dictated and controlled the policy of the National Government. The constitutionally expressed will of the people is again declared, and the parties which have been defeated are called upon to assent to the adoption of the policy of the fathers in the inauguration of the just sway of freedom in the National Government. But a large majority of the leaders of one of the parties into which the South is divided, not only refuse obedience to the legally constituted authorities, but some four or five States, under the guidance of these party leaders, have gone so far as to declare their independence, and others are openly threatening rebellion, and the destruction of the government they have so long controlled.

Standing, Mr. Chairman, upon the threshold of such events, events the most important in our history since the era of the Revolution, I feel the importance, the responsibility, and the grandeur of the mission committed by the verdict of a generous people to the party of which I am a member. And I desire for a short time the attention of the House, while discussing the exciting questions which it is alleged this verdict of the people has precipitated upon the country.

Mr. Chairman, however much to be regretted, I am not insensible to the fact, that in a struggle to carry any important measure through this House, tactics are often restored to rather than argument, that votes are secured and changes are oftener effected by party machinery and Executive influences, than by appeals to the judgment and patriotism of members.

Nevertheless, I feel it to be my duty to speak and make known, so far as I may in the limited time allowed me, the views of those whom I have the honor to represent.

Mr. Chairman: Our present prosperity and happiness as a nation, no less than our future peace, demands, in my judgment, the preservation of the American Union as our fathers intended it should be, with no star withdrawn from the constellation; demands the maintenance of the National Constitution inviolate, and the faithful execution of all laws passed in pursuance of that Constitution, not only in every State but in every Territory within the limits of the Republic; demands an acquiescence in and support of the legally constituted authorities chosen by the people against any and all combinations of men who may attempt to subvert or destroy the government, because they cannot longer control and dictate its policy.

Mr. Chairman, the people of the United States will ask, the nations of Europe will ask, what has been done in this country to justify revolution and the attempted destruction of the National Government? Where are the usurpations, the acts of oppression, which have been committed either by the National Government or any one or more of the Northern State governments against any of the Southern States, or the citizens of any Southern State, that will excuse, much less justify, revolution? Certainly there are no acts of the General Government, of which the Southern people may justly complain. The President [Mr. Buchanan] says in his message, that during his term of office the laws have been faithfully executed, and in order that the Southern slave barons may be doubly assured that he has been looking after and guarding their special interest, he declares that "THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW HAS BEEN CARRIED INTO EXECUTION IN EVERY CONTESTED CASE SINCE THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION."

Senator Douglas, in his letter to the merchants of New Orleans, on the 13th of November last, says: "I HAVE YET TO LEARN THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH COMPLAIN OF THE ACTS NOW ON THE STATUTE BOOK UPON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY, AS APPLIED TO THE STATES OR TERRITORIES OR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA." Of no action of the National Government up to this date, either in refusing to pass such laws as the slave barons have demanded or executing them as they have ordered, can the South justly complain; because they have controlled until within a few days the Government, and filled all its offices with men who have done their bidding, even to conspiring with those who are attempting to overthrow the government.

What, then, is the cause of this "crisis," as it is called?

I confess, Mr. Chairman, that I have seen no adequate cause for it, and therefore voted against the unusual course adopted by the House in referring that part of the President's Message treating of what is termed "OUR DOMESTIC AFFAIRS," to a special committee of thirty-three.

If there had been any serious alarm, whether with or without cause, among the great body of sober thinking men in the South; if they really believed that their so-called rights were to be invaded because of Mr. Lincoln's election; I say if there were those who were really alarmed, I was unwilling to add to that alarm by adopting an unusual course in creating an extraordinary committee, and thus give aid and encouragement to the conspirators in stirring up political animosities, for the sole purpose of precipitating the country into a revolution, unless the North again surrendered as they had uniformly done before under such menaces, and on such terms as it might please the conspirators graciously to dictate. I believed that such a committee would not only do no good — as the sequel has proven — but that by creating it we would tacitly admit that there was some necessity for it. It appeared to me like pleading "GUILTY" to the indictment of the President, which I could not do, knowing it to be false. For these reasons I voted against raising this extraordinary committee of thirty-three (33).

But I am told that we are in the midst of a "crisis," a "revolutionary crisis," and such a one as we have never before



passed through; and I must yield to the minority, compromise away the rights of millions of freemen, or the Union is forever dismembered and destroyed. I admit, Mr. Chairman, that the conspirators have been able, with the aid and connivance of the traitors connected with the government, to get up a formidable looking "crisis;" and I can assure you, sir, that had the people of this country known what has been going on here in this Capital for the past four years, in nearly every department of the government, there would have been such an expression by them at the ballot-boxes in condemnation of the party in power, as would not only have silenced the allies of the southern disunionists from the North, but have nipped in the bud this "revolutionary crisis." But, Mr. Chairman, we have passed through several "crises" before. It appears to be a chronic disease in American politics. It must be conceded, however, that heretofore in their desperate efforts to get up a "crisis," the conspirators have never set their stakes quite so high, nor permitted the treason to appear so undisguised. In 1820 and in 1832, in 1850, and again in 1854, we had "crises" not dissimilar to the present one; and they were gotten up to order by the same class of men who have succeeded so well in getting up the present one. These are the same men who, with calculating coolness, disrupted the Charleston-Baltimore conventions, and divided the party which, for nearly twenty-five years, they had implicitly governed. They did not hesitate openly to declare that they did so because the friends of Mr. Douglas in the free States would not yield to their imperious demands. I have no doubt, however, that a large majority of the Southern men, in their conventions, never intended to go so far as they have since gone. They expected the friends of Mr. Douglas to surrender, as they now expect twenty-five millions of people to surrender, to the demands of a few thousand men, who are asking new guarantees for slavery.

But revolutions seldom go backward; and this one is fast getting beyond the control of its authors. Undoubtedly, a large majority of these men only intended to play the old and oft-repeated game by which, heretofore, they had always been successful; which has been, first, to create a panic in all the slave States, by the most unfounded statements and in-

flammatory appeals; and when the "crisis" had reached the culminating point, boldly threaten the disruption and destruction of the government, unless new concessions were made by the North; and the concession they were to demand this time as a condition for remaining in the Union was not a new compromise that might be repealed, as they had repealed the old Missouri Compromise; but a so-called compromise that should, indeed, this time, be a "FINALITY," by making slavery constitutional and perpetual.

This play, however, Mr. Chairman, has had its run. The people of the free States have seen behind the curtain, and begin to comprehend the manner in which these periodical crises are gotten up. They have not forgotten the manufactured crisis of 1850—nor forgiven the Northern men who pretended that that sham was a reality. They have not forgotten that many of their faithless representatives surrendered the rights, and interest, and honor of the North, at the bidding of a few slave-masters. And why, Mr. Chairman, did these Northern Representatives then surrender? To save the Union, they answer. Southern men threatened then as now the dissolution of the Union and the destruction of the Government, unless their demands were complied with. And to save any trouble these accommodating Representatives, at the bidding of a few Southern men, yielded.

Did that "FINALITY," as it was then called, settle the question? Not at all. Hardly had these pretended Northern patriots time to take a breathing spell (in the retirement from the cares of public life, which the people immediately permitted most of them to enjoy), before it was broken up by the new and "FINAL ADJUSTMENT" of 1854. Upon what pretext was this demand for a compromise, that should be "final," made, in 1850? The pretext of equality in the Territories. The freemen of California—as they had the right to do—had made California a free State. This was a mortal offense to the slave barons, because, by this action of the miners of California the slave propagandists lost the golden prize upon which they had set their hearts, and for which they had involved this nation in an unconstitutional war. And because of the action of the free laboring men of California, in prohibiting slavery in that State, these men

would not admit her into the Union, unless all the remaining territory, wrested from Mexico, should be given up to slavery.

Sir, when the impartial historian comes to write the history of the compromise schemes of 1850, and the war made by the act of the Executive of this powerful Nation against the weak Republic of Mexico, for the sole purpose of extending the institution of slavery over the free and virgin soil of Utah, New Mexico and California—he will be compelled to class these acts as among the darkest crimes of which this Nation was ever guilty; and the compromisers from the free States as morally guiltier than those who precipitated us into that unjust war.

When the old Whig party authoritatively endorsed, in their national convention, these compromise measures, its death was inevitable. This old party, so formidable and manly when the ally of freedom, immediately became weak, sickly and powerless when it became the ally of slavery, and died; died as the pro-slavery Democratic party has just died, because also false to freedom, and as the Republican party will die, and as it ought to die, if it ever agrees to engraft into the Constitution a clause recognizing property in man. If it should do this thing, nothing can or ought to save it. Neither the talents of its most distinguished leaders, their prospective promotion, or the distribution of the patronage of the Federal Government. If all these combined could have saved any party, the Whig party could have been saved. But they could not. And as I now look back, over the long list of names which once made that party illustrious in the history of my country, I feel almost startled at the thought, that men so great, so venerated by the people of the United States, could, by the allurements and blandishments of the slave barons, have been so far overcome as to betray the cherished principles of their lives, and the hopes of the people who entrusted them with power. But such was the fate of most of the leaders of the organization of which I am speaking. One after another deserted until, at last, the eyes of the Nation were fixed upon one whose unsurpassed ability and great name had, in almost every crisis through which the country had passed, been the hope and reliance of the liberty-loving masses. And when, alas! he too fell, a black

pall, as of midnight darkness, spread over the political horizon, and many earnest and true men gave up in despair.

It may be, sir, that with others, I have placed too great an estimate upon this extraordinary man, who has done so much as a statesman and orator to give our country fame and position among the nations of the earth, who has done so much for freedom and so much, alas! for slavery, whose fall will ever be regretted by the good and great, and whose last fatal step should be a perpetual warning to all who shall come after him. Sir, it would seem as if by the rock-beaten shore of his own beloved Massachusetts, in whose bosom he is laid down to rest, there must come up forever from old ocean a sorrowing response to the sad hearts of the people of Massachusetts for his fall. Vanity of vanities, all is vanity, saith the preacher. The weakness and nothingness of human greatness never in all the history of the past shone out more conspicuously than when this great light went out, overshadowed as it was by the dark cloud of slavery. From the hour he abandoned the principles of freedom and the will of the people of Massachusetts, he felt that he was dying, and he hurriedly bade adieu to this Capital, to the scenes of his wonderful triumphs and former glory, and to the dying organization which had been at once his life and his death, and passing away with it, both were entombed together, and there the party and he who was its brightest ornament and most distinguished leader will ever remain — the party to be remembered in history only for its greatness and folly; its timidity and its wrongs. Its greatness, in that it had as its leaders the brightest intellects of the land and in its ranks the mass of intelligence. Its folly, in that it subordinated human rights to a financial policy calculated to benefit the few, rather than guard the interest of the many. Its timidity, in that it never could lead, but was ever on the defensive; pleading for ease and quiet. In its wrongs, in that it gave the sanction of its organization to the most offensive demands of the slave barons, when it endorsed the fatal compromise of 1850.

Mr. Chairman, there was no more necessity for the political excitement which preceded the so-called compromises of 1850 than there is to-day for President Buchanan to in-

flict upon this House and country another message on Southern rights and Southern wrongs. That panic was all manufactured, coolly and deliberately manufactured, just as the owner of a steam mill would get up steam by putting fire under the boiler.

Just so with this "crisis" to a great extent. Three-fourths of it is the baldest pretense. There are only a few leading men who at heart favor it, and those who do have put a ball in motion which, unless soon checked, they will be unable to control or even direct, and like the authors of the French revolution, they will, in all human probability, be among its first victims.

Already the sober thinking men of the South are trembling, not only for their own personal safety and that of their families, but for fear of a despotism which they cannot tolerate, and a taxation which will eat out all their substance. Already we get glimpses of what may be expected in the future, especially if war should ensue. Forced contributions must be levied; the citizens will be assessed and told they must take so much of the revolutionary stock. If they refuse, they will be classed among the disaffected, then denounced as abolitionists in disguise, and subjected to the mercy of a maddened mob. A tax of from FIFTEEN to TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS per head annually for each slave, and other property in proportion, will soon cool the mad enthusiasm of the thoughtless.

How many men are there in South Carolina over twenty-one years of age? Not more than fifty-five thousand. Of this number less than ten thousand are planters—and not more than twelve thousand in addition own their homesteads. Almost two-thirds of the entire white population are tenants at will of the planters. They are very poor, ignorant, and destitute, and according to Senator Hammond, "obtain a precarious subsistence by occasional jobs, by hunting, by fishing, by plundering fields and folds, and too often by what is in its effects far worse—trading with slaves, and seducing them to plunder for their benefit."

With less than twenty-five thousand men who have any property to be taxed, South Carolina proposed to make war

on the United States. Has the world ever witnessed such stupendous folly and madness?

From seven to ten millions of dollars annually will be necessary if she is involved in war, to maintain her government and army. Where is this vast sum of money to come from? From the other slave States, it may be answered, but the other slave States will be in no better condition than South Carolina, even if they should unite. The proportionate cost of maintaining one or ten governments, one or ten armies, would be about the same.

Mr. Boyce, late a member of this House, answered these questions, a few years ago, in an address to the people of South Carolina, as follows:

“South Carolina cannot become a nation. God makes nations—not man. You cannot extemporize a nation out of South Carolina. It is simply impossible; we have not the resources. We could exist by tolerance; and what that tolerance would be, when we consider the present hostile spirit of the age to the institution of slavery, all may readily imagine. I trust we may never have to look upon the painful and humiliating spectacle. From the weakness of our National Government a feeling of insecurity would arise, and capital would take the alarm and leave us. But it may be said, “Let capital go!” To this I reply, that capital is the life-blood of a modern community; and, in losing it, you lose the vitality of the State.

“Secession—separate nationality, with all its burdens—is no remedy. It is no redress for the past, it is no security for the future. It is only a magnificent sacrifice of the present, without in anywise gaining in the future. Such is the intensity of my conviction on the subject, that if secession should take place—of which I have no idea, for I cannot believe in such STUPENDOUS MADNESS—I SHALL CONSIDER THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY AS DOOMED, and that the great God, in our blindness, has made us the instrument of its destruction.”

What Mr. Boyce then said, is as true to-day as when he uttered it. South Carolina cannot long maintain her present position. With her commerce destroyed by blockade, as it will be in case of war, all her available men in the army, an immense police force, at great cost, to watch and prevent if they can, an outbreak among the slaves, every branch of business prostrated, and her cotton and rice fields turned into

desolate wastes, no people will long submit to such an intolerable condition. Already men of means are moving or sending their families North. It is a step dictated by prudence. I should certainly do so were I a resident of the South, and one of her largest slave owners. I would have no fears that my family would be either mobbed, or insulted, or ordered out of the country by some self-constituted vigilance committee, or that my property would be destroyed or stolen and distributed among the rabble, because I happened to be a resident of a Southern State. No judicious man who is able, will hazard the risk, at such a time, of having his wife and family violated and massacred by the slaves, in case of a servile insurrection. The madness of the leaders in this attempted revolution, is driving and will drive thousands of families and millions of wealth into the North. The bluster of 1832 drove some citizens of South Carolina, whom I know, into Ohio, and I doubt not there were others who settled in nearly all the free States.

When the leading conspirators come to put their hands into the pockets of the people, to take their last dollar, they will rebel. If the citizens of South Carolina, and of the Southern States, were oppressed by the National Government with burdens that honorable and patriotic men could not bear, then I grant you they would, as would every brave people, sacrifice life and property without stint, if there was any hope of bettering their condition. They have not, however, and cannot point the people to a list of intolerable grievances, such as will justify their attempted revolution. The address issued to the Southern people, which was prepared by order of the South Carolina convention, declares, that "While constituting a portion of the United States, it has been the statesmanship of the South, which has guided the nation in its mighty strides to power and expansion. In the field, as in the Cabinet, it is they who have led it to its renown and grandeur." For seventy-three years then, on her own showing, Southern statesmen have controlled and given direction to the National Government, under which their section has grown from a million and a half to eight millions, without including the slaves, and has advanced in prosperity and wealth as no people ever did before. Is there

then, taking her own statement as true, any justification for the course South Carolina and other Southern States are attempting, and which nearly all are threatening?

No wrong or unconstitutional act has been committed or is proposed to be committed by the General Government. Is the mere election by the people, of a President who does not favor the cherished policy of a few thousand slaveholders, sufficient cause for destroying the Union, and involving the nation in civil war? I need not answer this question; there can be and there will be but one response by the patriotic men of all parties. The judgments of all thinking impartial men in the entire nation, and in the civilized world, will condemn the leaders who without cause, are attempting the dissolution of this Union, and the destruction of the best form of government ever devised by man. To this crime is added that of duplicity. During the late campaign every Presidential candidate for whom the South or North voted, distinctly denied that they were in favor of disunion, but on the contrary they all professed the most unqualified devotion to the Union.

The people of the United States then voted, but little over two months ago, unanimously in favor of maintaining the Union. Why then should it be destroyed now? What has been done since to justify such a gigantic crime? Can anyone give a satisfactory answer? Men who have brought about the present excitement may attempt to satisfy themselves, but they cannot justify their conduct to an intelligent people.

But we are told, Mr. Chairman, that unless we vote for such new guarantees to slavery as the South shall demand, that all the Southern States are going out of the Union. It is said that they intend to do this with the confident expectation of obtaining concessions from the North which they could not obtain in the Union. That they expect to do this by a reconstruction of the National Union on such terms as they shall dictate. In this mad scheme they have the sympathy, encouragement and promise of aid from men in the free States, calling themselves Democrats.

The basis of the new Union is to be the recognition of slaves as property by constitutional provision, unalterable



except with the consent of every slave State. And this is called Democracy in the year of grace, 1861. Democracy in the days of Jefferson, was for free States and free Territories. Madison "WOULD NOT ADMIT INTO THE CONSTITUTION THE IDEA THAT THERE COULD BE PROPERTY IN MAN." To-day the doctrine that slavery is right and must be made perpetual, is the test of what is called Democracy.

That such demands will ever be acceded to by the people of the United States, I do not believe possible. But whatever may be the course of others, be the consequences what they may, by no act or vote of mine shall the Constitution of my country ever be so amended as to recognize property in man.

Mr. Chairman, ours is a complex system of government uniting two governments within the same territorial jurisdiction. The State governments being confined within their own boundaries, the National Government extending over all States and Territories, and on the high seas. Every loyal citizen is subject to both these governments, and can in no way withdraw his allegiance from either, except by ceasing to be a citizen of the United States. If he is a citizen of the United States he is also a citizen of the State where he resides, and he cannot be a citizen of any State, and be released by any action of said State from his allegiance to the National Government.

Both these governments, the State and National, derive all the power they possess directly from the people. The government of the United States is supreme to the extent of the powers clearly delegated to it in the National Constitution. The State governments are supreme within their limits, except in the exercise of power reserved by the people or prohibited to them by the Constitution of the United States.

There can be no misunderstanding as to what the reserved powers are which are prohibited to the States. Article first, section ten, of the Federal Constitution declares that

"No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, or EX POST FACTO law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility."

CLAUSE 2. "No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts on duties, on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and impost, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of Congress."

CLAUSE 3. "No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay a duty on tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay."

These powers prohibited to the States were conferred by the supreme Constitution on the National Government. The highest attributes of sovereignty are thus secured by this Constitution. Congress alone has power to make war and make peace, to conclude treaties and to regulate commerce with the nations abroad and with the States of the Union at home. Congress alone possesses the exclusive power to keep an army and navy, to lay and collect duties on imports, coin money and regulate its value, and to crown all, it is declared

— "that this Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

There is then, no necessity for a conflict of jurisdiction between the General and State governments. To the extent of the powers conferred by the Constitution on Congress, it was intended that the National Government should act directly upon the citizens of all the States and Territories and execute its own laws and decrees by its own officers. To the States are secured the regulation of their own municipal affairs, with which Congress can in no way constitutionally interfere.

The powers and duties of both governments are clearly defined, and neither may of right interfere with or attempt to exercise the functions of the other. Where the citizens and officers of these governments discharge their duties properly,

there can be no collision. These systems of government are, in my opinion, the best ever devised by man. The history of this nation, for the past seventy-three years, is the best evidence of its practicability. They have and ever will work harmoniously, if honestly administered. The people residing in the thirteen colonies created this National Government by making and adopting our present Constitution. They did not make it and ratify it as nations make and ratify treaties. They did not make it for a temporary purpose, but to secure a "PERPETUAL UNION." It was made by the action and with the approval of the whole people residing in all the colonies, and was not made by the citizens of independent sovereignties, as the secessionists claim. Neither before nor after the Declaration of our National Independence were any one of the old thirteen colonies free and independent states or nations; but they were colonies of Great Britain, then they were colonies united as one government, under the Articles of Confederation, in rebellion against Great Britain, calling themselves the "United States of America." The war of our Independence was fought and our liberty secured by the Confederation, and not by single colonies. Their joint independence was acknowledged by Great Britain and the nations of Europe, and never as separate sovereign independent States. The several States are not even mentioned by name in any one of these treaties, so far as I have examined. Our fathers intended, in every possible manner, to impress upon the American mind the maxim that our freedom and independence was secured by our Union; and that, without this Union, we could not maintain our liberty and independence.

From all the patriotic men of the Revolution there comes to us the warning, to beware of the dangers of a dissolution of the Union. In a letter, of the date of October 10th, 1787, addressed by Randolph to the Speaker of the House of Delegates of Virginia, he said:

"Severe experience under the pressure of war, a ruinous weakness manifested since the return of peace, and the contemplation of those dangers which darken the future prospect, have condemned the hope of grandeur and of safety

under the auspices of the Confederation. . . . Among the upright and intelligent, few can read without emotion the future fate of the States if severed from each other. Then shall we learn the full weight of foreign intrigue. Then shall we hear of partitions of the country. . . . But dreadful as the total dissolution of the Union is to my mind, I entertain no less horror at the thought of partial confederacies. In short, sir, I am fatigued with summoning up to my imagination the miseries which will harass the United States, if torn from each other, and which will not end until they are superseded by fresh mischiefs, under the yoke of a tyrant.”

To the same effect are the declarations of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and many others, whose opinions might be quoted, did time permit.

At no period in our history, either before or since the Revolution, has any one of the States been a separate sovereign independent nation, with the recognized power to make war and conclude treaties, or form or dissolve alliances with any nation. The principle of national unity is the very life and soul of our Constitution. Without it, our great national charter is not worth the paper upon which it is written.

In a letter, addressed by the unanimous vote of the convention which framed the Constitution, to “his excellency the President of Congress,” it is declared that—

— “it is obviously impracticable in the Federal Government of these States to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interests and safety of all. . . . In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in our view that which appears to us the GREATEST INTEREST of every true American, the CONSOLIDATION OF OUR UNION, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence.”— [ELLIOTT'S DEBATES, VOL. I, P. 24.]

The thirteen colonies; as I have before said, were united under the Confederation at the time the present Constitution was adopted, and the old Continental Congress, representing the people in all the States, initiated the movements for the new government, by calling together the convention of delegates which made this Constitution, declaring by resolutions when they did so, that the convention was called “for the sole and only purpose of making the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of government, and the preserva-

tion of the Union.” And this constitutional convention, when submitting their joint labors to the judgment of their constituents, declared in the preamble to the Constitution, that, “We, the people of the United States, in ORDER TO FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.”

“Can it be conceived,” says General Jackson,

—“that an instrument made for the purpose of ‘forming a more perfect Union’ than that of the Confederation could be so constructed by the assembled wisdom of our country as to substitute for that confederation a form of government dependent for its existence on the local interest, the party spirit of a State or of a prevailing faction in a State?”

Mr. Patterson, of New Jersey, a distinguished member of the convention which framed the Constitution, declared “that no State under the Confederation had a right to withdraw from the Union without the consent of all.” “The Confederation,” he says,

—“is in the nature of a compact, and can any State, unless by the consent of the whole, either in politics or law, withdraw their powers? Let it be said by Pennsylvania and the other large States that they, for the sake of peace, assented to the Confederation; can she now resume her original right without the consent of the donee?”

This modern doctrine of the right of a State to withdraw from the Union at pleasure, is a “heresy” which was denounced by all the leading men of the Revolution. If one State can withdraw from the Union at pleasure, may not a majority of the States, with the same propriety, exclude one or more States from the Union? Certainly they can. But there is no such right under the Constitution, and the framers of the Constitution carefully guarded against any such absurd theory.

“It is only,” says Judge Story,

“IN THE EVENT OF A FAILURE OF EVERY CONSTITUTIONAL RESORT, AND AN ACCUMULATION OF USURPATIONS AND ABUSES RENDERING PASSIVE OBEDIENCE AND NON-RESISTANCE A GREATER

EVIL THAN RESISTANCE AND REVOLUTION, that even Madison claims for 'a single member of the Union' a right, as an EXTRA AND ULTRA CONSTITUTIONAL right, to make the appeal from the cancelled obligations of the constitutional compact to original rights and the laws of self-preservation."—[1 STORY ON CON. 280.]

Chief Justice Marshall, in the case of *Cohens vs. Virginia* (5 Wheaton, p. 92), said

"The PEOPLE made the Constitution, and the PEOPLE can unmake it. It is the creature of their will, and lives only by their will. But this supreme irresistible power to make and unmake resides only in the WHOLE BODY OF THE PEOPLE; not in any SUBDIVISION of them. The attempt of any of the parts to exercise it is usurpation, and ought to be repelled by those to whom the people have delegated this power of repelling it. The acknowledged inability of the government, then, to sustain itself against the public will, and, by force or otherwise, to control the WHOLE NATION, is no sound argument in support of its constitutional inability to preserve itself against a SECTION OF THE NATION ACTING IN OPPOSITION TO THE GENERAL WILL."

Nowhere did the framers of the Constitution provide for the dissolution of the Union. Neither did the people, in any one of the colonies, when adopting the Constitution, reserve to themselves the right to withdraw from the Union at pleasure, and thus destroy the government they were organizing and the Union it created. The citizens in two or three of the colonies, it is true, before ratifying the Constitution, did discuss the propriety of reserving the right to withdraw from the Union at pleasure, but no such right was conceded; and from the necessity of the case, could not be admitted then, any more than it can be now.

Alexander Hamilton, in a letter to James Madison, suggested the propriety of New York ratifying the Constitution with "THE RESERVATION OF A RIGHT TO SECEDE," if certain amendments to the Constitution, proposed by New York, were not adopted within a given period. Mr. Madison replied, declaring explicitly, that the Constitution required an "ADOPTION IN TOTO AND FOREVER." It has, he adds, "BEEN SO ADOPTED BY THE OTHER STATES." But I will read the whole paragraph:

“My opinion is, that a reservation of a right to withdraw, if amendments be not decided on under the form of the Constitution, within a certain time, is a conditional ratification, that it does not make New York a member of the new Union, and consequently she should not be received on that plan. Compacts must be reciprocal; this principle in such case would not be preserved. The Constitution requires an adoption *IN TOTO* and *FOREVER*. It has been so adopted by the other States. An adoption for a limited time would be as defective as an adoption of some of the articles only. In short, any condition whatever must vitiate the ratification. . . . The idea of reserving the right to withdraw was stated at Richmond and considered as a conditional ratification, which was itself abandoned—worse than a rejection.”

At a later day (1830), Mr. Madison declared, in a letter to Hon. Edward Everett, that—

“It [the Constitution] was FORMED NOT BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE COMPONENT STATES, as the Federal Government for which it was substituted was formed; nor was it formed by a majority of the people of the United States, as a single community, in the manner of a consolidated government. It was formed by the States, that is, by the people in each of the States, acting in their highest sovereign capacity, and formed consequently by the same authority which formed the State constitutions.

“Being thus derived from the same source as the constitutions of the States, it has within each State the same authority as the constitution of the State, and is as much a constitution, in the strict sense of the term, within its prescribed sphere, as the constitutions of the States are in their respective spheres, but with this obvious and essential difference, that being a compact among States in their highest sovereign capacity, and constituting the people thereof one people for certain purposes, IT CAN NOT BE ALTERED OR ANNULLED AT THE WILL OF THE STATES INDIVIDUALLY, as the constitution of a State may be at its individual will.”

Thus spoke Madison, the father of the Constitution.

I now make a quotation from Jefferson. In a letter written more than forty-five years ago, he said—

“In every free and deliberating society, there must, from the nature of man, be opposite parties and violent dissensions and discords; and one of these, for the most part, must prevail over the others for a longer or a shorter time. Perhaps this party division is necessary to induce each to watch and relate to the people the proceedings of the other. BUT

IF, ON A TEMPORARY SUPERIORITY OF THE ONE PARTY, THE OTHER IS TO RESORT TO A SCISSION OF THE UNION, NO FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN EVER EXIST. If to rid ourselves of the present rule of Massachusetts and Connecticut we break the Union, will the evil stop there? Suppose the New England States alone cut off, will our natures be changed? Are we not men still to the south of that, and with all the passions of men? Immediately we shall see a Virginia and a Pennsylvania party arise in the residuary confederacy, and the public mind will be distracted by the same party spirit. What a game, too, will one party have in their hands, by eternally threatening the other, that unless they do so and so they will join their northern neighbors. If we reduce our Union to Virginia and North Carolina, immediately the conflict will be established between the representatives of these two States, and they will end by breaking into their simple units."

These and similar opinions of the leading men who put the machinery of our government in motion, might be quoted, if time permitted, almost indefinitely. In fact the whole history of the times proves that the men who made the Constitution and favored its ratification, intended to make a government for the people in all the States which should be strong enough to withstand all attacks, and which could not be broken up or divided, except by the consent of the whole people.

Mr. Chairman, article fourth, section fourth, of the Constitution declares that the "United States shall guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government." This includes, of course, all the States in the Union when the Constitution was adopted, and all new States which should afterwards be admitted into the Union. These words are not susceptible of double interpretation. They can have but one meaning. They declare imperatively that the executive, legislative, and judicial powers of the government, acting under and by authority of the National Constitution, shall see that every State in the Union has secured to it a republican form of government. This provision of itself is a clear denial of the claim set up here that every State is sovereign and independent, and that the National Government is only a confederation clothed by these sovereign and independent States with temporary authority, which can be withdrawn at the pleasure, caprice, or whim of an accidental



or absolute majority of the citizens of any State. General Jackson declared in his celebrated proclamation "that to say that any State may at pleasure secede from the Union, is to say that the United States are not a nation."

This claim of the right of any State to withdraw from the Union at pleasure, is so absurd that it would seem unworthy of serious consideration, were it not for the fact that the doctrine is daily proclaimed here, with some show of seriousness, and, I regret to say, by some northern men.

Mr. Chairman, the people of the United States in creating this National Government, intended to protect themselves from every form of despotism. They intended to secure themselves against the action of State governments, which in an excitement like the present might attempt to establish a despotic government, abolish liberty, and violate the guaranteed rights of any portion of their citizens. And in order thus to secure themselves, they provided in the National Constitution for a redress of their grievances by appealing from the unconstitutional action of such a State to the whole people in all the States represented in one government. The National Government, by this mandatory clause, becomes the protector of the whole people in all the States against the violation of their personal rights and liberties, even though committed by legislative majorities; and the General Government is clothed with all necessary power and authority to preserve inviolate the guarantees secured to all citizens by the National Constitution. This was a wise and salutary provision, enabling an oppressed minority in any locality to secure the assistance and protection of the whole people against every form of despotism.

As a nation, the law of self-preservation demands that we permit no State or combination of States to break up and destroy this government, and establish upon our borders anti-democratic, monarchical or military despotisms. As a government, we can no more allow this to be done, than a State can allow one or more counties within its jurisdiction to dissolve their connection at pleasure with the State government, and establish a government hostile to the State. The fact that the citizens of these counties might vote unanimously for secession, would not justify the citizens in the remaining

counties of the State in permitting the State thus to be dismembered, any more than the government of the United States could permit a State to be withdrawn, even though the citizens of the seceding State should vote unanimously in favor of the proposition. Neither could we permit States in the Union to change their governments, and adopt governments anti-republican in form, much less to establish monarchical or military despotisms in violation of the fundamental provisions of the National Constitution.

Chief Justice Taney, in the case of *Luther vs. Borden, ET AL.*, 8th Howard, page 45, a case growing out of the Dorr rebellion in Rhode Island, and to which I may again allude, declared that:

“Unquestionably, a military government, established as the permanent government of a State, would not be a republican government, and it would be the duty of Congress to overthrow it.”

If it be the duty of Congress, as Chief Justice Taney declares, and as I believe, to overthrow a military government, established by the legal authorities of any State, it cannot be denied that it is also the duty of Congress to overthrow and abolish any form of government in a State which is in fact anti-republican and oppressive, no matter whether established by the legally constituted authorities, or by usurpation. The power of the National Government to prohibit any State from establishing an anti-republican form of government, is as clear and unquestioned as is its authority to prohibit any State from setting the National Constitution at defiance and assuming the power of an independent nation.

The mode and manner of procedure, in either case, is committed entirely to the discretion of Congress, as provided in section eighth, clause eighteen of the Constitution, which authorizes Congress “TO MAKE ALL LAWS WHICH SHALL BE NECESSARY AND PROPER TO CARRY INTO EXECUTION THE FOREGOING POWERS, AND ALL OTHER POWERS VESTED BY THIS CONSTITUTION IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OR IN ANY DEPARTMENT OR OFFICER THEREOF.”

In the Rhode Island case to which I have alluded, there was, I believe, an admitted majority, of the people of the State, who desired to change from the charter government of

Charles the Second, granted in 1663, under which the State had always acted, to a constitutional government which should extend the right of suffrage, and fairly adjust the inequality in the apportionment of representatives in the State Legislature. The charter pointed out no mode of procedure by which amendments could be made, and the charter party, by the unfair apportionment and the property qualification for electors, were able to keep possession of the government, and on a pretense of want of power to propose any amendments to the charter, they repeatedly refused to initiate proceedings on application of the people for a change of the organic law from the old monarchical charter to a republican constitution.

The people failing to obtain a redress of their grievances from the recognized authorities, proceeded to secure them in a revolutionary manner. They formed associations, held public meetings, prescribed rules for the election of a convention of delegates to form a State constitution; in accordance with which delegates were elected throughout the State, who met, framed an excellent constitution and submitted it to the people for adoption or rejection. A vote was taken upon it at the time and in the manner prescribed by the convention, and it was adopted and ratified by a large majority of the people. Elections were subsequently held in accordance with the provisions of this constitution, and Thomas W. Dorr was duly elected governor, together with a legislature and all State officers provided for in the constitution. This legislature convened and organized; Dorr was inaugurated governor, and attempted to take possession of the arsenals and public property of the State. The charter government resisted the people's government, proclaimed martial law by act of their legislature, and called on the President of the United States for military aid to assist in putting down the rebellion. As soon as Dorr and his party learned that the President had decided to assist the charter government, he fled from the State, and thus ended the so-called Dorr rebellion and with it their government. Of course I need hardly add what all know so well, that Dorr was subsequently tried for treason, convicted, and sent to the penitentiary for life. I do not speak of the justice or injus-

tice of the charter government, I only speak of the fact. I have been thus minute in this matter to show that if an admitted minority of the citizens of any State may thus have the assistance of the National Government against an admitted majority who were seeking in a peaceful, and as they supposed, the only manner in which they could proceed to secure their own rights, without inflicting or intending to inflict injury or wrong on the minority, or establish a government hostile to the United States, how much more important that a minority of the citizens in any State, who are loyal to the Union, shall be protected in their constitutional rights, even though a large majority, through the forms of law, attempt to destroy their liberties, make war upon the National Government, and establish a despotic instead of a republican form of government.

Mr. Chairman, I have introduced the subject matter of the Rhode Island controversy here, for the double purpose of showing the power conferred on the government of the United States by the National Constitution, and the duty of the government in contingencies that now seem likely to happen. Suppose FIVE or TEN, or even all the slave States should, with the sanction of a majority of their citizens, and under the forms of law enacted by their present recognized authorities, join South Carolina in her treasonable movements. What would be the duty of the General Government toward the patriotic and loyal minority in these States? Undoubtedly there can be but one answer to this question. It is their duty to protect and secure them in the enjoyment of all their constitutional rights, and by FORCE if necessary. And though the loyal citizens should be largely in the minority, if they remain faithful to the Constitution and the Union, they may and should disregard the action and usurpations of a majority, refuse to recognize their treasonable proceedings, either in declaring the States sovereign and independent, changing the State constitutions, or by acts of their conventions absolving all citizens from their allegiance to the National Government. Those who remain loyal and refuse to recognize such revolutionary proceedings, may continue to act under the old constitution and laws of the State, as if no such treasonable action had taken place, elect their governor,

State officers, and members of the Legislature and Congress, at the time and in the manner prescribed by the laws existing prior to the usurpation.

The Governors thus elected could call upon the President of the United States for aid to suppress the rebellion, and it would be his duty to grant it. There is no doubt but what Congress would recognize such a government. The legislature thus elected could choose United States Senators to fill any vacancies that might exist either from the expiration of the terms of the present Senators, their resignation or expulsion, because engaged in a conspiracy to overthrow the present National Government. The Senators and Representatives in Congress thus elected by the loyal citizens of any of the seceding States, would undoubtedly be admitted to seats, each House, by the Constitution, being the sole judge of the qualifications of its own members. In this manner the National Government could fulfill and discharge its constitutional obligations by securing to each State a republican form of government, suppress rebellion, and protect the lives, liberties and property of the loyal citizens. If it be said, however, that the MAJORITY would vote down the MINORITY, or by force and mob law prevent such an expression of their opinions at the ballot-box, or the revolutionists might elect a Governor and Legislature, members of Congress and Senators, with the understanding that they should not serve, and that such a scheme as is proposed for the minority to act upon is impracticable; then, I answer, that the duty of all loyal citizens would be to assemble and petition Congress for a redress of their grievances—the protection of their lives and property, and the security of all their constitutional rights, including a republican form of State government.

The National Government justly and proudly boasts of having protected one poor and friendless foreigner, who had only declared his intention to become an American citizen, from the despotism of Austria, at the hazard of a bloody and expensive war. If, then, there be but one of its own citizens, born and bred on its own soil, who, despite the threatened punishment of traitors in rebellion against the United States, remains loyal to the Constitution and Union, shall he not be protected in his life, liberty, and property by

the National Government? If the General Government have not power to protect the rights of all loyal citizens, then the government is a failure, and that provision of the National Constitution which says: "THE UNITED STATES SHALL GUARANTEE TO EVERY STATE IN THE UNION A REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT," is a dead letter, and worse than useless.

But, Mr. Chairman, with a proper administration of the National Government it will neither be a dead letter nor useless, and the future history of this government will prove how wisely, and with what sagacity and forethought our fathers acted when they inserted this invaluable provision in the Constitution, requiring the whole people to aid in suppressing rebellion, and securing the rights of all who either by numbers or military usurpation might be overpowered in any particular State or States.

Mr. Chairman, all governments must, from the very nature of the case, use force to execute their Executive, Legislative, and Judicial decrees, if resisted. This is a power inseparable from all governments. If the city of New York, to-day, by the unanimous voice of her citizens, were to declare herself a sovereign and independent city, and set up a government of her own, put the authority of the National and State governments at defiance, and collect and appropriate all the revenue derived from duties on imports, thus cutting off more than half the entire revenue of the National Government, does any sane man suppose for a moment that this government would tolerate it? By no means. If it became necessary to subdue her, the government would lay the entire city in ruins. Martial law would be declared, a blockade proclaimed—the property of all rebels confiscated, and the leading traitors hanged or shot. The city of New York contains nearly a million of inhabitants, almost, if not quite, four times the number of whites in South Carolina, and, I believe, more wealth than any one Southern State, unless it be Virginia. The people living in the city of New York have just the same right to declare themselves out of the Union that the people of any one or more of the Southern States have—no more, no less. And that right is the inherent right of revolution. The government once involved

in war, in its efforts to enforce the laws and put down rebellion, could know no rule but success. A blockade, martial law, the confiscation of all property, real and personal, of the insurgents, the execution of all the leading rebels and **THE REMOVAL, BY FORCE IF NECESSARY, OF THE CAUSE THAT PRODUCED THE REBELLION.**

This is no new doctrine. John Quincy Adams, nearly twenty years ago, in the House of Representatives, in speaking of the war power, said:

“When your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and must carry it on according to the laws of war; and by the laws of war an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and martial law takes the place of them. This power in Congress has, perhaps, never been called into exercise under the present Constitution of the United States. But, when the laws of war are in force, what, I ask, is one of those laws? It is this: that when a country is invaded and two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory.”

This course is generally indispensable with the insurgents, in all revolutions, in order to “**OBTAIN INDEMNITY FOR THE PAST, AND SECURITY FOR THE FUTURE.**” The Constitution makes the President of the United States the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, and he is required to see that the laws are faithfully executed. He cannot evade this just responsibility, if he would, unless he is a traitor. There is, then, but one course left after all peaceful remedies fail, and that is, to use all the power of the government to crush rebellion and treason, if we would preserve the nation from certain and utter ruin.

As to the powers and duties of the government, in case of rebellion, I quote and endorse in full the declarations of Henry Clay, made in a letter to Hon. Daniel Ullman and others, of New York, dated October 3d, 1850. In speaking of secession, he said:

“Suppose the standard should be raised of open resistance to the Union, the Constitution, and laws, what is to be done? There can be but one possible answer. The power, the authority, and the dignity of the government ought to be

maintained, and resistance put down at all hazard. The duty of executing the laws and suppressing insurrections is without limitation or qualification; it is co-extensive with the jurisdiction of the United States. No human government can exist without the power of applying force, and the actual application of it in extreme cases. My belief is, that if it should be applied to South Carolina, in the event of her secession, she would be speedily reduced to obedience, and the Union, instead of being weakened, would acquire additional strength."

And in a speech delivered in the United States Senate in 1850, he said:

"Now, Mr. President, I stand here in my place, meaning to be unawed by any threats, whether they come from individuals or from States. I should deplore as much as any man, living or dead, that arms should be raised against the authority of the Union, either by individuals or by States. But, after all that has occurred, if any one State, or a portion of the people of any one State, choose to place themselves in military array against the government of the Union, I AM FOR TRYING THE STRENGTH OF THE GOVERNMENT. I am for ascertaining whether we have a government or not—practical, efficient, capable of maintaining its authority, and of upholding the powers and interests which belong to a government. Nor, sir, am I to be alarmed or dissuaded from any such course by intimations of the spilling of blood. IF BLOOD IS TO BE SPILT, BY WHOSE FAULT IS IT? Upon the supposition, I maintain it will be the fault of those who choose to raise the standard of disunion, and endeavor to prostrate this government; and, sir, when that is done, so long as it pleases God to give me a voice to express my sentiments, or an arm, weak and enfeebled as it may be by age, that voice and that arm will be on the side of my country for the support of the general authority, and for maintenance of the powers of this Union."

Again, in reply to some remarks of the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. Barnwell), Mr. Clay said:

"Mr. President, I said nothing with respect to the character of Mr. Rhett (for I might as well name him). I know him personally, and have some respect for him; but if he pronounced the sentiment attributed to him, of raising the standard of disunion and of resistance to the common government, whatever he has been, if he follows up that declaration by corresponding overt acts, he is a TRAITOR, and I hope will meet with the fate of a TRAITOR!" [Great applause in the galleries.]



Of South Carolina, he said:

"I will tell her, and I will tell the Senator himself, that there are as brave, as dauntless, as gallant men, and as devoted patriots, in my opinion, in every other State in the Union, as are to be found in South Carolina herself; and, if in any unjust cause South Carolina, or ANY OTHER STATE, should hoist the flag of disunion and rebellion, thousands, tens of thousands, of Kentuckians would flock to the standard of their country to dissipate and repress their rebellion. These are my sentiments — make the most of them." — [APP. CONG. GLOBE, 1 S<sup>ESS.</sup> 31 CONG. P. 1414.]

Our first duty, then, it seems to me, Mr. Chairman, is to abolish all ports of entry which it may be inconvenient to occupy; to proclaim a blockade of all ports in the rebellious States; employ the navy in connection with privateers, who shall be authorized to capture and hold as prizes all vessels with their cargoes leaving any port without a clearance from an officer duly commissioned by the authorities of the United States, as also all vessels which might attempt to enter any of said ports without paying the duties to an officer of the General Government. A blockade, such as I speak of, would be one of the most effective methods, without firing a gun, of opening the eyes of the thoughtless and reckless men in the South to the true condition into which they have so madly precipitated themselves.

Their commerce, which consists almost entirely of exports, would be utterly destroyed, so far as finding outlets through the present channels of trade. And they would be forced to find outlets, for they must EXPORT to live — and they would be compelled to ship their cotton, rice, tobacco, etc., by way of New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, but principally by way of Baltimore — which latter city would reap a harvest and enjoy a trade and prosperity which she has never known, furnishing, as she would be compelled to do, shipping and exchange for three-fourths of the immense commerce that would thus be forced through her gates, but which now finds outlets through other channels.

This will be a matter at which it will be well enough for business men to look in the cities named, especially in Baltimore, if the National Government unfortunately should be driven to the necessity of adopting the course I have indi-

cated — a course which I trust and pray may never be necessary — but which, when necessary, I shall insist on being adopted.

Mr. Chairman. The President of the United States, in his late annual message, charges upon the Northern people, and this charge is made the ground of complaint by representatives from States now threatening rebellion, that the free States of the Union are faithless to their constitutional obligations; that they obstruct and resist the execution of constitutional laws enacted by Congress, in which the Southern States are deeply interested.

Sir, this unfounded and slanderous charge of the President has done much to inflame the public mind in the South, and I meet it right here, and most positively and unqualifiedly deny it. Sir, there is not, there never has been, and I do not believe there ever will be, a constitutional obligation imposed upon the citizens of the free States that they will not faithfully and honorably discharge. True, here and there the laws of the National as well as the State governments have been violated, but these are exceptions to the rule.

The laws of Congress and the decisions of the Supreme Court are, you know, Mr. Chairman, uniformly obeyed by the citizens of the entire North, and obeyed, too, even though they may, in accordance with their highest convictions of justice, regard some of them as infamous, as they undoubtedly do. Still the people of the Northern States have submitted to them and prefer still to yield obedience to them until the people, in their majesty, shall demand, in a peaceful and constitutional manner, their modification or repeal, and also the reversal, in a like peaceful and constitutional manner, of such decisions of the Supreme Court as they believe to be not only in violation of the plainest provisions of the Constitution, but also inhuman, barbarous and unjust. All this the citizens of the free States have done and will continue to do, rather than resort to revolution and bloodshed, and the overthrow and destruction of this government and Union, freighted as it is with the hopes of millions, and endeared to every patriot by the memories of the past and the hopes of the future. The Northern States ever have and will continue to abide by the obligations of the National

Constitution, whatever the South may do. The citizens of the free States have been taught to regard the Constitution as the sheet anchor of their liberties, and they will not abandon it, much less trample upon its just requirements.

But the "Personal Liberty bills," as they are called, which some of the free States have felt themselves called on to pass to prevent kidnapping, are seized upon and used by the "crises" manufacturers to inflame the Southern mind against the North. Why has this matter never been thought of before, and brought to our notice? Some of these laws have been on the statute books of the free States for over twenty years, and no complaint has been made until now.

Mr. Chairman. I can hardly find language with which properly to characterize this miserable pretext. It is one of the most flimsy shams ever resorted to by any set of men to hide their real designs. Why, sir, it is so contemptible that even South Carolina secessionists are too honorable to use it. In their convention her leading men do not attempt to justify their treason on such grounds, or because of the election of Mr. Lincoln, or the non-execution of the fugitive slave act. Indeed, on the seventh and eighth days of the sitting of the secession convention, in the course of the debate on the causes that induced South Carolina to take her present position, Mr. Packer said —

"It is no spasmodic effort that has come suddenly upon us, but it has been gradually culminating for a long series of years."

Mr. Inglis said: "Most of us have had this subject under consideration for the last twenty years."

Mr. Keitt said: "I have been engaged in this movement ever since I entered political life."

Mr. Rhett said: "It is nothing produced by Mr. Lincoln's election, or the non-execution of the fugitive slave law. It is a matter which has been gathering head for thirty years."

And before this, in their discussions, Messrs. Rhett, Spratt, and others, declared their opinion that **THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW IS UNCONSTITUTIONAL**. Judge Withers, in an able speech, said it was unconstitutional.

Mr. Keitt said: "I have great doubts myself about the fugitive slave law. The Constitution was at first a compact between the States; secondly, a treaty between sections. It was something more than a compact between the States. I believe, therefore, that this law ought to have been left to the execution of the various States."

But, Mr. Chairman, what are the "Personal Liberty bills" which some of the free States have passed? They are simply laws to prevent the kidnapping of their own citizens. They are just such laws in substance as may be found on the statute books of most of the Southern States to prevent the kidnapping of their free and slave people.

I have looked over these acts of the free States on this subject, and find that they were not, as many suppose, passed expressly to obstruct the execution of any law of Congress. Many of these laws were passed to conform to the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of *Prigg vs. Pennsylvania*, which declared substantially that it was not the duty of a State to pass laws for the arrest and rendition of fugitive slaves, and that Congress alone had exclusive jurisdiction over the subject.

The law of Vermont provides that all officers of the United States and their deputies shall be exempt from the provisions of their "liberty bill" while in the discharge of their official duty. The proviso reads as follows:

"This act, however, shall not be construed to extend to any citizen of the State acting as a Judge of the Circuit or District Court of the United States, or as a Marshal or Deputy Marshal of the district of Vermont, or to any person acting under the command or authority of said courts or marshal."

Nineteen-twentieths of those who are prating about Northern "Personal Liberty bills," know nothing about them. Nevertheless, they do not hesitate boldly to declare that they are unconstitutional.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I do not assume to speak for all the Northern States; but I can say with great confidence (and I have no doubt but what other gentlemen will speak for their States, and give the same pledge) that if the Legislature of Ohio should at any time pass an unconstitutional law—which is not all improbable, as their own local laws are

frequently adjudged unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the State—I say, if such a law should at any time be passed, whether conflicting with the fugitive slave bill or any other act of Congress, it will be repealed whenever the Supreme Court declares it unconstitutional. Can the representatives from the States who complain of these “Personal Liberty bills” in fairness ask anything more? Are they willing, in turn, to give the North the same pledge of loyalty? Most of the States now in rebellion against the government have, and have had for many years, laws on their statute books, the most inhuman, and, as we believe, unconstitutional—laws which enslave our free people, who are guilty of no crime, but are enslaved for life simply for coming into the State. The authorities of some of the free States have sent commissioners to one or more of these Southern States, to test, in a legal and peaceful manner, the constitutionality of such laws; but they have not only never been permitted to do so, but gentlemen of distinction who have visited the Southern States for that purpose, have been driven from the South by mobs. There never has been, and I think I may safely say there never will be, such an outrage committed by the citizens of any of the free States on a Southern man whom a State might send North on such a mission. Any gentleman whom the authorities of a Southern State may choose to commission to a free State, or who may come of his own will and pleasure, to test the constitutionality of any of our laws, whether they be our “Personal Liberty bills,” or any others, will be received and treated as a gentleman. And the decision of our highest judicial tribunal, whether in accordance with our views or not, will be strictly and in good faith obeyed.

The Legislature of my State a few years ago passed a law, known with us as the crowbar law, to tax banks the same as other property—a law which they not only believed to be just, but also constitutional. The banks resisted the payment of the tax. Suits were commenced to test its constitutionality. The Supreme Court of Ohio sustained the law, and declared it constitutional. It was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States, and they pronounced the law unconstitutional. The Legislature, in compliance with that

decision, repealed the law, and appropriated money to refund to the banks the taxes thus declared to have been illegally collected. I mention this act as one that came within my own personal knowledge. I could name others, had I time, which would show the law-abiding and loyal character of the entire Northern people. But it is not necessary. A majority of the people of Ohio believed then and believe now that that law was constitutional, and that the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States was wrong; yet they obeyed its mandates, because it was the court of last resort, and disobedience would be nullification.

Mr. Chairman, our calumniators in the North have deceived and are to-day deceiving the honest people of the South, as to the character and purpose of the masses of men who make up the Republican party. They are told that "the North had got to be utterly lost to all sense of truth or falsehood, right or wrong; that everything good gave way before senseless sympathy for black men to such a degree that to steal property, incite to insurrection, rapine, and murder, were every-day sights." Sir, a more shameless falsehood never fell from the lips of man or devil. In the estimation of all honorable men, a wilful falsifier is of all men the most despicable, and the utterer of this base slander on his own State and neighbors has at last found the depths of infamy. There cannot be one fact adduced upon which to rest so monstrous a charge. There is no evidence of this alleged hatred on the part of the North. No Southern man or woman visiting the North, either for business or pleasure, was ever beaten with stripes, tarred and feathered, imprisoned, or murdered by any cowardly mobs, or lynch-law courts, no matter what their opinions might be on any subject, however obnoxious, or however offensively they might have proclaimed them. I wish as much could be said, and as truthfully, of every Southern State.

Sir, I say to Southern gentlemen, and I say it with pride, that a more law-abiding, peaceful, constitutional and union-loving people cannot be found in any part of the country than the great body of those who make up the rank and file of the Republican party. Indeed they are pre-eminently distinguished, wherever known, for the conscientious discharge of

every duty, public and private, for their sobriety and Christian character, for their love of peace, for their unselfish philanthropy and a love of the human race, which is circumscribed by no narrow limits, but embraces in its cosmopolitan liberality the people of every nation and every religious creed.

If this be true, I am asked why we permit such slanderers as the author of the extract just read to utter their falsehoods throughout the North. I answer, because we are not fearful of falsehood, where free speech and a free press is left free to combat it before an intelligent people. Wherever such slanders are uttered in the North they are harmless. They ought to be and would be harmless with you in the South, if you tolerated free speech and a free press. The utterer of this slanderer is like the desperate gambler, who, having lost character, position, everything that a manly man could desire, is playing the last card upon the political board, with a recklessness befitting his desperate condition, hoping almost against hope to be promoted, by the dying political organization now in charge of the government, to a position once dignified and made honorable by a Jay, a Story, and a Marshall. How infamous and wicked must an administration be where promotions to high and honorable positions are more readily secured by such baseness than by an honorable, manly, upright bearing.

John Randolph, of Virginia, once said, when rebuking those whom he justly called doughfaces, "that he did not envy the head or heart of that man who could rise here and defend slavery on principle." I would, sir, that we had a Randolph, a Jefferson, and a McDowell to speak here to-day, for the South and to the South.

Mr. Chairman. It is a mistake, and our Southern brethren are deceived in supposing that opposition to slavery in the free States is the result of political preaching or political parties. It is a still greater mistake to suppose that this opposition has become so formidable as it has because of political demagogues seeking office. This sentiment of opposition to slavery has existed from the day the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth rock, and ever will exist, not only with their children but with the great body of the Christian world. It

has grown in spite of political preaching, in spite of demagogues, and in spite of doughfaces, of whom the North has, I am sorry to say, quite as many to-day as when Randolph gave them a name so characteristic of their depravity.

In Canada, on our northern border, in England, and France, and indeed throughout all Europe the hostility to slavery is far greater and more unanimous than in any of the free States of the American Union. And those who are its most uncompromising opponents in the countries named cannot and never expect to obtain office or political promotion because of their opposition to the system. They are not and never have been influenced by any such sordid considerations. Neither are the great body of the citizens of the free States, who are and always have been opposed to slavery, governed in their opposition by any such considerations. It is a feeling of human nature which cannot be overcome, a "prejudice," if you will, which cannot be "conquered" at the bidding of any man or party.

Three-fourths of the civilized and Christian world look upon the trade of man-stealing and man-selling as a piratical commerce, to be prohibited and abolished wherever governments have the power. And if there never had been any United States Senators and Representatives in Congress made elective by the people in the free States, and there were no offices to be filled there by appointment of the President of the United States, the hostility to this execrable commerce in the free States would have been five-fold greater than it is. And without the aid which the North has given to the slavery interest, it would be powerless to-day. For the truth is, the National Government in the hands of slaveholders, as it has been three-fourths of the time since its organization, has debauched and corrupted the public mind of the North, and in the name of democracy, has been able to keep possession of the government, while extending, strengthening, and nationalizing slavery.

Mr. Chairman. Liberty is one of the grandest and most God-like aspirations of the human heart; it is a sentiment which cannot be eradicated by compromises or party platforms. No, nor by church creeds either. It is a feeling



implanted in the breast of every intelligent human soul by the hand of the Creator, and bars and bolts and prisons cannot eradicate it. It is the morning and evening prayer of every slave, and the late Governor McDowell, of Virginia, never uttered a more sublime truth than when he said:

“You may place the slave where you please; you may dry up to your uttermost the fountains of his feelings, the springs of his thoughts; you may close upon his mind every avenue to knowledge, and cloud it over with artificial night; you may yoke him to labor as an ox which liveth only to work, and worketh only to live; you may put him under any process which, without destroying his value as a slave, will debase and crush him as a rational being; you may do all this, AND THE IDEA THAT HE WAS BORN FREE WILL SURVIVE IT ALL. It is allied to his hope of immortality; it is the eternal part of his nature, which oppression cannot reach. It is a torch lit up in his soul by the hand of Deity, and never meant to be extinguished by the hand of man.”

Mr. Chairman. The people of the North hold these sentiments to-day, as they ever have and as I trust they ever will. What wonder, then, that when called upon to extend by their vote this institution, so obnoxious to them and the moral sense of the civilized world, that they should be found, as a body, in opposition to it. The only wonder, sir, is that there is any division in the free States on the subject. On this question a large majority of the citizens of all parties in the free States stand to-day where Washington and Adams, Jefferson and Franklin, Hancock and Jay, stood in the days of the revolution, and where Clay and the leading men of all parties, political as well as religious, stood thirty and forty years ago.

When Henry Clay was called upon in 1850 to vote to legalize slavery in the National Territories, he indignantly refused, and declared, in language which will live as long as any sentiment his great heart ever conceived, or his eloquent lips ever uttered, “that no earthly power could induce him to do it.” I will quote the extract. In reply to Senator Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, he said—

“I am extremely sorry to hear the Senator from Mississippi say that he requires, first the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific, and, also, that he is not

satisfied with that, but requires, if I understood him correctly, a positive provision for the admission of slavery south of that line. And now, sir, coming from a slave State, as I do, I owe it to myself, I owe it to truth, I owe it to the subject, to say that no earthly power could induce me to vote for a specific measure for the introduction of slavery where it had not before existed, either south or north of that line. Coming, as I do, from a slave State, it is my solemn, deliberate, and well matured determination that no power—no earthly power—shall compel me to vote for the positive introduction of slavery either south or north of that line. While you reproach, and justly, our British ancestors for the introduction of this institution upon the continent of North America, I am, for one, unwilling that the posterity of the present inhabitants of California and New Mexico shall reproach us for doing what we reproach Great Britain for doing for us.”

Need any of the men of to-day in this House hesitate or fear to stand as firmly in opposition to the extension of slavery as the great Kentucky statesman stood only ten years ago?

To the same effect spoke the distinguished Senator from the slave State of Delaware, the late John M. Clayton. In a speech in the Senate of the United States, August 3, 1848, he said—

“Does any man expect that, from this time forth to the end of the republic, the North will ever again consent to extend slavery by act of Congress into any free territory, and thus increase that alleged inequality of representation in the other House, arising out of the enumeration of three-fifths of slaves in the apportionment of its members, which has ever been the foundation of their most bitter complaints? Try that question when you may in that House, an overwhelming majority will ever appear against such an extension. I have never voted for such an act of Congress, because, in my deliberate opinion, it would be wrong, and never could be justified, except as a measure to be resorted to in an extreme case, involving the very existence of the Union.

“I am no advocate of slavery, or of its extension. Like my friend from Maryland (Mr. Johnson), I hold no slaves, and I fully concur in the opinion which he expressed a year ago, ‘that slavery is a moral, social, and political evil—to be removed, however, only by those who are immediately interested in it.’ These are the deliberate opinions of thousands and tens of thousands in Maryland, Virginia, Delaware,

and Kentucky—all slaveholding States. . . . Opinions go far beyond ours in the non-slaveholding States. They view slavery as an eradicable curse, and will never consent, IN ANY EVENT, to its extension, unless where the Constitution carries it.

“Sir, it is time the South understood her true position. She can no longer control this question. He who supposes that a threat of disunion will alarm the potent men of the North labors under a great mistake. To them disunion has no terrors.”

Mr. Chairman, every concession made by the majority of any people in any government, to the minority, under menaces and threats, but emboldens and makes that minority more exacting and imperious in their demands. All past compromises, as they were called—concessions, as they were in fact—to the slave interest, prove the truth of this declaration. So domineering has this slave interest become, because of these concessions, that they now threaten the utter destruction of the government, unless every demand they make is immediately complied with. Indeed, it has been seriously intimated that Abraham Lincoln, who has been selected by the people as their Chief Magistrate for the ensuing four years from the fourth of March next, will never be inaugurated in this capital; that the city of Washington will be in the hands of traitors before that time, and the seat of government of the proposed Democratic slave empire. In answer to this, sir, I have just this to say: that in any event—yes, sir, in any event—Mr. Lincoln will be inaugurated President of the United States in this city, and that this capital, with all its magnificent structures and its venerable traditions, will remain the seat of government of this Republic; I mean, sir, that it will remain the seat of government of those loyal States who, come what may, with patriotic fidelity will remain true to the old Constitution, and faithfully adhere to the principles upon which the government was founded. The eighteen millions of freemen in the North will never allow it to be otherwise. Should the conspirators, however, ever succeed—which is hardly within the range of human probability—in establishing their proposed slave empire, Washington City will never be its capital. So long, sir, as it shall remain a capital at all, the banner of liberty,

with its stars and stripes, shall float from its dome, or none — the black banner of slavery and disunion, never!

Mr. Chairman, our duty, as the representatives of the people, is to meet like men this off-recurring and exciting question which is again presented for our consideration. Not selfishly, as maintaining consistency; not hastily, through fear; not in anger, or red-hot wrath; but calmly, firmly, courteously, in view of the great responsibility resting upon each member, and the momentous consequences that may follow the casting of a single vote.

Sir, I would not knowingly or willingly do or say one word that would have a tendency to light up the torch of civil and servile war, for I feel that the two will be inseparable—that the one cannot come without the other; and I pray Heaven that such a calamity may not only be spared my own kindred, but the people of every Southern State. I am for peace; the great body of the citizens with whom it is my pride and pleasure to act are for peace—they are men of peace. And no language that I can command will more forcibly express the sentiments of the entire constituency whom I have the honor to represent than the following lines from our own Quaker poet, John G. Whittier. They were written a short time after the John Brown raid at Harper's Ferry. His execution was the occasion which called them forth. I endorse every line and every thought, and apply them to-day — as he then applied them to Virginia — to all the Southern States, so far as interfering in any unlawful manner with their local affairs.

“Perish with him the folly  
That seeks through evil good,  
LONG LIVE THE GENEROUS PURPOSE  
Unstained with human blood!  
Not the raid of midnight terror,  
BUT THE THOUGHT WHICH UNDERLIES;  
Not the outlaw's pride of daring  
But the Christian's sacrifice.

“ Oh ! never may yon blue-ridged hills  
The northern rifle hear,  
Nor see the light of blazing homes  
Flash on the negro's spear.  
But let the free-winged angel Truth  
Their guarded passes scale,  
To teach that RIGHT is more than MIGHT  
And justice more than mail !

“ So vainly shall Virginia set  
Her battle in array ;  
In vain her trampling squadrons knead  
The winter snow with clay.  
She may strike the pouncing eagle  
But she dare not harm the dove ;  
And every gate she bars to Hate  
Shall open wide to Love ! ”

Mr. Chairman, we should have had peace if we had had an Executive with firmness and courage, one who at a proper time would have driven traitors from his Cabinet, and called to his councils Union-loving and patriotic men, instead of entering into secret negotiations with the conspirators.

Sir, one of the most melancholy spectacles this generation has been called to witness, and, I may add, one of the most melancholy I hope they may ever live to witness, has been the utter failure of James Buchanan to administer this Government. Called to the Chief Magistracy by the voice of a generous and confiding people, he found the nation in a state of prosperity which it had never known, with an overflowing Treasury, and a large majority of his political friends in both houses of Congress. He is now to retire from the position to which, in an evil hour, he was unfortunately elevated, utterly disgraced. His party defeated, the Treasury bankrupt, the business of the country prostrate, and the whole nation convulsed by the action of a band of conspirators who, if not with his complicity, with the complicity, at least, of a majority of his late Cabinet, were attempting, and to-day are determined, if possible, to destroy the Government, which he and they had alike sworn to maintain and defend.

He has failed as no President has ever failed before him, and failed only because destitute of that firmness and moral integrity necessary (when surrounded as he has been by the most unscrupulous) to discharge the plain and unmistakable duties imposed upon him by the Constitution. His vacillation and want of courage has driven the country from a state of unexampled prosperity and peace to the very brink of ruin and civil war, and we are to-day in a condition that no other nation with such an executive head could be in for a single hour without revolution. Our only hope is in the loyalty and patriotism of the people. This, I trust, will enable us to withstand the storm until the fourth of March, when the Government will, I am sure, pass into other and better hands.

With the retirement of Mr. Buchanan, we have also the destruction of the political organization of which, for so many years, he has been a leader. This party, claiming to be Democratic, has been one of the most wonderful organizations known in the history of this or any other country having a popular form of government. Professing the broadest liberalism, the greatest veneration for constitutional liberty, and assuming to recognize to the fullest extent the binding obligations of all compacts and compromises, as well as a most sacred regard for the rights of all men, its leaders have not scrupled to apologize for the vilest despotism, nor hesitated to trample upon the Constitution as upon all compacts and compromises, and every right of human nature. They have not hesitated, until the break-up at Charleston and Baltimore, at supporting any and every demand, however monstrous, when made by the slave barons. In past years the resources of this wonderful party seemed inexhaustible and its power invincible. No matter what its leader said or did, the party was successful. It defied and in turn prostrated all parties which contested its claims for power, and in its triumphal march all opposition and combinations fell before it as by the hand of magic. So blinded were the people by its fair promises and captivating name. But to-day, thanks to a free press and free speech, all this is changed, and its prestige is gone, its glory has departed, its hold upon the heart of the people is broken, and the sceptre of power is about to pass

from its hands into those of a young and generous party, representing the republican principles of Jefferson.

Mr. Chairman. There are thirty millions of people in this country; of this number twenty-five millions, at least, are opposed to the extension of slavery into any national Territory, and would never vote at the ballot box to sanction such a proposition, much less agree to give it additional guarantees, and make it perpetual by an amendment to the Constitution. This immense moral power, with all the civilized and Christian world to sympathize with it, wielded peacefully and constitutionally against slavery, as I trust it ever will be, cannot fail eventually to put it in the course of ultimate extinction, and ere long the citizens of the slave States, in their own way, will put away this evil and wrong from among them. This is the faith and hope of the Republican party, and, as I have said before, I will keep this faith or none.

If, however, civil war is forced upon the nation for the purpose of extending and making slavery perpetual, he must indeed be blind who does not see that the system will go out in blood. Twenty-five millions of people who not only have no interest in slavery, but whose pecuniary interests are against it, as well as their political and religious views, will never submit to the dictation of a privileged class numbering less than half a million. May God in his mercy avert the catastrophe of civil and servile war. But if it must come, I pray that the doom of slavery, which will be inevitable, may not also prove the doom of the slave masters; that we may not see re-enacted in any part of our country the bloody horrors of St. Domingo; for, as Jefferson said, "the Almighty has no attributes that can take sides with the slave masters in such a contest."

Mr. Chairman. If it were possible for the people of the United States to permit the Union to be dissolved and allow a Southern confederacy to be permanently established it would be a confederated despotism more intolerant than any government of the nineteenth century. Those who have heretofore been the boasted champions of what they have been pleased to call democracy, do not hesitate now to declare, in case of the

establishment of a Southern confederacy that everything like democracy is to be ignored. Popular government is a failure! exclaim the leaders of this Southern revolution, who, until now, have been loudest in declaiming for the sovereignty of the people. Popular government is a failure! respond the mad disunion pro-slavery democracy. Popular government is a failure! is echoed back by many of the so-called conservatives, who a few months ago were clamorous for "the preservation of the Union and the enforcement of the laws." Popular government is a failure! say the slave barons, who are attempting to establish a slave empire, and who insist that a government must be established which shall prohibit free speech and a free press, for with them these are also a failure. Popular government is a failure! shout this band of conspirators of all former political parties and all religious creeds, who unite in demanding that a strong military government shall be established, excluding all from a voice in its deliberations who have not a pecuniary interest in maintaining the institution of slavery.

They desire a government in which the slave masters shall govern as the Bourbons in Europe claimed to have governed, by the grace of God, and that the poor whites shall submit. And, as I said in some remarks which I made upon this subject at the last session, this despotism will have to be resisted, "or the poor whites of the South will first be disfranchised, then classed socially as they are to-day, to a great extent, with the servile race, and at last they and their children will be melted down in the slave population forever." The men who are seeking the destruction of this Union and the establishment of such a government are the identical men who for the past twenty-five years have dictated the policy, controlled the political action of all their conventions, and finally destroyed the old Democratic party in all the free States. What wonder that the Northern wing of this old party should have been repudiated by the people, when their leaders surrendered to the demands of this slave interest, and while professing democracy, abandoned the principles of Jefferson and joined in an effort to make this a slave empire.



Thos. S. Grimke, of South Carolina, one of the noblest and truest of men, in a speech of great power and eloquence, while denouncing the nullification movement of Calhoun in 1833, referred to the certainty of slave insurrections, as also the ultimate loss of liberty to the poor whites in case of civil war, which he regarded as certain to follow an attempt to enforce the doctrines of nullification. He said—

“These insurrections would be followed by depreciation of property, not only in negroes, but of all kinds of wealth, and at the same time the necessities of war would require an amount of taxation that could be enforced only by a military government, under which even the liberties of the whites will soon perish.”

If there is disunion and civil war, it will be no fault of the Northern people. If there should be servile insurrections, the people of the free States cannot be justly charged with inciting it. It will be the fault of the very men who, in their madness to sustain slavery, have inflamed not only the minds of the whites, but of the slave population also.

A traveler returning to France under the reign of Louis XVI., after an absence of many years, was asked what changes he found. “Nothing,” he answered, “save that the people are now saying in the streets what was formerly only said at the dinner tables and in the drawing rooms of the leading men in Paris.”

The traveler was right. “The idea of liberty had gone down to the people. Philosophy in a deep and thrilling voice had told the injured of their rights as men; it had reminded them of their many galling wrongs. Habit still made them suffer in silence, but the seeds of future vengeance were sown.” That vengeance was the French revolution.

The slaves in the South, waiting upon their masters at the dinner tables, at all political meetings, indeed everywhere, hear the Republican party denounced and Mr. Lincoln called their friend. They hear their masters declare that he is to liberate them by force if necessary, and place them on a social and political equality with the whites. The slave catches up their thoughts; vague notions of freedom take possession of him; he meditates upon it; he communicates it from cabin to cabin, from plantation to plantation, and thus

are the seeds of insurrections sown by the slave masters, and insurrections in time are sure to follow, whether the South is in or out of the Union.

But, Mr. Chairman, I am asked how I propose to adjust our present difficulties. I answer, by accommodating ourselves to the logic of events; by yielding to that which is inevitable, and obeying the deliberately expressed will of the nation. The people of the United States are not only tired, but disgusted with these everlasting diplomatic tricks called "compromises," patched up by slave barons and political quacks on the one side, and commercial timidity and northern flunkeyism on the other. We have had enough of these crafty tricks, which have decided nothing; which, instead of settling the difficulty, have postponed but to aggravate it, leaving the ever-recurring dispute to be again "settled" by the next generation. The difficulties that environ us to-day are as well understood as they can be after another contest of twenty-five years. The truth is, slavery is gasping for breath; it is struggling for a new lease of life; it demands guarantees that shall make the lease perpetual, but if you will not give that, it will "compromise" with less. But whether you accede to its demands or not, the logic of events tells me unmistakably that slavery must die. The judgment of the civilized and Christian world decrees it. Emancipation is the sentiment of all nations, and we cannot resist it if we would, and ought not to do it if we could. What the people of this country want, what they expect and demand at our hands, is not new truces with slavery, but a permanent settlement of this question in the only way it ever can be settled to give peace and contentment to the country, and that is, to settle it, wherever the national jurisdiction extends, by the just rule of right and liberty.

Shall we meet and solve this problem like men, fairly, honorably, and without dissimulation, and as the better promptings of our hearts dictate; or shall we skulk and dodge like the tricksters of an hour? Shall we meet the question like statesmen, legislating for the generations to come as well as our own, or shall we shift the responsibility, with all

its accumulated complications, upon those who must succeed us?

Mr. Chairman, the people of the United States have been earnestly struggling, in one form or another, with this giant evil of slavery for nearly half a century; and though often betrayed by their leaders into what were called "compromises," the faith of the masses has remained unshaken, and they have continued hopeful. Though often defeated in their political struggles for obtaining possession of the government, they have always been loyal, and never threatened or attempted rebellion or revolution. This struggle between the people on the one side, and a privileged class on the other, has been such a struggle as the world has never witnessed, because it has been conducted peacefully and lawfully. No war, no desolated homes, no hatred, but a generous, noble, self-sacrificing struggle, that must challenge the admiration of the world, accomplished as it has been, by peaceful citizens, in the mode and manner prescribed by the Constitution, by the silent but all-potent power of the ballot. No man could have been a disinterested witness to this grand struggle, and beheld its first triumph without feeling that "peace hath her victories no less renowned than war." With the old watchword of "Freedom and Peace," we have conquered, and today the liberty-loving men of all nations join in hailing with pride the advancing chief, the chosen of the people. The consequences of this peaceful victory no man can foresee. The effect of its example on the nations will be incalculable, even though we should have some trouble with those who are seeking to destroy the Government because they cannot longer administer it. It will reinstate us where we were in the days of Washington, in the respect and affections of the people of Europe, and the American Government, if true to the ideas upon which the triumph of which I am speaking has been achieved, will from this time forward hold the first position among the powers of the earth, and as a nation and people, we shall, as we ought, hold the first place in history for many generations to come. If, however, we should fail, from any cause, to carry out in good faith, this grand decree of the people; if through fear deceptive compromises are forced

upon us, and the people are again betrayed under the pretense of appeasing those whose whole history gives us the assurance that they will be satisfied with nothing short of having slavery recognized as property by constitutional provision, those who aid in accomplishing this great wrong will deserve, as they will receive, the condemnation of all liberty-loving men.

But I am told that the people demand that such concessions and compromises shall be granted. Sir, I deny it. I have seen no evidence of it and do not believe it. I grant you, sir, that there are some who demand it; the leaders of the party which have just been driven from power by an indignant people, demand it, and are supported in their imperious demands by almost the entire slave interest of the country; but the great body of the people, the millions, not only do not demand it, but I tell you, sir, that they will never tolerate it. Sir, I should be loath to believe that those who, through so many long and weary years, have struggled hopefully on amid disasters and defeats, the desertions of pretended friends and false leaders, could, in the hour of their triumph, advise a surrender to the minority, and consent to abandon that cause which alone made success in the late campaign possible. I cannot believe that the people, under the menace of disunion and revolution, will ever take a step backward, that they will, in so cowardly a manner, give up every principle for which they have been so heroically battling for years. No, no; this grand array of millions which has withstood so many defeats while battling for the right, will march on and march on under the banner of "Peace," conquering and to conquer. No earthly power can stay it. In its triumphal progress it will know no barrier but justice, no restraint but the just restraints of the Constitution. Missouri compromises and all other compromise lines which you may establish in your puny efforts to secure new guarantees to slavery, will fade like the baseless fabric of a vision before its advancing tread. This Government was not organized for the purpose of making slavery universal and perpetual; but to "ESTABLISH JUSTICE, INSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY, PROVIDE FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE, PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE, AND

SECURE THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY TO OURSELVES AND OUR POSTERITY.”

This was the cherished purpose of the fathers when they launched this great ship of state, the Constitution, upon the yet troubled waters which were crimsoned with the blood of the Revolution. They firmly believed that she would weather every storm. In this faith they laid them down to rest, and committed to those who should come after them its direction and government. Shall we, their sons, falter and desert her now, when storms and tempests beat against her, or shall we, like true mariners, stand firmly at the post of duty and danger? Shall we, with the very dawn of the morning beaming upon us, give up all, and, without a struggle, let the tempest and darkness close around her and engulf all in one common ruin? or shall we cling to the good old ship, and put a new commander upon her deck, who will go back to the old chart, put her head to the storm, and man her with freemen instead of slaves?

Mr. Chairman, to a patriot and lover of his country there would seem to be but one course. The voices of the people echo but one cry, but one command, and that is: “Save the good ship Constitution from her present peril!” If we fail to do this we are not the men for the hour. If need be, party ties must be severed and party divisions forgotten; sectional animosities must cease, and a union of all freedom-loving men secured for the sake of liberty and the Union. If while the coming dawn foreshadows the deliverance of all nations and the freedom of every race, we alone are found destroying the most perfect form of government ever given to man, in a struggle to make slavery perpetual, of all men we will be the most guilty. Shall history record this, the darkest of crimes, against our names? Shall our children execrate our memories because we were traitors and cowards, and, for an hour of promised peace and commercial prosperity, consented to our own and their degradation and the endless bondage of millions? Shall it be said that while thrones throughout Europe are falling, and long oppressed races are everywhere claiming and asserting their God-given rights; while a free press is proclaiming that this is the gol-

den age of justice that precedes the year of a universal jubilee, when the people of all nations will be marching to the joyful sound of liberty and independence—shall it be said of us, I say, that, under our direction, the Republic established by Washington, alone is relapsing into despotism? At a time when the sons of struggling humanity are loosing the bonds which have bound them for ages, and, in obedience to the Divine command, are “permitting the oppressed to go free,” shall the freemen of this country consent to rivet the chains of the slave, and thus aid those who are seeking permanently to establish and extend this despotism throughout all the free Territories of the nation?

While Italy, after a struggle of centuries, under the guidance of her brave Garibaldi (who is to Italy to-day what Washington was to us), is marching in unity to secure the enjoyment of constitutional liberty, and Hungary and Germany are keeping step to the universal march of nations, while Russia is emancipating her millions of slaves, and all peoples, under every form of government, are advancing toward the dawn of that civilization which liberty always brings, shall the people of the United States, who have the grandest government committed to their keeping which the world has ever seen, alone be found struggling to make the rule of slavery universal? Can an American representative in such an hour as this, either from motives of personal ambition or sordid pecuniary interest, consent to foster strife, division, and discord, and without hesitancy or remorse give his vote to drive back both citizens and government toward the night of despotism and barbarism?

God grant, sir, that every representative may pause and consider well the momentous consequences of every vote he may be called upon to cast before giving it in favor of any of the numerous compromise schemes and proposed constitutional amendments which are sought to be forced upon us, and which, if adopted, will be but another step, so far as the action of this body can decree it, toward making slavery constitutional and perpetual in this so-called land of liberty.

## IMPORTANT LETTER FROM HON. J. M. ASHLEY.

WASHINGTON, May 24, 1861.

EDITOR BLADE: I protested in my former letter, as I again protest in this, and as I hope the BLADE and the people everywhere will protest, against our soldiers being used for the accursed purpose of slave-catching, either in this city or elsewhere. They did not volunteer for that purpose, and it is an assumption of power for which there is no authority. No military officer has any legal or moral right to give such commands or issue such proclamations.

I know of two soldiers in this city, who, when placed on guard, gave notice to the officer in command that they would not comply with such an order if issued; that they would not only go to the guard-house and be court-martialed, but would submit to any punishment before they would do a thing so infamous. I honor these truly brave men, as will every one who reads this. They ought to be in command instead of being in the ranks. I regret to say, however, that quite a number of fugitives have been captured and returned by the troops in and about Washington. So long has the North been accustomed to do the "dirty work" of the slave barons that even now, when these men are in rebellion against the government, some of the northern volunteers become slave-catchers at the bidding of these traitors with whom the government is at war. The sardonic impudence, which enables these traitors to come into the military camps of the nation, and order the soldiers of the Republic to aid them in capturing and returning their fugitives to slavery, would be truly refreshing were it not for the doughfaceism it still betrays, and the disgrace and humiliation it must bring upon us at home and abroad. A case of this kind occurred here the other day. A slave escaped from Virginia, a State at war with the government of the United States. This slave is called property in Virginia and in all the States in rebellion

against the government. If they are property, then instead of it being the duty of the government (it never can be made the duty of the soldier) to catch and return these slaves, it is their duty, and the duty of every soldier, not only to prevent their claimants from capturing them, but it is their duty to hold them just as they would any property, that can be used by the rebels to destroy the lives and property of citizens and the government. The rebels are using these black men to build fortifications and to do a thousand things for which we use only white men. They are made as useful by the rebels as if they were soldiers. Why should we not accept their services rather than turn them back to the enemy, and at the end of the war liberate all the men with their wives and children who not only refused to fight or aid in any way in resisting the government, but absolutely ran into our camps and demanded to work for the maintenance of the government?

But I am digressing from the relation of a fact into an argument as to our duty.

That is so clear, I will not add another word. The claimant of this slave followed him into this city and found him. The slave, strange to say, attempted to get away from his master and ran to the quarters of a Pennsylvania regiment, where he was brought up standing by the bayonets of the soldiers, who detained him until his pretended master came up. The poor slave could hardly believe what he saw, and in a supplicating tone said, "Why, gentlemen, you are not going to let this man take me off in this way, are you?" This brave (?) band of so-called national defenders did not heed his appeal, but in violation of every principle of honor, to say nothing of duty and the demands of humanity, they detained him until the man claiming him brought a carriage and secured him and took him back. This is a fact which I know, alas, to be too true, and I blush for my country to say that it is not the first one. In God's name are we to be forever thus humiliated and disgraced? I trust the united voice of the nation will demand that no such infamous act shall be repeated by any portion of the army, and that every soldier who shall hereafter be guilty of such an act, shall be



drummed out of the service disgraced, and thus be declared too infamous to associate with the soldiers of the republic.

If any one or two of these very soldiers had gone into Virginia on that very day, and this slave master had had them in his power, the chances are ten to one that he would have had them hanged by his order, as a number of northern men have been by slave masters.

If they did not share this fate, they would hardly have escaped being tied up by his order to a whipping-post and this very slave ordered to give them from ten to one hundred lashes, just as the whim or caprice of the slave baron might deem necessary to convert them from their supposed hatred of slavery (because living in the North) to a love for it. For it is well known that those who profess to love slavery and do the bidding of slave masters are never hanged, burned, whipped, robbed or driven out of the South. Those who do not love slavery above kindred, country and God, as the rebels love it, are subject to tortures, imprisonments, banishments, or death. No man in the South need have any fears if he will but fall down, and worship loud enough, the god of slavery.

If he interpose any conditions or doubts, however, he is worse than an unbeliever, and an unbelief in the divinity of slavery is a greater crime in the eyes of the slave baron than any offense, not even excepting murder, and they are generally dealt with by the Christian process of tarring and feathers, whipping and hanging. If this infamous oligarchy thus treat men and women born on their own soil, and guilty of no crime, what ought northern men to expect who do not yield to every demand of these men, however monstrous? No northern man, however, need have any trouble with the slave barons of the South, if he will only consent to obey implicitly the demands they make upon him. And if this nation would but submit to all the demands of the southern oligarchy to-day, there need be no war, no loss of life, and no expenditure of hundreds of millions.

Have you heard of any cowardly doughface lately demanding that twenty-five millions of free men shall submit to the mild and easy yoke of the three hundred thousand slave barons of the South? Do you know of any who will

say now what the so-called "Peace Commissioners" said, when they were in Washington in secret session, bowing like slaves before the eyes of their masters and declaring as some of them did, "that they did not want any backbone, that they intended to do whatever their southern brothers asked, for they knew that they would only ask for that which was honorable and right."

By the by, what has become of all northern compromisers, who were members of the "Peace Congress?" I hear nothing of them or from them. I certainly hope that their extraordinary mental labors while here attempting to secure a peace by an unconditional surrender, has not produced a softening of the brain. Above all, I sincerely trust that the war has not frightened them any worse than they appeared to be frightened when closeted in secret, misrepresenting and betraying the people by voting with such traitors as John Tyler & Co. If they are as badly frightened now as they claimed to be then, they have probably left the country. If they have, I shall regret it very much, for we shall need (now that it is so scarce) some such doughy material for future use.

These frightened old fossils voted with the southern rebels, first to exclude the public from their deliberations and then to exclude all reporters for the press, hoping thereby to prevent the public from ever getting at the record of their base and cowardly acts, only so far as they should consent to make it up for their inspection.

Fortunately for the people and the future of the country, there were earnest and competent men, members of that body, who kept a faithful record of every word and act, and I am happy to state that it will soon be given to the public. When it is published I have no doubt but what we shall hear from some of the "Peace Commissioners" in efforts to explain certain votes and speeches. While I cannot help regretting that bad and corrupt men have forced our country to a civil war, I cannot but rejoice to know that the logic of events has stripped bare the logic of northern doughfaced politicians and proved how false were all their declarations.

More than a year ago, I declared in the House of Representatives, that in case of Mr. Lincoln's election the South

“would be in rebellion against the government and enemies of the Constitution and the Union.” I said further, that which is now generally admitted by all parties, although these words were then thought to be too strong, “that we never should have peace until the present noisy advocates of slavery here and elsewhere were reduced to insignificance and silence, and everywhere beneath the national ensign the rights of humanity were fully recognized and respected, and our lawmakers and general and state governments should again be directed by the genius of universal emancipation.” I insisted last winter in all my letters to you and others, that, compromise or no compromise, there would be war, and that we might as well prepare for it first as last.

If I have not understood this question from the first, then I never have and never can understand any political question, and I think my votes on all the cunningly devised propositions of traitors and doughfaces, which, in the last Congress were attempted to be forced upon the people, justify me in saying this much of myself.

One of the most important of all political questions ever presented for the consideration of any administration in this country, is about to be forced upon this administration, and I rejoice that it must come now. I have long contemplated it, and find but one course of action practicable or honorable. I allude to the disposition of the slaves, who, as our army penetrates into the South, will desert from the camps and plantations of the rebels and join our ranks. If we send them back we strengthen the enemy. If we permit them to come, we destroy the enemy. They are using these slaves to erect fortifications to destroy our troops, using them to raise grain, etc., to support their armies.

Shall the government use its military power to weaken itself and strengthen its enemies? Would any nation engaged in a war with another nation thus act? These questions answer themselves. Then again, if the slaves are once fairly convinced that the North, whom they have been taught by their masters to believe were their friends, are as hostile to them as their masters, we will have done just what these southern traitors ask. If we take the only practical course,

the backbone of this rebellion is already broken, and the integrity of the nation will be maintained.

On our part this is not a war for the conquest or subjugation of the South, or the enslavement of any people, but a war for their liberation rather — a war to relieve them of the military despotism and mob law with which they are cursed, a war for the preservation of the Union and our national existence as a free government.

A cause so holy and so just cannot fail to enlist the sympathies of the people of all nations, and if the Administration but discharges its duty, as I have faith it will, that cause will triumph. Depend upon it, however, that the people of the United States will never consent to fight against the slave barons and at the same time fight to make slavery perpetual. You cannot make a free people fight for and against a great crime at the same time. You cannot put down this rebellion and at the same time build up and maintain that which caused the rebellion. Every man concedes that if there had been no slavery in the nation, there would have been no such rebellion as we have to-day. Every man knows that if slavery is strengthened by any act of the government, either by fighting to maintain it, or by compromising to give it a new lease of life, just such rebellions as we now have, are as certain to follow if the slave barons are defeated by the people in another election. Who, then, is willing and anxious to strengthen slavery to-day, by fighting for it or giving to it new constitutional guarantees? Where are the compromisers? If there are any, let us hear from them, that we may know who and where they are — that the people may write down opposite their names that which shall properly characterize their WEAKNESS and DEPRAVITY.

I leave for Fortress Monroe to-morrow. If I can, I will write you from there.

J. M. A.

**ADDRESS**  
**OF HON. JAMES M. ASHLEY.**

DELIVERED AT COLLEGE HALL IN THE CITY OF TOLEDO,  
TUESDAY EVENING, NOV. 26, 1861.

**CORRESPONDENCE.**

HON. J. M. ASHLEY—

DEAR SIR: The undersigned request you to address the citizens of Toledo on the subject of the present rebellion, at College Hall, at such time as suits your convenience, prior to your leaving for Washington.

TOLEDO, Nov. 19, 1861.

R. C. LEMMON,	CHARLES KENT,	W. W. JONES,
A. W. GLEASON,	M. R. WAITE,	F. A. JONES,
VALENTINE BRAUN,	W. BAKER,	PELEG T. CLARK,
D. A. PEASE,	JAMES MYERS,	DAN. SEGUR,
ALEX. REED,	JONATHAN WYNN,	and many others.
HORACE THATCHER,	LYMAN PARCHER,	
WM. KRAUS,	A. H. HATHAWAY,	

TOLEDO, Nov. 21, 1861.

GENTLEMEN: In reply to your favor of the 19th inst., inviting me to address the people of this city on the subject of the present rebellion, I will name Tuesday evening next, Nov. 26.

Respectfully,

J. M. ASHLEY.

To R. C. LEMMON, Esq., and others.



Letter from Hon. N. W. Cuney, Galveston, Texas.

After giving Mr. Ashley's patriotic letter on page 165, and his speech on page 172 a careful perusal, I am free to say that in so much as his utterances on the subject of the manumission of the slaves of the South antedated Mr. Lincoln's proclamation, they had much to do with influencing the administration with a trend of opinion, favorable to the consummation of what I consider the most glorious and human act of any administration in our history.

N. W. CUNEY. Mr. Ashley's presentation of facts is cogent and accurate, his deductions logical, and the spirit of truth and fairness apparent from start to finish, as all fairminded men will attest.

In my opinion there can be no question, with the intelligent reader, of how Mr. Ashley stood over thirty years ago on the subject of slavery, and no one acquainted with his public record of later years, will deny him his proper place in history and in the hearts of the colored people.

N. W. CUNEY

The demand for this speech has been so great that the first edition was soon exhausted, and a larger one is now issued to supply the continued demand. The following are a few of the many commendatory notices taken from leading Union papers:

“We have read this thrilling speech with unmingled satisfaction. Of all the expositions of the causes of the rebellion, and the consequences which are to follow in its train, this is by far the richest in fact, the clearest in statement, and the ablest and most demonstrative in argument, of anything that the rebellion has called forth. Nothing but its length precludes its publication in the Telegraph, and want of time prevents a longer notice this week.

“We thank the author for the copy of the address sent to us, and we thank him again and again, in the name of all loyal and right-minded men, for the true and manly sentiments to which he has given a voice in fitting words, that will make it one of the few speeches which will outlive their authors.”—MEIGS CO. (OHIO) TELEGRAPH.

“The speech delivered by Hon. J. M. Ashley, at College Hall, Toledo, by request of a number of his constituents, on the Causes of the Rebellion, is one of the best expositions that has yet appeared. It is convincing in argument, mild in tone, replete with historical facts, and should be read by every man, especially by such as entertain any doubt as to the origin and purposes of the Rebellion.”—OHIO STATE JOURNAL.

“An able and valuable speech.”—N. Y. EVENING POST.



J. A. HANDY.

Letter from Bishop J. A. Handy, D. D., Washington, D. C.

No one could have listened to the address of the Hon. J. M. Ashley, of Toledo, Ohio, Nov., 1861, without being thrilled. No one to-day can rise up from its reading without the conviction that it exposes the causes which made the Rebellion possible. The duty of the nation now is to see to it, that this great country shall be preserved free, and that a government of the whole people, for the whole people, by the whole people, shall not perish from the earth. The dreadful results of dismemberment were averted, and the two doctrines presented to the people before the war, are settled. The doctrine of the South was, that the Government of the United States is a federal union of sovereign States. The doctrine of the rest of the country was that it is a national republic. While the war did not change the facts as to the doctrine held, it settled the issue. Incidentally slavery went out, and the slave walked out of chattelhood up into manhood, a citizen—a member of the body politic—while all the States entwined around one common centre, the national Constitution. J. A. HANDY.

## THE REBELLION—ITS CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES.

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**MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN:** In response to an invitation from a number of my fellow-citizens, I appear before you to-night to present as briefly as I can my views of the rebellion, its causes and consequences. And here let me say that the observations which I propose to make, will be in the main, but a recitation of historial facts. Facts are stubborn things, and I prefer to use them in examining the question upon which I am to speak to-night, rather than to resort to declamation. I do it as a duty, and to demonstrate to you beyond all dispute that the cause for which we were fighting is the cause of Justice, Union, and Constitutional Liberty. If I could not do this I would ask no man to join the army, for I could not ask a man to enter the army to fight for injustice and oppression.

### THIS REBELLION WITHOUT PARALLEL.

I need hardly say to you that we are in the midst of a rebellion unlike any which has preceded it, in the history of the world.

There have been many rebellions and revolutions since the establishment of civilized governments, but this is the first attempted revolution having for its avowed object the extension and perpetuity of human slavery. All rebellions which have preceded this have been professedly to secure the rights and liberties of the people. Therefore of all rebellions this is the most causeless and criminal.

The seeds of this rebellion were first sown as long ago as the year 1620, when a Dutch ship entered the mouth of James River in the then infant colony of Virginia, and committed the infamous crime of selling twenty black men as slaves. The British Government fostered and protected by law the seed then sown, and added yearly to it, more than an hundredfold, by fresh importations up to the date of the establishment of our independence.

JEFFERSON AND THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

The leading men of the Revolution saw, and, like true men, acknowledged the inhumanity, the injustice and the crime of slavery. Jefferson said, when speaking of it, that "he trembled for his country when he thought of the negro and remembered that God was just." In the original draft of the Declaration of Independence he charged as one of the grievances of which we justly complained at the hands of the mother country, that of forcing slavery upon us. These are his precise words :

"He has waged a cruel war against human nature itself, violating the most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people, who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur a miserable death in transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain, determined to keep open a market where men shall be bought and sold. He has prostituted his negative by suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce, and that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting these very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them; thus paying off former crimes committed against the LIBERTIES of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another."

That this truthful count in the indictment against Great Britain was stricken out of the Declaration of Independence on demand of the slave barons, I regret, as all liberty-loving men have regretted, but that it was stricken out, and at such a time and under the circumstances, tells you better than I can tell you, of the danger which imperils the life of a nation that fosters and protects a privileged class.

FEELING AGAINST SLAVERY SINCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF  
INDEPENDENCE.

Since the establishment of our independence, the existence and growing strength of this slaveholding privileged class, has been a source of anxious solicitude on the part of



leading patriots and statesmen, not only in the North, but also in the South. To the careful study and investigation of the question which has caused the present rebellion I have given all the early years of my life, and with most men who have impartially examined it, I have been satisfied for many years, that the day was speedily approaching, when the question was to be settled by the American people whether slavery, to use the language of President Lincoln — “should be put where the people would rest in the belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction,” or the United States become a slaveholding empire.

That I have been disappointed in some of my conclusions touching the final disposition of this question and the ultimate action of the slave barons themselves, I am frank to admit. Certainly ten or twelve years ago I did not suppose it possible that the old Democratic party, to which I then belonged, and which I venerated for its great leaders and liberal principles, could ever be divided and defeated as it has been, by the slave barons, and I felt confident until after I took my seat in Congress for the first time, that whatever disposition might be made of this question, it would at last find a peaceful solution. Before the close of the 36th Congress, I changed my mind and came reluctantly to the conclusion, that nothing but the direct interposition of Providence, could save us as a nation and a people from a bloody civil and perhaps servile war. In the first speech which I made in that Congress, speaking of the slave baron conspirators, I said that—

“Their professed devotion to law and order — the decisions of courts and their fidelity to the Constitution and the Union simply meant that they would obey such laws as they desired enacted, submit to such decisions of courts as they could dictate, and be faithful to the Constitution and the Union so long only as they were entrusted by the people with the administration of the government and the interpretation of the Constitution.” And I added :

“When this ceases, as I trust and believe it will cease, on the 4th of March, 1861, their fidelity to law will cease, their love of the Union will cease, and their new-born veneration for that ‘AUGUST TRIBUNAL’ of which we have heard so much of late — the Supreme Court — will also cease; and they will

be, if their threats are put into execution, in open rebellion against the Government, and enemies of the Constitution and the Union.”

COMPROMISES UNAVAILING.

No careful observer of events, could have failed to foresee for the past few years, that both in the North and in the South, public opinion has been gradually but surely undergoing such a change on the subject of slavery, that sooner or later the question would have to be met and fairly settled. All compromises in the shape of the most humiliating concessions made by the North to the South had failed to satisfy the imperious demands of the slave barons, and I need hardly add that the present rebellion and attempted revolution was inevitable without absolute submission on the part of the North. The change of public opinion throughout the two sections is in itself a revolution. On the part of the loyal citizens it has been a revolution of peace and good-will by the mode pointed out and prescribed by the Constitution, a revolution by means of the ballot-box. On the part of the conspirators and rebels it has been from the first a revolution of force and fraud, and now ends in an appeal to arms.

LIBERTY AND SLAVERY THE ONLY QUESTIONS INVOLVED.

It is, then, as I shall show you, a contest that has for its motive power on one side liberty, and on the other slavery. It presents a question to which there can be but two sides, and he who is not FOR liberty and the Union is AGAINST them. Politicians and even cabinet ministers may declare as they have done and are doing, that there is no connection between slavery and this rebellion, but I tell you, and hope before I take my seat to prove to those of you who do not now acknowledge it, that slavery is the germ from which this rebellion sprang—the motive power and mainspring of its action—and that, but for slavery, there had been no such rebellion in the United States to-day. Most of you understand this, I trust, already—the leading men of Europe understand it, and I believe the time is close at hand, when compromising

editors and politicians will be unable longer to deceive any respectable number of the people.

SLAVERY THE CAUSE OF THE REBELLION AS PROVED BY  
SOUTHERN MEN.

For more than thirty years the slave barons of the South have been plotting treason and preparing for this rebellion. In the convention which passed the ordinance of secession in South Carolina, this was openly proclaimed, and the boast repeatedly made that for thirty years they had been looking to the consummation of the treason they were then enacting. I will read you two or three extracts from the speeches made by their leading men in that convention.

Mr. Rhett said: "It is nothing produced by Mr. Lincoln's election or the non-execution of the fugitive slave law. It is a matter which has been gathering head for thirty years."

Mr. Parker said: "It is no spasmodic effort that has come suddenly upon us, but it has been gradually culminating for a long series of years."

Mr. English said: "Most of us have had this subject under consideration for the past thirty years."

Mr. Keitt said: "I have been engaged in this movement ever since I entered political life."

This testimony ought at least to be good as against the conspirators and their Northern allies.

If their own statements are to be credited, from the day General Jackson crushed the South Carolina nullification rebellion of 1831-2 to the outbreak of the rebellion of 1861, the slave barons of the rebel States have been conspiring to destroy this government. To the truth of history I appeal to make good their own declarations and to sustain this charge.

CALHOUN'S DEFECTION IN 1836.

During the second administration of General Jackson, the hostility of Calhoun to that great and good man, became open and undisguised, and when Mr. Van Buren was nomi-

nated for the Presidency in 1836, by the friends of General Jackson, Mr. Calhoun and his friends, although claiming to be Democrats, opposed his election, and South Carolina under his lead, voted for Mr. Mangum of North Carolina, then, and for many years thereafter, a Whig U. S. Senator from that State. This defection of Calhoun and his friends alarmed all the Northern Presidential aspirants and the whole race of small politicians who always hang upon their skirts for the sake of place and power. This alarm must have become almost a panic, for even Mr. Van Buren, who was triumphantly elected in 1836 and desired a re-election, became quite as anxious as Buchanan and that class of Northern Presidential candidates to conciliate Mr. Calhoun and the small but powerful class of whom he was the chosen representative.

#### GENERAL JACKSON'S PROPHECY.

General Jackson said when he put down the nullifiers of 1832, that their next effort to break up the Union would be on the slavery question. That prophetic prediction is now a historical fact. The Northern Presidential aspirants of both the old parties, and all the leading politicians, understood this matter well, and under the pretext of saving the Union, they united in declaring that such concessions as the South asked on the slavery question ought to be granted.

#### MR. VAN BUREN'S CONCESSION, AND ITS EFFECT.

These concessions were agreed upon by politicians on the plea of saving the Union, so when Mr. Van Buren was inaugurated, he seized that occasion to give in his adhesion to the demands of the slave baron conspirators, by declaring that if Congress passed any law designed to interfere with slavery in the District of Columbia, he would veto it. This shameless pledge, unasked as it was by any Democratic convention, or, indeed, by any body of men, publicly, startled the thinking men of the nation, who saw in it a bold and unscrupulous bid for the united vote of the slave interest. This movement was not without its desired effect, for Mr. Calhoun returned nominally to the Democratic party, sup-

ported Mr. Van Buren's administration, and South Carolina voted for him in 1840, when he was defeated by General Harrison.

**THE ATHERTON "GAG" ON THE RIGHT OF PETITION.**

The Atherton "gag," as it was justly termed, a rule known as the 21st rule, was adopted by the House of Representatives on demand of the slave barons. This rule refused to allow any petitions from the people on the subject of slavery to be received by their own representatives, and completed the humiliation of the North during the administration of Mr. Van Buren, and opened wide the gate which led to the fatal road down which we have been traveling as a nation and people at a frightful pace ever since.

**EFFECT OF THE DEATH OF GENERAL HARRISON.**

The death of General Harrison in one short month after his inauguration, and the accession of John Tyler, then Vice-President, to the Presidency, afforded an opportunity which was eagerly embraced by the slave baron nullifiers, to take possession of the Government and administer it for their exclusive benefit. That John Tyler proved a traitor to the party which elected him, IS RECORDED in history. That he is a traitor to his country to-day, WILL BE RECORDED in history. This weak and unscrupulous man became the willing tool of the slave baron conspirators, and permitted them to dictate and control the policy of his administration.

**CALHOUN AS SECRETARY OF STATE.**

On the death of Abel P. Upshur, of Virginia, who succeeded to the office of Secretary of State, after the resignation of Mr. Webster, John C. Calhoun, the admitted chief and ablest of the slave baron conspirators, was called by Mr. Tyler from his seat in the Senate of the United States to take Mr. Upshur's place. You who are familiar with political history, will remember that when Mr. Calhoun went into that office, he astonished and shocked the moral sense of the civilized world, by declaring that he only accepted the position in

order that he might with greater certainty consummate the grand scheme of the slave barons, to retain control of the country by the successive annexations of Texas, Cuba, Mexico, and Central America, or to divide it in case of failure. He did not hesitate to make public and defend his scheme of annexing Texas to secure it to slavery. In his dispatches to our Ministers in England and France he declared this to be the policy of our government. That Mr. Calhoun was a bold and able man all admit, and he went at his work with a directness of purpose that places in unenviable contrast the dodging and cowardly conduct of Northern statesmen, who, while professing to represent the interests of free labor and the rights of man, did not hesitate to sacrifice them without scruple at the bidding of the slave barons.

#### WARNING OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

John Quincy Adams warned the nation before Mr. Calhoun became Secretary of State of this scheme. But the North was so absorbed in the pursuit of wealth and new enterprises that it did not heed the warning of that able, pure and far-sighted statesman, and by the votes of Northern men claiming to represent free labor Texas was annexed with slavery, and this part of Mr. Calhoun's scheme to strengthen and perpetuate the rule of a privileged class and increase their influence in the Government was consummated on the night of the 3d of March which closed the memorable administration of John Tyler.

#### CAMPAIGN OF 1844 AND DEFEAT OF HENRY CLAY.

By the management of Mr. Calhoun the question of the annexation of Texas was made to enter largely into the campaign of 1844. It decided the fate of candidates in the Baltimore convention of that year and defeated Henry Clay because he yielded to the importunities of slave barons and wrote the never-to-be-forgotten Alabama letter. Although I had not then attained my majority, I attended the Democratic convention which met in Baltimore in 1844 and witnessed the political movements by which the slave barons

triumphed in that convention. I did not then fully comprehend how or why Mr. Van Buren was there defeated, when every Democratic State convention in the United State, with but three or four exceptions (and those the smallest States), had instructed its delegates to vote for the re-nomination of Van Buren and Johnson, the old ticket defeated by Harrison and Tyler in 1840. I never fully comprehended it until after the Presidential election of 1848; then, after making the matter a subject of diligent search and inquiry, I became satisfied that the slave barons were the power behind the throne, and that none but a spurious Democracy could sustain and defend the rightfulness of human slavery.

In 1850 the country had forced upon it the so-called compromises of that year. The action of Southern conventions and the position assumed by Southern statesmen and parties in many of the States in 1851, and the action of the Democratic and Whig national conventions of 1852, confirmed me in my convictions, and I declined longer to act with the party of my choice.

#### INTERESTING AND IMPORTANT HISTORICAL INCIDENT.

There is a historical incident of importance connected with the canvass of the year 1844 to which I wish to call your special attention as throwing some light on the present movement. In order that we may understand the matter clearly, I invite you to go back with me and look into the Democratic national convention of 1844, and also the Tyler convention, composed of government officials and slave-baron conspirators. Both of these conventions assembled on the same day in the city of Baltimore. The Democratic National Convention was regularly called by the Democratic National Committee. The Tyler Convention was called by the direction of Mr. Calhoun. Although I then thought, as everybody seemed to think, that the Tyler movement was a great farce and a good joke, the sequel will prove that it was one of the most important and wily moves of the conspirators. This convention nominated John Tyler for President, and adjourned without making any nomination for Vice-President. In the regular Democratic convention there was a bitter contest

over the adoption of the rules. Hon. R. M. Sanders, of North Carolina, moved the adoption of the rule known as the two-thirds rule. The honest Van Buren men opposed and the conspirators and their allies supported the motion and finally carried it. The convention was thus placed completely in the power of the conspirators, although they were largely in the minority.

You know the history of that convention. Mr. Van Buren had written a letter against the annexation of Texas, and for that he was defeated in a convention where nearly four-fifths of the delegates were instructed to vote for him. Thus you see how formidable these conspirators were so long ago as 1844. After three or four days balloting, in which these men, with consummate tact, so divided their votes between Cass, Buchanan, Woodbury and others, as to prevent a nomination and to blind the country to their true purposes, the convention at last yielded, utterly worn out, and the conspirators succeeded by threats and promises in fairly driving the convention, a majority of which had voted to nominate Mr. Van Buren, into the nomination of James K. Polk, and forcing it to adopt such a platform as they dictated.

This accomplished, the master spirit who moved the main springs of both conventions, now set himself to work to secure an endorsement from Polk of their pro-slavery schemes. For this purpose a distinguished Southerner was dispatched on a secret mission to Knoxville, Tennessee, to see Mr. Polk and present him the alternative of adopting their policy or of being defeated. He was told that unless he gave in his adhesion to their schemes, an electoral ticket with John Tyler at its head would be formed and voted for in all the States, securing by the patronage of the government and the influence of the conspirators, sufficient strength in each of the close or pivotal States to hold the balance of power, and by thus dividing the Democratic vote, Mr. Clay would obtain a plurality and be elected. Mr. Polk saw this clearly and, as subsequent events proved, yielded to their demands. On the return of the messenger to whom I have referred, Mr. Tyler withdrew from the canvass, and the whole power and patronage of his administration were openly



used to secure the election of Mr. Polk, who, with all this combination to favor him, was barely elected, and would have been defeated without it.

I have thus shown you that the farce, as it was called, of nominating John Tyler was not so great a farce after all, but that it was one of the shrewdest and most successful moves ever made by a desperate minority on the political chessboard in this country.

One of the first acts of Mr. Polk after his accession to power, was to comply with the programme of the nullifiers, who demanded a new organ in place of the Globe, which was edited by Francis P. Blair, the bosom friend of Jackson and the enemy of the nullifiers. For this purpose the Madisonian, the late Tyler organ, was purchased, its name changed to the Union, and Mr. Ritchie, the editor of the Richmond Enquirer, then, as now, the organ of the conspirators, was selected as its editor-in-chief. Mr. Calhoun, and all the nullifying conspirators, who were driven from the Democratic party by General Jackson, were now received into full fellowship, and from that day to the meeting of the Charleston-Baltimore Convention, these men dictated and controlled its policy.

#### CAUSES OF ALARM THAT WERE OVERLOOKED BY THE NORTH.

The cession to Great Britain of one-half of the territory of Oregon, together with the beautiful island of Vancouver, in violation of the Democratic platform of 1844, and the public pledge of Mr. Polk who, with the entire party, declared our title to the whole "clear and indisputable," the war with Mexico, the acquisition of California, and the offer by this government to Spain, of two hundred millions of dollars for the island of Cuba, were acts which, separately, ought to have alarmed the country as to the ultimate designs of the slave barons, but when taken in connection with all the acts of the Polk administration, ought to have aroused every patriot in the nation, as one man, to resent and prevent its treasonable schemes.

**EFFECT OF THE ELECTION OF GENERAL TAYLOR UPON THE SOUTH.  
HIS DEATH AND THE CONSEQUENCES.**

The election of General Taylor in 1848 was a severe and unexpected blow to the hopes of the nullifiers. That stern old patriot could neither be intimidated nor persuaded to favor their schemes, and the celebrated batch of compromises known as the "Omnibus Bill," was defeated in the House of Representatives by his influence. Unfortunately for the country in this important crisis of our history, General Taylor died and Mr. Fillmore became the acting President. Under his administration the compromise measures which had just been defeated under General Taylor, were revived and passed in separate bills. I need not now refer to the means by which the passage of these odious and obnoxious acts was obtained, nor to the motives which prompted Northern men to give them their support— suffice it to say, these acts bore their legitimate fruit, and justly destroyed both the men and the parties that supported and indorsed them.

**FIRST SCHEME TO ORGANIZE A SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY.**

On the 7th of May, 1849, at the city of Jackson, in the State of Mississippi, a meeting of slave baron conspirators was held upon the suggestion of Mr. Calhoun. The scheme to form a Southern Confederacy there took form and shape and the secession party was formally organized. The programme then laid down, the conspirators of 1860-61 have attempted to carry out.

**CALHOUN'S DEATH. JEFF. DAVIS HIS SUCCESSOR AS CHIEF  
CONSPIRATOR.**

Mr. Calhoun died about the close of the long session of the ever-memorable compromise Congress. Immediately after his death, Jefferson Davis and his confederates in the Senate and House of Representatives met together in the city of Washington and agreed upon a constitution for a Southern Confederacy. That constitution was, in the main, just such a constitution as the traitors have adopted at

Montgomery, Alabama, except that the constitution agreed upon in 1850 specially provided for the acquisition of Cuba, Mexico and Central America, while the Montgomery constitution is silent on these points. At the meeting to which I have alluded, Mr. Davis was selected by the conspirators as the first President of the new Confederacy.

GEN. QUITMAN AND OTHERS OPENLY ADVOCATE SECESSION.

I intend in a moment or two to quote largely from General Quitman, of Miss.,\* because, after the death of Mr. Calhoun, he was regarded by me as the ablest and boldest man in the South who was engaged in the then contemplated rebellion. He was a politician of the strictest Southern rights school, a defender of every filibustering conspiracy, a professed believer in the doctrine of the divine right of the stronger to enslave the weaker, and an open advocate of a Southern confederacy. He was the intimate friend of Calhoun and the most active and untiring of the secession leaders. It is now over two years since his death, but the present and future policy of the conspirators, so far as can be judged, is exactly what he urged. Let me now read to you some important extracts from a few of the many letters written and received by him, more than ten years ago. These letters speak for themselves and develop fully the policy of the conspirators. General Quitman, on the 28th of September, 1850, only eighteen days after the passage of the compromises of that year, thus writes to ex-Governor McRae, of Mississippi, then a member of Congress:

“I have not acted without first looking at the ground before me, and I take the privilege of communicating to you in confidence, thus early, a hasty programme of our future movements. First, then, I believe there is no effective remedy for the evils before us but SECESSION. . . .

“My idea is, that the legislature should call a convention of delegates, elected by the people, fully empowered to take into consideration our federal relations, and to change or annul them, to adopt one organic law to suit such new rela-

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\*The quotations here made from the writings of leading Southern conspirators may be found in the “Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman, Major General U. S. A., and Governor of the State of Mississippi, by J. F. H. Claiborne. Harper & Brothers, publishers. 2 vols., 1860.” Books which ought to be in the hands of every Northern apologist for this pro-slavery rebellion.

tions as they might establish, to provide for making compacts with other States, and that in the meanwhile an effective MILITARY SYSTEM be established, and patrol duties most rigidly enforced."

"In the meantime, every patriot should leave no point untouched, where his influence can be exerted. **CHER ON THE FAITHFUL, STRENGTHEN THE WEAK, DISARM THE SUBMISSIONISTS; send a FIERY CROSS THROUGH THE LAND; and every gallant son of Mississippi to the rescue.**"

You will see by this that while the North was being humiliated and demoralized by shamelessly surrendering to the demands of the slave barons, THEY were secretly plotting the overthrow of the nation.

On the 29th of September of that year (only nineteen days after the passage of the compromise measures which we were told were to be the last, and that the South would never again exact any additional guaranties for slavery), General Quitman, in writing to Governor Seabrook, of South Carolina, said:

"Without having fully digested a programme of measures which I shall recommend to the Legislature, it may be of service to you to know that I propose to call a regular convention, to take into consideration our federal relations, with FULL POWERS TO ANNUL THE FEDERAL COMPACT, ESTABLISH RELATIONS WITH OTHER STATES, AND ADAPT OUR ORGANIC LAW TO SUCH NEW RELATIONS."

"Having no hope of an effectual remedy for existing and prospective evils but in separation from the Northern States, my view of State action will look to 'SECESSION.'"

On the 17th of December, 1850, Governor Seabrook, in answering General Quitman, said:

"I candidly confess to you that I am advocating the immediate action of the legislature in order to suggest the first Monday in December next for the time, and MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, as the place of meeting of Congress. I am rejoiced that the House resolved to suggest to our Southern States the propriety of meeting in Congress at Montgomery on the 2d of January, 1852. . . ."

"For arming the State \$350,000 has been put at the disposal of the Governor. . . ."

"I shall be happy to know that the time and place of the proposed Congress will be agreeable to Mississippi.

"If our movement be seconded by her, I have good reason

for the belief that Alabama, Florida and Arkansas will soon follow the PATRIOTIC example."

General Quitman thus writes to Colonel John S. Preston of South Carolina, on the 29th of March, 1850:

"The plan proposed by the address of the Central Committee, which I have forwarded to you, is, that the Committee DEMAND REDRESS for past aggressions and guaranties against future assaults upon our rights; and in the meantime to provide for meeting our sympathizing sister States in a Southern Congress. The proposed redress is:

"1st. A repeal of the law suppressing the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

"2nd. Opening of the Territories to the admission of slaves.

"3d. The permission of slavery in California, south of 36 deg. 30 min."

"The guaranties to be amendments to the Constitution explicitly protecting slavery from HOSTILE interference by CONGRESS OR STATES, and to restore equal taxation, DIRECT and INDIRECT."

"In case the address and guaranties be refused, the State to make formal propositions to her Southern sisters for a separate confederacy, and to unite with any number of them sufficient to secure NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE."

"I concur with you in the opinion that the political equality of the slaveholding States is incompatible with the present confederation as construed and acted on by the MAJORITY, and that the PRESENT UNION AND SLAVERY CANNOT CO-EXIST."

Governor Means, of South Carolina, thus writes to General Quitman on the 15th of May, 1851:

"There is now not the slightest doubt that the next legislature will call the convention together at a period during the ensuing year, and when that convention meets the State will SECEDE. . . . We are anxious for co-operation, and also desire that some other State should take the lead, but from recent developments we are satisfied that SOUTH CAROLINA IS THE ONLY STATE in which sufficient unanimity exists to commence the movement. We will therefore LEAD OFF, even if we are to stand alone."

Colonel Gregg, of South Carolina, in writing to General Quitman on the 15th of May, 1851, thus encourages the

secession party, who were straining every nerve to elect Jefferson Davis Governor of Mississippi on the direct issue of secession:

“Let them (the secessionists) contend manfully for success, and if beaten in the election they will form a minority so powerful in moral influence, that when South Carolina secedes, the **FIRST DROP OF BLOOD THAT IS SHED** will cause an irresistible popular impulse in their favor, and the **SUBMISSIONISTS** will be **CRUSHED**. Let the example be set in Mississippi, and it will be followed in Alabama and Georgia. Imparting and receiving courage from each other's efforts, the Southern rights men will be ready to carry everything before them, in all the three States, the moment the **FIRST BLOW IS STRUCK IN SOUTH CAROLINA.**”

General Quitman thus writes to Governor Means, of South Carolina, on the 25th of May, 1851:

“Experience has fully demonstrated that united action cannot be had; the frontier slave States are even now indicating a disposition to cling to the Union at all hazard of their slave institution. They will not in my opinion unite in an effective remedy, unless **FORCED TO CHOOSE BETWEEN A NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY.**”

On the 9th of June, 1851, Governor Seabrook, of South Carolina, thus writes to General Quitman:

“The course of the convention will depend somewhat on our sister Southern States. If they affirm the right of secession and the **NON-EXISTENCE OF A POWER TO PREVENT A STATE FROM EXERCISING IT. . . .** Should South Carolina strike a decisive blow, may she confidently rely on the undivided support of her present friends in your State?”

And again on the 15th of July of the same year, Governor Seabrook thus discourses to General Quitman:

“If this scheme fail, what then? Let the State proclaim to the world that at a time to be designated, say six months, she will withdraw from the Union. If Mississippi be not prepared to follow her example, a simple annunciation on her part that any hostile attempt, direct or indirect, by Congress, to prevent her (South Carolina) from exercising the rights of an independent nation, or to keep her in the Confederacy, would be considered by your Commonwealth a subversion of the fundamental principles on which the States confederated, and consequently a full release from her obligations in the Union.”

**CONSPIRACY TO SECEDE OF LONG STANDING.**

You see by these quotations that this conspiracy is of no recent date. Ten or fifteen years ago, General Quitman conceived and confided to others the scheme which the rebels of 1861 have attempted to enact, and I lay these facts before you for your serious reflection, and to prove to you that the destruction of our Constitution and Union has been seriously contemplated for many years, and that, too, without reference to any of the pretended grievances now complained of by the South.

**DISUNION CANDIDATES FIRST NOMINATED IN SOUTHERN STATES.**

In 1851 open and avowed disunion candidates were nominated and run for governors in the States of Georgia and Mississippi, and one or two other Southern States. In Mississippi, Jefferson Davis, who was then a Democratic United States Senator from that State, resigned his seat in the Senate, went home to Mississippi, and became the disunion candidate for governor, on an open and avowed disunion platform. Senator Foote, also a Democratic Senator from that State, resigned his seat and became the Union candidate. Davis was defeated by a small vote, as were also the open disunion candidates in all the States, except in the State of South Carolina, which elects her governor and State officers by the legislature.

**DEATH OF THE WHIG PARTY.**

In 1852 General Pierce was elected President over General Scott. In this contest the Whig party breathed its last, because false to the principles of freedom. The success of the so-called Democratic party with Pierce as its chief was almost as fatal. It lingered along in a sickly condition until 1860, when it, too, gave up the ghost.

**JEFF. DAVIS SECRETARY OF WAR, AND HIS ACTS.**

Jefferson Davis was selected by President Pierce for his Secretary of War, although it was well known to Mr. Pierce, and to the whole country, that Mr. Davis was an avowed

secessionist, and had just been defeated for Governor of Mississippi on that issue. Davis, by his position, was enabled to advance the schemes of the conspirators by appointments, by favoritism in the army, and by his counsels in the Cabinet. And in 1856, had Fremont been elected, Davis would have attempted to seize the government.

#### BUCHANAN AS PRESIDENT, AND HIS CABINET.

Unfortunately for the country, Buchanan was elected President, and a majority of the Cabinet he called around him were either avowed secessionists, or willing instruments in the hands of the conspirators. By this act of Mr. Buchanan, the old Democratic party was completely demoralized by the domination of the disunion element in its counsels, so that at the Charleston-Baltimore Convention, it was disrupted and the organization divided and defeated.

#### DEATH STRUGGLE OF THE SLAVE BARONS TO CONTROL LEGISLATION.

The long and bitter contest for the Speakership of the House of Representatives, at the opening of the 36th Congress, was the death struggle of the slave barons to keep possession of the legislative department of the government during the residue of Mr. Buchanan's term of office, so that in case of defeat in the Presidential election of 1860, which the conspirators had then resolved upon—unless they could dictate the candidate at Charleston, they might by having control of the House committees, as they had of the committees in the Senate, be fully prepared for every movement necessary to consummate their treason.

#### PLANS OF THE CONSPIRATORS LAST WINTER.

It is now conceded by those whom it is admitted ought to know, that the conspirators discussed and agreed upon a plan for a provisional government last winter at Washington; that their plan was to seize the Capitol and public archives, and prevent by force the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln at the seat of government; and by thus getting possession of the



National Capitol and inaugurating Mr. Davis at Washington, they hoped to secure an early recognition of their government by some of the resident foreign ministers, many of whom they believed then and still believe to be favorable to their schemes.

**SYMPATHY BETWEEN THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS AND SOUTHERN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.**

And here let me mention a fact worthy of note. The foreign resident ministers at Washington are mostly from the aristocratic and wealthy European families, and sympathize and associate with that class everywhere.

A majority of the Southern Senators and Representatives, while professing to be democrats, are if possible more aristocratic than these foreign ministers. The result is, that their social intercourse at Washington is almost exclusively with Southern members, who do not hesitate openly to denounce all Northern men as cowards, poltroons and money-getters, who can be bought as cheap as their own slaves.

**CHARACTER AND POSITION OF NORTHERN MEMBERS.**

The great body of Northern Senators and Representatives are poor, and owing to the short time they remain or expect to remain in Congress, they do not, with few exceptions, care to form the acquaintance of foreign ministers. So you see that our government at home has not only been controlled, and our foreign policy cunningly shaped by Southern men, but the minds of the resident foreign ministers have been prepared for this rebellion, and also for its success; and this is the secret of the ill-disguised sympathy of so many resident foreign ministers with the rebels.

This infamous conspiracy was defeated by unlooked-for dissensions in its own ranks, and by no sagacity, foresight or precaution on the part of Mr. Buchanan or the representatives of the people.

**MAJOR ANDERSON AND THE REBELS—HIS REMOVAL TO FORT SUMTER.**

Fortunately for the cause of the Union, but unfortunately for the conspirators, dissensions arose in the cabinet on the

question of reinforcing Fort Sumter. Major Anderson, a loyal and patriotic citizen of Kentucky, with about seventy men, forced this unexpected question upon the President and Cabinet. You all remember that Major Anderson was in command at Fort Moultrie; that his position was such that a land attack by the rebels could not be prevented. He had no orders from his government to remove to Fort Sumter, and could obtain no reinforcements, although he asked for them. So he assumed the responsibility in the face of a government which he must have regarded as false to its highest duties, and whose commands he also knew he must obey.

The conspirators in Charleston had approached Major Anderson in every conceivable manner; they had feasted and flattered him; but he could not be seduced from his allegiance. He was watched by them, and could make no movement. The public arms and property of the government in the city of Charleston they would not permit him to touch, and he saw that if any movement was made to save the honor of the government, it would have to be done by strategy and on his own responsibility—a responsibility which you and I most heartily thank him for having assumed. [Applause.] He was invited to dine with a number of the chief conspirators on Christmas last, and accepted. After dinner, toasts and speeches were the order of the evening. All the power of the conspirators was exhausted to induce the Major to become a traitor, but to no purpose. Report has it that he feigned intoxication so well, that he was conveyed in a carriage to his headquarters at Fort Moultrie. The rebel conspirators returned to concoct new schemes to seduce this loyal and patriotic soldier, and while they were thus conspiring, in the darkness of night he quietly gave his orders, and a few small boats were made ready; all the provisions and munitions they can carry are put on board, and after spiking the cannon in Fort Moultrie, he and his little band of brave spirits step on board their boats, and with muffled oars pull off to Fort Sumter, and when the conspirators awoke in the morning, the National flag was seen floating from that supposed impregnable fortress. [Loud applause.] When the rebels saw this,

they were amazed, and swore more terribly than "our army in Flanders." The telegraph soon brought this glorious news to Washington, and I need not tell you how it made glad the hearts of all true Union men. Party was thought of no longer. The rebels telegraphed to Mr. Buchanan and demanded an order for Major Anderson's immediate return from Fort Sumter to Fort Moultrie, and to our shame be it told that many Northern men united with the rebels in seconding their demands. Among this class of men none was more offensively conspicuous than Senator Bright, of Indiana.

**SECRETARY CASS RESIGNS.**

On the simple proposition of reinforcing Major Anderson and preserving the national honor, a division arose in the cabinet—a majority voting with the President NOT TO REINFORCE. You will agree with me, I know, when I say that every man who so voted was either a rebel conspirator or a tool in their hands. When this disgraceful decision was made, General Cass, to his honor be it said, refused longer to remain in the cabinet of a President who proved himself to be either a traitor or a coward, and perhaps both. [Applause.]

**COBB, FLOYD AND THOMPSON FOLLOW—DIX, HOLT, STANTON  
AND KING APPOINTED.**

This unexpected resignation of Secretary Cass was soon followed by the resignation of the traitor Cobb, and subsequently by the resignation of Floyd and Thompson, owing to the disclosures made by a confidential clerk of the theft of the \$800,000 of Indian bonds. Happily for the country, Dix and Holt, Stanton and King, loyal and true Democrats, were called to fill these unexpected vacancies in the cabinet, and thus the scheme to seize Washington City and inaugurate their rebel government there was defeated, because the patriot Holt was Secretary of War, and a majority of the cabinet were now true to the Union. [Applause.]

#### ABANDONMENT OF THE PLAN OF LAST WINTER.

Being thus unexpectedly foiled, the conspirators abandoned their design of seizing Washington, and preventing the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, and resorted to every expedient to deceive the country, and throw the people off their guard as to their real intentions. For this purpose, the most noisy and unscrupulous did not hesitate to declare in the House and at the public hotels, that Mr. Lincoln was the constitutionally elected President, and should be inaugurated if it had to be done over their lifeless bodies.

#### JOHN C. BRECKENRIDGE THEN AND NOW.

Mr. Breckenridge also united with them in declaring publicly that he would not only count the electoral votes as prescribed by law (you will remember that the secession papers North and South declared that they would not be counted), and proclaim Mr. Lincoln the constitutionally elected President, but that he intended to take his seat in the Senate of the United States, to which he had just been elected by the loyal State of Kentucky, and swear to support the Constitution and the Constitutional Government, and I saw him with uplifted hand take that oath.

This deception blinded many of the Northern representatives and people, who unitedly praised Mr. Breckenridge for his patriotism and loyalty. How worthily it was bestowed, let his subsequent conduct in the Senate and elsewhere, and his present position speak.

#### INAUGURATION OF MR. LINCOLN.

At last the 4th of March came, and Mr. Lincoln was peacefully inaugurated on the eastern portico of the national Capitol, in the presence of thousands of loyal citizens and friends.

#### THE CONSPIRATORS AND THE NEW PRESIDENT.

The conspirators now resorted to new stratagems to deceive and mislead the government. They approached Mr. Lincoln as Union men, professing devotion to the Constitution and great anxiety for the success of his administra-

tion. But they all, with one voice, united in declaring that any attempt on the part of the government to send soldiers to any part of the South to protect the national property, would precipitate them all into a revolution. The President was told that he must not attempt to reinforce Fort Sumter — that he must not send troops to protect the Norfolk Navy Yard with its millions of property, that troops must not be sent to Harper's Ferry to guard the National Armory, and if he did, the whole State of Virginia would be driven into a revolution. For six long and weary weeks these men deceived and prevented the government from doing as I think it would have done, but for them. I need not tell you how I protested against the government listening to the counsels of these men — much less heeding them. You know the result — the Norfolk Navy Yard was lost, Harper's Ferry was lost, and the very Capitol of the nation was imperiled.

THE CABINET AND PRESIDENT—PATRIOTISM OF THE LATTER.

The cabinet under the advice of General Scott, voted to withdraw Major Anderson from Fort Sumter and thus surrender it to the rebels.

On the part of some of our best military men, this course was urged because the Buchanan administration had permitted the fort to be so environed with armed batteries, that it was said reinforcements could not be put into the fort with less than 40,000 men. In this trying emergency, everything now depended on the decision of the President, and nobly did he meet the responsibility. You and I honor him for his decision. He said: "NEVER BY AN ORDER FROM MY HAND, WHILE I AM PRESIDENT, SHALL THE STARS AND STRIPES BE STRUCK TO A REBEL FOE!" [Long applause.] This impulsive and patriotic declaration of the President, in my judgment saved the life of the nation, and whatever blunders he may have committed, or shall hereafter commit, this brave and noble act ought to excuse, and with me, shall excuse a multitude of mistakes.

"STAR OF THE WEST" FIRED UPON BY THE REBELS.

When asked what he proposed to do, he answered, that "THE WORLD WILL EXPECT US TO PROVISION OUR SOLDIERS,

WHILE IN THE FAITHFUL DISCHARGE OF THEIR DUTY, AND I INTEND TO NOTIFY THE AUTHORITIES AT CHARLESTON THAT THE TROOPS IN FORT SUMTER WILL BE FULLY PROVISIONED BY SENDING AN UNARMED VESSEL TO THE FORT." The vessel was despatched, and when within sight of the fort she was fired upon from the rebel batteries, and compelled to put to sea.

#### SUMTER COMPELLED TO SURRENDER.

Thus day after day all hope of a peaceable solution of our difficulties was dispelled, and when all hope of reinforcing the fort seemed to be given up and Major Anderson only had one or two days' rations of salt pork for his handful of men, at the expiration of which time the rebels knew he must surrender, they opened their fire upon that patriotic band, and compelled them to surrender. This act sealed the doom of the traitors. The North, heretofore divided, was now united, and every patriotic Union man gave up party for country.

#### CALL FOR TROOPS BY THE PRESIDENT AND THE RESPONSE.

I need not detail to you the stirring events which followed—the call of the President for 75,000 men, and the alacrity with which hundreds of thousands of all parties patriotically volunteered to defend the Constitution and the Union. Until then, I did not know how full the nation was of the old leaven of 1776. Until then, I had no idea of the immense moral power of the bayonet.

#### EXTRA SESSION OF CONGRESS.

The President called Congress together on the 4th of July, and asked for 400,000 men and \$400,000,000 of money to put down the rebellion, and we gave him 500,000 men and \$500,000,000. How the citizens in the loyal States have responded to the call of Congress and the President, you know. Never, in all the history of the world, from the days of Alexander and Cæsar to Napoleon, has any nation of eighteen millions of people been able to put an army of 500,000 men into the field, armed and equipped, as we have done, in five months. This fact, of itself, is a guarantee of our success if the government but does its duty.

CONDUCT OF REBEL MEMBERS.

The conduct of Breckenridge, Bright and others, in the Senate, of Burnet and others in the House after the new administration came into power, is proof positive that these men were either in sympathy or complicity with the traitors who were conspiring to destroy the government, at the very moment THEY, with uplifted hand, were swearing to support and defend it.

REBEL TESTIMONY THAT SLAVERY IS THE CAUSE OF THE  
REBELLION.

I might quote by the hour from speeches of the leading rebels since the outbreak of this rebellion, to sustain the position which I have so elaborately fortified by fact after fact; but I am sure you will agree with me, that it is unnecessary. I will only detain you long enough on this point to make two or three short quotations which I think it important to submit in this connection. The first is from Alexander H. Stephens, the Vice-President of the rebel government. Mr. Stephens I suppose you all know to be one of the fairest and most conservative men in the entire South, and a man of the first order of talents. In speaking of the principles on which the Southern Confederacy was formed this summer, he said:

“That its foundations were laid—that its corner-stone rested on the great truth that slavery, subordination to the superior race—was the negro’s natural condition; that the confederacy was founded on these principles, and that this stone, which was rejected by the first builders, had, in their new edifice, become the chief stone of the corner.”

The foundation stone upon which Washington and the patriots of the Revolution built, is rejected by the leaders in this rebellion, and if Mr. Stephens speaks truly, the foundation upon which the conspirators build, is slavery. Yet in the face of such statements, and all the facts I have enumerated, politicians and newspaper editors attempt to deceive and mislead the people by declaring that slavery has nothing whatever to do with this rebellion.

Senator Brown, of Mississippi, a colleague of Jefferson Davis, openly declared that he not only demanded a Southern

Confederacy, but that he wanted "Cuba, Mexico, and Central America for the planting and spread of slavery, so that like the religion of our divine Master, it may spread to the uttermost ends of the earth."

Mr. Clay, of Alabama, declared in a speech at Montgomery, last winter, that,

"A cordon of free States must never be permitted to surround the God-given institution of slavery—the beautiful tree must not be thus girdled that it may wither and die."

And the leading organ of the conspirators for May of this year, DeBow's Review, not only declares "that the foundation of the new Confederacy had for its corner-stone, slavery," but defends and justifies the enslavement everywhere of the entire laboring population, declaring "THAT THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF ENGLAND AND THE WORLD WOULD BE INFINITELY BETTER IF THE LABORING CLASSES WERE DOMESTIC SLAVES."

**NORTHERN POLITICIANS TO BLAME FOR CONCEALING FACTS  
FROM THE PEOPLE.**

Are these startling facts new to you? They are old familiar acquaintances of mine, and I have repeated most of them over and over again, many times in this Congressional District. Do you ask in wonder, how such unholy combinations could be made against the very life of the Nation, without exciting the open hostility of every patriot and true Union man in the Republic? I answer that it has been and is mainly, the fault of Northern politicians who have either been ignorant of the existence of such treasonable movements, or with a guilty knowledge have kept them from the people.

It is not, however, improbable that the great body of Northern representatives have been entirely ignorant for the past twenty years of these acts, although often acting and voting with the conspirators and in aid of their ulterior designs. This could not well be otherwise as long as the two sections should adhere to their present policy, or rather their want of policy in selecting and continuing their representatives at Washington. The South selects her best men,



men of talents and ability, who are true to her interest, and retains them as long as they are faithful. They thus become acquainted with the entire workings of the government. The North sends with rare exceptions an entire new set of men every two or four years. Many of these men are not only without ability, but what is still more lamentable, men who, under the pretext of party necessity, sacrifice the interest of their own constituents. If rejected by the people at the close of one term for their treachery, a pro-slavery administration has always provided them with some compensation for their services, and thus from year to year, the North has been used and disgraced, simply because of the **INEFFICIENCY OR WANT OF FIDELITY** of its representatives.

The South understands this matter better. She selects men who are not only true, but able; and retains them in position until they become familiar with the workings of every department of the government, and in time they not only become representative men, but absolutely control, as they have done for years, the entire legislation of the country, although their section is largely in the minority.

#### A CHANGE MUST BE MADE.

The North will have to change this custom and adopt such a one as prudence and common-sense dictates. Statesmen are not extemporized out of the ablest men in a day. Our greatest generals worked their way up gradually from the ranks, and our safest and best railroad men commenced at the foot of the ladder. All American statesmen, worthy of the name, have come up from the ranks of the people, and the South has produced the largest number, simply because she has pursued the policy of retaining her representatives until by education and experience, they became statesmen. Do you suppose that a Northern conspiracy against the government could have been as successfully inaugurated and put into execution as this Southern conspiracy has been — that we could have held Northern conventions, elected Northern State governors on the direct issue of dissolving the Union or compelling the South to adopt such a National Constitution as we might dictate, without the entire South

being familiar with every movement, and unitedly prepared to resist it? In addition to all this, do you believe the South would ever have been guilty of voting for Northern men who were her open and undisguised enemies? that they would ever have placed them, as we have done, in the most honorable and responsible positions in the government? I ask if you believe it possible for the North with all her boasted knowledge, to have done all the South has done for the past twenty years, without being understood in every movement, not only by every Southern representative, but by the entire Southern population, which would have instructed their representatives to meet and defeat the issue upon the threshold, not with compromise, but with open, manly, persistent opposition, and exposure of the traitors engaged in it?

But this secession movement has been openly advocated for years, and its champions have been placed by Northern votes and Northern Presidents not only in the cabinets but in the most honorable and responsible positions of the government. If able and true men pointed out the danger, as did John Quincy Adams, their voices would be drowned by the din of commerce and the cry of demagogues, who either for the sake of party or office, or the promise of office, would in proportion to their ignorance, denounce with increased vehemence, all such statements as unqualifiedly false and only made to injure their party. For the sake of party and the hope of securing some petty office for two or four years, ignorant and corrupt men have usurped in the name of the people the management of political conventions, and the great interests of the country have been made subordinate to the ambitions of men whose whole lives gave assurances of their unfitness for responsible positions.

Because of this state of things, the North, although superior in point of wealth, population and intelligence have been made the "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for the South. Do you ask when this state of things shall forever cease? I answer that it will cease as this rebellion will cease, whenever a united people earnestly wills it, and not before.

THE NORTH INDICTED AT THE BAR OF PUBLIC OPINION.

That the overprudent, the timid and the indifferent, with the trickster and demagogue, will join with cowardly Hunkerism in condemning the manner in which I am treating this subject I do not doubt, and I do not object. In my opinion, this is no time for honeyed phrases, and I have therefore called things by their right names. This is a war about slavery and you and I know it. The South declare that our unconstitutional interference with slavery is the cause of this rebellion. For this we are indicted at the bar of public opinion and required to plead "guilty" or "not guilty." Instead of responding promptly, and manfully, and truthfully, "not guilty," all Hunkerdom holds its breath for fear of offending its Southern brethren, and demands that we shall plead to anything else rather than that with which we are charged in the rebel indictment. Will any lawyer tell me how we are to defend ourselves? What shall be our reply to this charge? We may plead all our sins of omission and commission, but that will not do. Silence on the only distinct charge made in the indictment against us is an admission of our guilt. It is all any rebel can ask. It is substantially saying to the world that the South is right and the North is wrong. Therefore for one I plead "not guilty," and "put myself upon the country." Suppose, instead of the charge of improper interference with slavery, the North were charged in the rebel indictment with unconstitutionally interfering with the rights of the South on the question of the tariff, or Pacific Railroad, or the question of representation, or any one of the many questions which have divided political parties in this country? Would prudent but timid friends be found then, as now, uniting with the political trickster and the demagogue in seconding the demand of Hunkerism that we should not only not plead to that with which we were charged, but that we should not even discuss or publicly allude to the matter at issue? How can a statesman who is guided by the principles of justice, or even by political expediency, demand of any rational people anything so irrational or idiotic as debate and answer to charges without any reference to the subject matter of the charges?

If this rebellion had resulted from a conspiracy on the part of the great body of railroad corporations, or banks, or manufacturing interests, in the United States, because the General or State Governments had refused to comply with their demands, do you suppose there would have been any such hesitation on the part of the government as to their duty as there has been towards the present rebels? The old bank of the United States had a capital of only fifty millions of dollars, and yet General Jackson thought its continued existence dangerous to the liberties of the people, because he knew it subsidized the public press, controlled party conventions, and, with its gold, corrupted statesmen and divided the nation's chosen guardians and counselors. He thereupon crushed it, and the nation applauded him. The number of rebel slave barons in the United States does not exceed 250,000 men, all told. Of this number not more than 200,000 are voters, and yet they claim that their capital in slaves is worth two thousand millions of dollars. If fifty millions of dollars in the hands of a bank were dangerous to the liberties of the people, how much more dangerous are two thousand millions of dollars in the hands of slave barons, who are enemies to the government? For the protection of this property, as they claim it to be, they have demanded special legislation and constitutional guarantees which the people would not grant, and because of the refusal, this small but powerful class have made this war upon the government. Suppose the great majority of the bankers of the United States (and the bank stockholders are a more numerous class than the rebel slave barons) were to combine and demand an amendment to the Constitution, granting them PERPETUAL CHARTERS, with the right to suspend specie payment whenever, in their opinion, the interests of the banks demanded it, and suppose the people should refuse to give them such a dangerous grant of power, and, because of this refusal, they should unite in a conspiracy to destroy the government by making war upon it as the rebel slave barons are now doing, what would you, as practical men do, if THEY, instead of the slave barons, were the rebels? I know what you would demand, and it would be done—the leading conspirators

would be arrested and their property confiscated to pay the expenses of putting down the rebellion, and thus make it impossible for them to get up another such rebellion. I would do the same with the railroad conspirators, who have more wealth and more men interested with them than all the slave baron rebels. I would do the same with any combination of men under the same circumstances. The banking, railroad and manufacturing interests of the United States each separately controls more wealth than all the conspirators now engaged in the rebellion, and their institutions are of more importance to commerce, to civilization and good government, than all the slave barons, whether loyal or rebel; and yet, if any one or all of these interests were to combine against the government, what would be their fate? Would there be any division among us on the question of conducting the war against them? Why, then, as practical men, should we hesitate as to the course to be pursued towards rebel slave barons?

The truth is, prejudice has blinded us, as a nation, so that we will not see our duty, and this is the secret of our inefficiency and our reverses. How many men are there before me who would hesitate at confiscating the entire wealth of all the corporations in the country—whether banks, railroads or manufactories—if they were combined and in rebellion against the government and they believed such action was necessary to save the nation's life? If you would do this, would you not also confiscate and deprive the present slave baron conspirators of every slave they possessed, if you believed it necessary for the preservation of the Constitution and the Union? I have no doubt of it.

THE ONLY QUESTION BETWEEN RADICAL AND CONSERVATIVE MEN.

The only question, then, is a difference of opinion as to the time when this necessity begins. When, in the judgment of each man individually, that time has come, we are unanimous. At present some are convinced that the time is now—others think differently—all, I doubt not, honestly. Instead, therefore, of finding fault and denouncing each other for

honest differences of opinion, would it not be better for all to maintain their opinions without criminating each other and without denouncing the government, which is undoubtedly honestly endeavoring to do its duty? We are so constituted that we must see differently. If twenty men were selected from this audience to-night and a proposition was submitted to them, which to each was entirely new, whether in philosophy or politics, you know that their opinions would not only differ widely, but that some would be much quicker than others in coming to their conclusions. If, then, Union men differ on the proper disposition of this slavery controversy, let us agree to disagree, but stand firmly by the government. Is not the man who forms an honest judgment and frankly expresses it, entitled to the confidence of all true men, rather than he who either forms no opinions at all, or if he does, fears to express them? IN SHORT, IS NOT THE MAN WHO, IF HE BLUNDERS, DOES SO ON THE SIDE OF HUMANITY AND JUSTICE, BETTER ENTITLED TO THE RESPECT AND CONFIDENCE OF MEN THAN THE MAN WHO IS HEARTLESSLY INDIFFERENT OR CRAFTILY SILENT?

#### RECAPITULATION OF PROOF.

I have demonstrated, I trust, to your satisfaction, by facts which cannot be controverted, that SLAVERY, and SLAVERY ALONE, is the cause of this rebellion. I have shown you that every compromise and humiliating concession made by the North to the South but emboldened and made more insulting the demands of the conspirators. They demanded at the Charleston and Baltimore conventions the unconditional surrender of the Douglas Democrats, and because this was refused, broke up both. THEIR REPRESENTATIVES PROCLAIMED LAST WINTER IN BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS, THAT IF THE NORTHERN REPRESENTATIVES WERE TO SIGN AND SEAL A BOND ON A BLANK SHEET OF PAPER, AND AUTHORIZE THE CONSPIRATORS TO FILL UP THE TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF OUR SURRENDER, THEY WOULD NOT ACCEPT IT. They publicly declared that if the people elected any other man for President than the one dictated by themselves, they would secede and break up the Union, thus refusing longer to adhere to the demo-

cratic principle that the majority shall govern. I have shown you by their own public declarations, that the election of Mr. Lincoln was not the CAUSE, but only a PRETEXT for this rebellion; that for thirty years the traitors have been fomenting treason, and have been awaiting a favorable opportunity to inaugurate it. I have shown that but for the fatal folly and wicked indifference of the North, this rebellion would never have come upon us. That we have fed and fostered the viper which is now at our throats, every candid, reflecting Northern man must admit. When it was an infant, or even when it was but half-grown, the nation might easily have destroyed it, but now by our own fault and guilt it has grown until it has become formidable and defiant. For years we nursed it most tenderly and gave it all the succor and food it demanded. Now, outraged justice demands either that we shall destroy it, or be ourselves destroyed by it. There is a law of compensation, a law which is above all human enactments, irrepealable because Divine, which proclaims that "THE NATION OR PEOPLE WHO DO NOT RULE IN RIGHTEOUSNESS SHALL PERISH FROM THE EARTH," and I believe we are now passing through the trying ordeal which will either establish us a nation of freemen, ruling in righteousness, or destroy us.

#### STATE SOVEREIGNTY.

You have heard a great deal about "State Sovereignty" and the "sacred soil of Virginia" and other States, and the "right of secession." I will not now detain you with a discussion on the abstract right of secession. Last winter I examined this subject thoroughly in a speech which I made in the House, and I have nothing now to add to or take from what I then said. The claim set up by these conspirators, that a State is "sovereign" and owns the soil within its geographical limits, is an assumption as arrogant as it is ignorant. NO STATE OF THE AMERICAN UNION IS SOVEREIGN OR HAS ANY OWNERSHIP OF THE SOIL, EXCEPT THAT WHICH THE CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES GIVE HER. The National Constitution guarantees to each State a republican form of government, with a right to make its own municipal laws, subject only to that Constitution.

The Constitution of the United States is the supreme law of the land, anything in the laws or constitutions of the States to the contrary, notwithstanding. The assumed "right of secession" is an absurd and visionary dream of a monomaniac. As well might a man say he would release himself from any contract he had made, because he had determined not to pay his honest debts. Such a doctrine will do only for pirates. As well might Lucas County, Ohio, set up that SHE is a "sovereign" county, and therefore has the "right" to secede from both the National and State Governments, and establish herself as an independent nation. If this were true, our National Constitution would not be worth the paper on which it is written.

ABSURD DOCTRINE OF MR. BUCHANAN.

Absurd, however, as this doctrine is, it is not half so absurd as the course pursued by Buchanan, who, while permitting our national fortifications to be envired by rebel batteries, formally announced in his last message to Congress that not only was there no "right of secession" under the Constitution, BUT THAT ALL ATTEMPTS ON THE PART OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT TO RESTRAIN OR PREVENT A STATE FROM SECEDING WERE ALSO UNCONSTITUTIONAL.

WHAT WOULD HAVE BEEN THE EFFECTS IF THIS QUESTION HAD BEEN SETTLED IN THE MISSOURI CONTROVERSY.

Had the nation heeded the warning voices of her purest patriots and statesmen at the time of the Missouri controversy, that State would never have been admitted into the Union with slavery, and the so-called Missouri compromise would never have been made. The deadly viper would then have received its death-blow, and the nation been delivered from the rule of the slave barons. Slavery would not then have been nationalized by Congressional protection. There would have been no cruel, bloody and costly war in Florida for the enslavement of negroes, half-breeds and Indians, who were free when we purchased the territory from Spain, and whose rights we guaranteed by the treaty of purchase and unblush-



ingly violated by that war. There would have been no war made upon the weak and distressed republic of Mexico for the purpose of wresting free territory from her, on which to plant human slavery. There would have been no ceding of one-half of Oregon to Great Britain to prevent the erection of free States out of that territory. The compromises of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska acts of 1854, and the justly infamous Lecompton Constitution of 1857, would never have disgraced the records of our country. In short, the crimes and murders in Kansas which HAVE been committed, never could have been committed — much less could this wicked rebellion have been born.

**A BOLD, EARNEST, VIGOROUS POLICY DEMANDED.**

Our duty as a nation, in connection with this rebellion, has seemed to me from the first so plain that I have been not a little amazed at the apparent hesitancy and want of policy on our part. You know I have claimed, and still claim, that we cannot march into the South with our armies and successfully strike down the conspirators with one hand WHILE UPHOLDING THE CAUSE OF THE REBELLION WITH THE OTHER. From the first I have insisted on the adoption of a bold, earnest and vigorous policy. I have insisted that all persons who are not UNQUALIFIEDLY for the government, whether in or out of office, should be treated as its ENEMIES — that every person who was even suspected of disloyalty, should be dismissed from the army and from every branch of the public service, and I have classed, and shall continue to class, every man whether at the North or South, who is for the government with an "if" or a "but," as a TRAITOR. [Applause.] Thus far in this controversy we have acted with the tenderest solicitude for the welfare of rebel slave barons. We have sanctioned the taking of his horse, his cattle, his money and his life, but seldom his man chattels. On this point we have been inconsistent and vacillating, while the rebels have been consistent and defiant. I know it is said by those who have counseled the policy or rather want of policy which we have thus far pursued, that "THE WAR WILL BE THE END OF SLAVERY," and that so far from having any objections, they

would be glad to see it. This may be true, but you and I know that the overthrow of slavery will not only end the war, but, beyond all doubt, save the Union and preserve constitutional liberty, by making us what we ought to be, a homogeneous people.

It is claimed by many that the people should not criticise the acts of the government at such a time as the present. I dissent from this theory. If the people do not demand from the government what they want, pray how is the government to know the wishes and sentiments of the people which it professes to represent? I have supported and voted for every necessary measure asked by the Administration, and shall continue to do so as long as these demands seem to me right. Of that I am to be the judge, and not another for me. As I never have been, so I never shall be, the blind follower either of men or parties. [Applause.] In the present controversy I have made everything subordinate to the one great wish of my heart—the preservation of the Constitution and the Union. Neither men nor party, the allurements of power, nor the hope of future preferment have swayed or shall sway me in the discharge of my duty. As I have done since I have had the honor to represent you, so I shall continue to vote and act on all questions as though there were, as now there ought to be, but one party in the country, and that the party for the Constitution and the Union. In such a contest as the present, men are nothing; parties are but as dust in the balance; but the life of the nation is above all price, and must be preserved. I have, as all have, the strongest motives for standing firmly by the President, for he is certainly an honest and earnest man, and these are noble and indispensable qualifications. Believing the President to be thus earnest and honest, I can, as you can, afford to overlook many of the blunders and mistakes which, of necessity, he must commit in his present embarrassing position. But while I say this, I will not consent to remain silent and quietly permit any policy to be adopted which, in my judgment, would be fatal to the success of that cause which all true patriots have first at heart. The old adage has it that “it will do no harm to watch even an honest

man," and all history proclaims that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." [Applause.]

#### CONSEQUENCES OF THE REBELLION.

The consequences of this rebellion are difficult of solution. No man can tell when or how it will end, and any theory relating to it must be continually modified by constantly changing events. It requires no prophet, however, to foresee that unless we change our policy we shall have the whole outside world against us. We may have them FOR us by simply doing that which our own self-preservation demands. It has been our policy as a nation for many years to recognize DE FACTO rebel governments, if they gave evidence of their ability to MAINTAIN a government. We cannot, then, justly complain if foreign nations do the same with us. If England, France and Spain, recognize the confederate government by the 4th of March next, as the moneyed and commercial classes of those countries are now demanding, what will be the result? Of necessity, a violation of our blockade and probably a foreign war. That there is a hostile feeling towards us among the aristocratic classes of the countries named, all understand. In addition, the commercial and manufacturing interests of Great Britain and France are favorable to an early recognition of the rebel government in order that free trade treaties may be secured, and they may obtain the Southern cotton and sell in return their manufactured fabrics. These two interests combined exercise a wonderful control in those governments. Indeed, commerce itself, which is a mighty power in the world, will soon demand that its interests shall no longer be obstructed by this war. Here is this demand of the aristocracy (who hate our government) and the manufacturing and commercial classes against the great mass of their people, who love liberty and Republican institutions, and believe we are fighting to maintain them. As soon, however, as the mass of the moral and religious people of England and France shall be made to believe that the North is fighting to maintain slavery AS IT is, and the South are only fighting to secure ADDITIONAL

constitutional guarantees for the protection of slavery, they will say it is a "distinction without a difference," and will unite with the privileged classes in demanding an early recognition of the rebel government. And whenever their people are thus united, the independence of the rebel States will be acknowledged by their governments. Thus far in this controversy we have done much to alienate all foreign sympathy, and unless we change our policy we shall, in my judgment, lose the support of all the liberty-loving people of Europe. If this be lost, we surely can expect no support from the aristocratic element. As a nation we are in a critical condition, and it depends alone upon OUR OWN action whether we are to draw to us the support of the moral and Christian powers of the world, or permit them to become indifferent or openly hostile.

EFFECT OF A FOREIGN RECOGNITION OF THE REBELS UPON  
THE NORTH.

As soon as the governments of England and France shall have recognized the rebel confederacy, a powerful anti-war and anti-tax party will spring up in the North in favor of peace and the recognition of the independence of the traitors. Thus, we shall be divided at home and at war with the great military powers abroad, unless we yield. We have those among us NOW who contend that we cannot put down this rebellion. How many shall we THEN have who will openly demand the separation of the States? They will say, "If you could not put down this rebellion single-handed, how can you expect to do it with England and France in the balance against you?" They tell us now that if we withdraw our armies from Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri, the secessionists will at once carry those States over to the rebel government, and I am not sure but they would. How certainly would it be the case if we were compelled to withdraw our armies to fight a foreign enemy. Let us look the truth squarely in the face. We may have a united nation of thirty millions of free men and the whole moral power of the world to sustain us, if we but WILL it, or we may alienate this power and be broken into fragments, never again to be united.

UNION OF SENTIMENT AND EFFORT NECESSARY.

With these facts before us, what is our duty? You know what I think. Let us then, forgetting all past differences, unite earnestly in adopting the only practical solution of this question—that of striking the enemy in his most vulnerable point. [Applause.] In this grand battle let us cling with unfaltering faith and hope to the flag of our fathers, and fight on and fight ever, without concealment of our purposes, and without again compromising with wrong, until we lift the whole Union, “one and indivisible,” above the ruin which to-night environs it—and the nation, thus purified, invigorated, and strengthened by the stern ordeal of battle, shall again shine out as the beacon light of liberty to the oppressed of the world, with no spot to darken her fair escutcheon, but shining out as beautiful as the morning, giving light and hope and joy to the struggling millions of the earth. [Applause.] To fight for such a government and such principles I have asked men all over my district to volunteer in the liberating army of the Republic. Who would not feel proud to belong to such an army? Who does not feel thankful that Providence has cast his lot where he may be an actor in such a contest? For—

“We are living, we are dwelling,  
In a grand and awful time.  
In an age on ages telling,  
To be living is sublime.  
Will ye play, then, will ye dally,  
With your music and your wine?  
Up! It is Jehovah’s rally!  
God’s own arm hath need of thine!”

Fellow-citizens, I have spoken to you to-night freely and frankly. Much that I have said might have been omitted, and my own convictions and opinions, had I chosen, could have been entirely concealed. I have felt it be my duty, however, as I did last spring, when I apprised you in my letters of the formidable proportions of this rebellion, and the danger that beset the life of the nation, to call your

attention to the facts upon which I then based my opinions. I leave these facts with you for your judgment. When you have fully and impartially examined them, as I have, I will have no fear of your verdict. In a day or two more I go to Washington, and I confess to you that I never went to the discharge of a duty with more distrust in my own abilities nor with a more sincere desire for the aid and counsel of friends and the guidance of Him "who doeth all things well." Earnestly desiring above all things the restoration of peace, the Union and the Constitution, I shall continue to urge a vigorous prosecution of the war, to resist all attempts at compromise or surrender to the enemy by patching up a peace, knowing full well, as I do, that no peace can be honorable or enduring which is made over the prostrate form of Justice. [Applause.] Confident that the nation or people who do not rule in righteousness shall perish from the earth, I believe every citizen has a sacred duty to perform, in this trying hour of our country's peril, which is to aid by every means in his power in restoring the government to the principles and policy of its founders. I believe that the first and highest duty of government is to secure every loyal inhabitant in his person, his liberty, and his property, "protecting all and granting special favors to none." This is the sum and substance of my political faith. It is an exceedingly simple one, but is all the platform I ask, and I intend, with God's blessing, to be faithful to it in the midst of this rebellion, the dissolution of parties and the desertion of men, so that for my own honor and that of my children it shall never be truthfully said or written of me that I was an apostate to that faith, or that I abandoned the sacred cause of Liberty for the sake of place and power. [Long continued applause.]

# SPEECH

OF HON. J. M. ASHLEY, OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, APRIL 11, 1862.

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ON THE BILL FOR THE RELEASE OF CERTAIN PERSONS HELD  
TO SERVICE OR LABOR IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

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“INITIATE EMANCIPATION.”

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Mr. Ashley said:

Mr. Chairman: I intend to vote for this bill as a national duty, and not as the representative of a locality. I shall vote for it without apology, and without disclaimer. I have no excuses to offer here, or elsewhere, for doing an act which even-handed justice demands. From the first I have been earnest and persistent in pressing this question of emancipation. It became my pleasing duty, in obedience to the request of the District Committee, to meet and confer with the senator who had charge of this subject in the other branch of the national legislature, and I may say, I trust,



Letter from Prof. J. P. Shorter, A. M., LL. D., Wilberforce, O.

On page 329 will be found a copy of the bill for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, as originally introduced by Mr. Ashley, with a brief history of its amendment and final passage, so as to compensate loyal slave-owners. This speech and his masterly effort on page 333 in favor of the Thirteenth Constitutional Amendment, prohibiting slavery in the United States forever, will be read with unflagging interest. As we look back, we are amazed when reading Mr. Ashley's unanswerable arguments, his denunciations and prophecies. All can see that he had that clear vision, which is only given to him whose heart is in the right place, and who is born to be "a leader of hopes forlorn that must be led." And this is not strange nor miraculous, for, as the poet has beautifully expressed it, "When the heart goes before like a lamp and illumines the pathway, many things are made clear, that else lie hidden in darkness."

J. P. SHORTER.

without impropriety, that the Senate could not well have confided it to a truer and more earnest friend of the measure.

After several meetings and consultations with leading members of both Houses, and citizens of the District, we agreed upon a bill, which was approved by each committee, and ordered to be reported in both Houses. This was the bill which I reported to the House on the 12th day of March last. I deem it due to myself, in this connection, to say that the bill then reported by me was not in all respects what I could desire; and I need hardly add that some of the Senate amendments are of a character to make it still more objectionable. But I am a practical man, and shall support this bill as the best we can get at this time. I have been shown a number of amendments which some of my friends on this side of the House desire to offer, and which I would prefer to the provisions which are proposed to be amended; but if offered I shall vote against them, as their adoption would greatly delay, if not endanger the passage of the bill at this session, because their adoption would necessarily return the bill to the Senate for their concurrence. I trust, therefore, that all friends of emancipation will decide to accept the Senate bill as it is, and vote against all amendments, so that the practical end aimed at by the earnest men of this House, the immediate liberation of all slaves in this District, shall at once be accomplished. The object to be attained, and not its particular mode of attainment, is what we ought all to have most at heart.

If I must tax the loyal people of the nation \$1,000,000 before the slaves at the national capital can be ransomed, I will do it. I would make a bridge of gold over which they might pass to freedom, on the anniversary of the fall of Sumter, if it could not be more justly accomplished. The people of the United States must be relieved from all responsibility for the existence or longer continuance of human slavery at the capital of the Republic. The only question which I conceive I am called upon as a representative to decide is, has Congress the power and is it our duty to pass such a bill as the one before us?

Part of the sixteenth clause of the eighth section of the first article of the Constitution reads thus:



“Congress shall have power to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States.”

Mr. Chairman, I need not go into a labored argument to show that Congress has power to banish slavery from this district. It is not necessary to be a constitutional lawyer to comprehend the extent of the power here granted. The meaning is plain enough. The clause confers upon Congress all the legislative power that can be exercised by both National and State Governments combined. If Congress cannot abolish slavery in this District, no power on earth can.

A few years ago, one of freedom's distinguished orators startled the country by declaring “THAT CONGRESS HAD NO MORE POWER TO MAKE A SLAVE THAN TO MAKE A KING.” If, then, there is, as I claim, no constitutional power in Congress to reduce any man or race to slavery, it certainly will not be claimed that Congress has the power to legalize such regulations as exist to-day, touching persons held as slaves in this district, by re-enacting the slave laws of Maryland, and thus doing by indirection what no sane man claims authority to do directly. I know it is claimed by some that if Congress has power to abolish, it must necessarily have power to establish slavery. I will not insult the intelligence of this House by discussing such a proposition. If Congress could not constitutionally re-enact the slave laws of Maryland for this District, then slavery could not exist even for a single hour after the cession of the territory became complete. But whether slavery constitutionally exists in this district or not, that it does exist is a fact, and because it exists and has existed by the sufferance and sanction of the National Government, for which the entire people of the United States are justly responsible, it is more than ever the imperative duty of this Congress to abolish at once and forever so unnatural and unjustifiable a wrong. And, sir, if it be necessary to employ gold to do it, let gold be employed. Gold—which has corrupted statesmen, perverted justice, and enslaved men, can never be more righteously used than when it contributes to re-establish justice and ransom slaves.

It is claimed by the opponents of emancipation that the proper and natural condition of all colored races is that of slavery to the white race; that the people of color, not only in this district, but throughout the country, are unfit for freedom; that they cannot take care of themselves, and must, of necessity, if liberated, become a public charge. We are asked with apparent horror, and an air of sincerity, "if we intend to let this slave population loose among the whites;" and we are told if we do that, it will be destructive alike of the interests of both races; that the prejudices against persons of color are so implacable they cannot live in peace, and a war of races will be the inevitable result of freeing them among the whites—evils far more to be dreaded than any which can ensue from their continued enslavement. I have no such apprehension. Experience teaches me that all such fears are groundless. While I deny the doctrine that the normal condition of any race is that of slavery, or that there can be rightfully such a thing as property in man, under any government or constitution, I will not and cannot believe that the restoration of any race to freedom will produce antagonisms that shall culminate in a war between those whose relationships are changed from that of gross injustice and oppression to that of self-dependence and freedom. God made of one blood all the nations that dwell together on the face of the earth, and gave man "dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that creepeth upon the earth;" but man over man, never.

The distinction here made between persons and animals is clear and marked. It is the distinction recognized in the jurisprudence of all civilized and Christian nations; and when a slave baron stands up here, and claims that his title to his fellowman rests upon the same recognized rights that give him a title to his horse, I see and feel the blighting effects of slavery, and realize the justice of the remarks which I submitted on this floor two years ago, when I said that—

"I exempt, with pleasure, from any sweeping denunciations which I may make, thousands of good and true men

who find themselves born to this inheritance, and whose whole lives give assurance to the world that their hearts are better than the system. Intrust a class of men in any society or government with absolute power over a servile race, and the bad men will not only use it and abuse it, as I shall show, but, by their clamorous cry of danger to the State, will perpetrate and give sanction to outrages that good and true men will be powerless to prevent. It is not that southern men and slaveholders are worse than other men, but because they are no better, that it is unsafe, if it were not in itself an indefensible wrong, to intrust them with absolute power over any part of the human race."

Sir, the origin and authority for all the dominion man of right possesses in this world comes direct from the Father of all, and has been so recognized, not only by the great English commentator, but by the law-givers of every civilized nation on earth. There is no right outside of His authority, much less in violation of it.

The great epic poet of England writes—

“He gave us only over beast, fish, fowl,  
Dominion absolute; that right we hold  
By his donation; but man over man  
He made not lord; such title to himself  
Reserving, human left from human free.”

I ask the indulgence of the House while I read a few extracts from the writings of the great men of the past, which will suffice to show how slavery was regarded by them.

“Slavery is a system of the most complete injustice.”  
—PLATO.

“Slavery is a system of outrage and robbery.”—SOCRATES.”

“By the grand laws of nature all men are born free, and this law is universally binding upon all men.”

“Eternal justice is the basis of all human laws.”

“Whatever is just is also the true law; nor can this true law be abrogated by any written enactment.”

“If there be such a power in the decrees and commands of fools, that the nature of things is changed by their votes, why do they not decree that what is bad and pernicious shall be regarded as good and wholesome, or why, if the law can make wrong right, can it not make BAD GOOD?”

“Those who have made pernicious and unjust decrees, have made anything rather than laws.”—CICERO.

“The law which supports slavery and opposes liberty must necessarily be condemned as cruel, for every feeling of human nature advocates liberty. Slavery is introduced by human wickedness; but God advocates liberty by the nature which he has implanted in the breast of every man.”—FORTESCUE.

“If neither captivity nor contract can, by the plain law of nature and reason, reduce the parent to a state of slavery, much less can they reduce the offspring.”

“The primary aim of society is to protect individuals in the enjoyment of those absolute rights which were vested in them by the immutable laws of nature. Hence it follows that the first and prime end of human laws is to maintain those absolute rights of individuals.”

“If any human law shall require us to commit crime, we are bound to transgress that human law, or else we must offend both the natural and divine.”—BLACKSTONE.

“What the Parliament doth shall be holden for naught whenever it shall enact that which is contrary to the rights of nature.”—LORD COKE.

“The essence of all LAW is JUSTICE. What is not justice is not law, and what is not law ought not to be obeyed.”—HAMPDEN.

“No man is by nature the property of another. The rights of nature must be some way forfeited before they can justly be taken away.”—DR. JOHNSON.

“If you have the right to make another man a slave, he has the right to make you a slave.”—DR. PRICE.

“It is injustice to permit slavery to remain a single hour.”—PITT.

“American slavery is the vilest that ever saw the sun; it constitutes the sum of all villainies.”—JOHN WESLEY.

“Man cannot have property in man. Slavery is a nuisance, to be put down, not compromised with, and to be assailed without cessation and without mercy, by every blow that can be leveled at the monster.”

“Ireland and Irishmen should be foremost in seeking to effect the emancipation of mankind.”

“The Americans alleged that they had not perpetrated the crime (that of enslaving the blacks), but inherited it from England. This, however, fact as it was, was still a paltry apology for America, who asserting liberty for herself, still used the brand and the lash against others.”—DANIEL O’CONNELL.

“In regard to a regulation of slavery, my detestation of its existence induces me to know no such thing as a regula-

tion of robbery or a restriction of murder. Personal freedom is a right of which he who deprives a fellow-creature is criminal in so depriving him, and he who withholds is no less criminal in withholding.”—CHARLES JAMES FOX.

“I would never have drawn my sword in the cause of America, if I could have conceived that thereby I was founding a land of slavery.”—LAFAYETTE.

“I never mean, unless some particular circumstances should compel me to it, to possess another slave by purchase, it being among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law.

“But there is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is by legislative authority, and this, as far as my suffrage will go, shall never be wanting.”—WASHINGTON.

“The abolition of domestic slavery is the greatest object of desire in these colonies, where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state.”—JEFFERSON.

“It is wrong to admit into the Constitution the idea that there can be property in man.”—MADISON.

“We have found that this evil has preyed upon the very vitals of the Union, and has been prejudicial to all the States in which it has existed.”—MONROE.

“Is it not amazing that at a time when the rights of humanity are defined and understood with precision, in a country above all others fond of liberty, that in such an age and in such a country, we find men professing a religion the most mild, humane, gentle and generous adopting such a principle as repugnant to humanity as it is inconsistent with the Bible, and destructive to liberty?”—PATRICK HENRY.

“Sir, I envy neither the heart nor the head of that man from the North who rises here to defend slavery on principle.”—JOHN RANDOLPH.

“The sacred rights of mankind are not to be rummaged for among old parchments or musty records. They are written as with a sunbeam in the whole volume of human nature by the hand of Divinity itself, and can never be erased or obscured by mortal power.”—ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

“Little can be added to what has been said and written on the subject of slavery. I concur in the opinion that it ought not to be introduced or permitted in any of the new States, and that it ought to be gradually diminished and finally abolished in all of them.”—JOHN JAY.

“It is among the evils of slavery, that it taints the very sources of moral principle. It establishes false estimates of virtue and vice; for what can be more false and more heartless than this doctrine, which makes the first and holiest rights

of humanity depend upon the color of the skin?"—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Thus, sir, spoke some few of the great men of the past, and the just principles by them proclaimed control and direct to-day all the civilized governments of Europe. Shall the American government be less just than monarchical governments? Shall we alone cling to slavery and the dead past, while all Christian nations are keeping step to the march of human progress, and the demands of a higher civilization? Let us hope not, and so act and vote as to secure a realization of that hope.

I am for the liberation, not only of all slaves in this District, but wherever national jurisdiction extends and the national Constitution confers the power. I am for it, because I believe it an act of justice to white as well as black, to master as well as slave; and, if no other reason could be given, I am for it because, in the language of the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts, "THEY ARE MEN BY THE GRACE OF GOD, AND THIS IS ENOUGH." Free institutions will gain strength everywhere by a decree of emancipation at the national capital, while slave institutions will everywhere be weakened. Such a triumph for the cause of freedom as the passage of this act to-day, will be welcomed with gratitude not only by the ransomed slave, but with joy by the people everywhere in the loyal portions of our country. In Europe it will be hailed by the friends of liberty and progress as the dawning of a new era in the United States, and it will make the line of demarcation at home more distinct between the supporters and opponents of the government.

I rejoice that I am about to be permitted to record my vote in favor of this humane and beneficent measure. It is a day which, in common with millions of my countrymen, I have long hoped to see; and if I never give another vote in this House or elsewhere, I shall not have lived in vain, especially if I have hastened, even a single hour, the adoption by Congress of this act of national justice and national liberation. I shall have the satisfaction of leaving the enduring record of an action of which my children cannot but be proud, and of which no true man in any Christian nation could be ashamed.

It is said, if the slaves in this District are at once emancipated, that society and domestic regulations will be greatly deranged; that peace, order, security, industry and contentment will vanish, and violence, disorder, robbery, idleness and crime will increase; that such an act can do no possible good, while it would be unjust and a great hardship to both master and slave. Such is not my view of this act, nor such, sir, as I read it, the history of emancipation in the British or Danish West Indies. Such, I am sure, will not be the result in this District. Why, sir, with all the disabilities imposed upon the colored population of this District by congressional enactments, municipal regulations, and blind prejudices—and they are sufficient to weigh down and destroy the worthy and energetic, and encourage the vicious and indolent—with all these disabilities, without a parallel in any nation on earth, our colored population here will compare, advantageously to themselves, with the colored population of any city in the free States. They have amassed property beyond belief. Their church property alone, as I am informed, will exceed in value ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS. They are taxed for the support of schools from which their children are excluded, and maintain separate schools of their own. They have societies for the support of their sick and disabled, and never permit one of their number to be buried at public expense. In thirty years not one of their number has been convicted of a capital offense. As a body, they are industrious, frugal, orderly, trustworthy and religious. Instead of an increase, I venture to predict, as one of the results of this great measure, a decrease in disorder, theft, idleness and crime; and as an earnest that this prediction is not made without some foundation, let me read to you the preamble and resolution adopted the other day at a meeting of the colored ministers and leading members of the several colored churches in this city:

“Whereas we have learned by the published proceedings of Congress that there is a probability of the peaceful and final abolishment of slavery in the District of Columbia: Therefore,

“BE IT RESOLVED, That we recommend to the churches and congregations we represent that they set apart Sunday,

the 13th day of April, 1862, in connection with the usual religious services, as a day of special prayer to Almighty God, that if this great boon of freedom is vouchsafed to our people, we may receive it in a becoming manner, and by our orderly behavior, our devotion to our Christian duties, our obedience to the laws, we may show how worthy we are to enjoy it; and that He would be pleased, in His own way and in His own time, to proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

Need I say to this House and the country that the men who could draft and adopt such a preamble and resolution will receive their freedom with heartfelt joy, and not with riotous and offensive demonstrations? Before the President can sign this bill, they will have assembled in all their churches to receive with prayer and thanksgiving to the Almighty this ransom at your hands, and tears of gratitude will obliterate from their hearts the memory of many and grievous wrongs they have suffered from this government and their masters, and mingling with the echoing shouts on the sea and on the land, their voices will unite in gladness with the generous hearts who everywhere will join the grand anthem, "Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, and good-will to men."

Mr. Chairman, the bill which we are about to pass could not have passed but for this pro-slavery rebellion. The sagacity and wisdom of many of our statesmen, who in vain warned the nation that slavery and freedom could not forever live together peaceably, is being practically demonstrated. Jefferson and Jay, Franklin and the Adamses, Garrison and Calhoun, have all warned the people of the impossibility of long-continued peace with slavery. Speaking of the probable occurrence of a rupture between the North and the South, some ten or twelve years ago, in the United States Senate, John C. Calhoun said:

"The war will last between the two sections while there is a slave in the South. The conflict will never terminate. The South, I fear, will not see it until it is too late. They will become more feeble every year, while the North will grow stronger and stronger."

No longer ago than in 1858, in a speech at Springfield, Illinois, Abraham Lincoln, now president of the United



States, made this prophetic declaration, which is passing into history:

“‘A house divided against itself cannot stand.’ I believe the government cannot endure half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect that it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind will rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward until it shall alike become lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South.”

How truly prophetic! To a man who comprehends that slavery, and slavery alone, is the cause of this rebellion, the duty of the government is plain. Such a man understands that there can be no permanent or lasting peace until the people of the free States are no longer responsible for the existence and continuance of slavery, either at the national capital, or in any territory or place where Congress has constitutional power to abolish it. Hence I rejoice at the introduction and certain passage of this timely measure. Others, I doubt not, will soon follow, and the people, North and South, will gradually array themselves on the side of freedom or on the side of slavery. There is, and there can be, but this one all-absorbing question in our national politics until it is disposed of, and that will continue to be agitated until the people “rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction.” Until that time there can be but two great parties in this nation. The great mass of a free people, in a government such as ours, must of necessity be divided into two, and into but two, leading political parties; and in the present, as in all coming contests on the question of slavery, we can have but two formidable parties struggling for the ascendancy and control of the government. The one, no matter what its name or designation, will be the representative of nationality and freedom; the other, that of privilege and slavery. As to other parties, representing, or professing to represent, the various shades of political opinions existing in the country, they cannot long continue, but must, as the Whig, American, and other parties have, in all the

States, fade away before the advancing parties representing the cherished sentiments of a pro-slavery privileged class on the one hand, and the aspirations of the people for liberty on the other.

Individuals, however distinguished and worthy in all their relations in private life, who fail to co-operate earnestly with either the one or the other of the leading parties representing justice and freedom, or privilege and slavery, will continue to disappear, as they have done, from public life, and new and bolder leaders will be chosen by the people; for no generous and noble people will ever knowingly trust timid and time-serving leaders, understanding full well, as they do, that in such a contest as the party of privilege and slavery have forced upon this nation by their treason and rebellion, there can be but two armies and two battle-fields and two banners, that of the stars and stripes, representing liberty and union, or that of the serpent and pelican, representing slavery and disunion. There can be no question as to the position which the people occupy. Let us, then, procrastinate no longer the hour which they have so long in vain looked for. Let the news go forth on the wings of the wind that the national capital is ransomed from slavery, and it shall nerve the arms of your soldiers, and strengthen the hold of the government in the hearts of the people.

Mr. Chairman, the struggles and hopes of many long and weary years are centered in this eventful hour. The cry of the oppressed, "how long, O Lord, how long?" is to be answered to-day by the American Congress. A sublime act of justice is now to be recorded where it will never be obliterated, and, so far as the action of the representatives of the people can decree it, the fitting words of the President, spoken in his recent special message, "INITIATE AND EMANCIPATE," shall have a life coequal with the Republic. God has set his seal upon these priceless words, and they, with the memory of him who uttered them, shall live in the hearts of the people forever. The golden morn, so long and so anxiously looked for by the friends of freedom in the United States, has dawned. A second national jubilee will henceforth be added to our calendar. The brave words heretofore uttered in behalf of

humanity in this Hall, like "bread cast upon the waters," are now "to return after many days" and find vindication of their purposes in a decree of freedom. The command of God to let the oppressed go free, is declared to be our duty, not only by our patriotic President, but by both branches of our national Congress; and let us hope that from this time henceforth and forever, this nation is never again to be humiliated and disgraced by being responsible for the existence and continuance of human slavery. No longer within our national jurisdiction, where Congress has constitutional power to prohibit it, shall slavery be tolerated. The nation is to-day entering upon a policy which cannot be reversed; and justice is vindicated, humanity recognized, and God obeyed. In the words of Mrs. Howe's patriotic anthem:

"He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call  
retreat;

He is sifting out the hearts of men before His judgment  
seat:

Oh, be swift, my soul, to answer Him! be jubilant, my feet!

Our God is marching on.

In the beauty of the lilies, Christ was born across the sea,

With a glory in His bosom that transfigures you and me;

As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,

While God is marching on."

# SPEECH

OF HON. J. M. ASHLEY, OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MAY 8, 1862.

ON THE GOVERNMENT OF THE TERRITORY OF ARIZONA.

The bill (H. R. No. 357) to provide a temporary government for the Territory of Arizona being under consideration, MR. ASHLEY addressed the House as follows:

MR. SPEAKER. When this bill came up, two or three weeks since, for the consideration of the House, I stated in my place that I did not desire to have it put upon its passage then, if any member wished to discuss it. No gentleman rising at that time, I demanded the previous question on the third reading. I did so at the suggestion of a gentleman at my side, a better parliamentarian than I profess to be. And when I declined to yield to my colleague on the committee [Mr. Wheeler], it was in consequence of a misunderstanding. I was told that if I yielded, as the morning hour would expire in three minutes, I would lose control of the bill. I



B. K. BRUCE.

Letter from Hon. B. K. Bruce, LL. D., Washington, D. C.

The records show that Mr. Ashley introduced the bill for the organization of the Territory of Arizona. There was some opposition to the bill, as his speech discloses. But Mr. Ashley was anxious for the passage of the bill, for the reasons which he states, and also because he desired Congress, in the face of a great war, to treat with the contempt which it deserved, the pro-slavery declaration of the Supreme Court, touching the right of Congress to prohibit slavery in national territories. This was practical legislation in favor of freedom. Mr. Ashley aided during his congressional life in securing by law the prohibition of slavery in the Territories; the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment. This is a historic record which time cannot obscure or change.

B. K. BRUCE.

therefore declined to yield, not from a desire to cut off my colleague, for I understood then, as I do now, that ordering the main question on the third reading left debate open, but prohibited amendments, which I desired to do. I think this explanation due to the House and to my colleague on the committee.

Mr. Speaker, the strange spectacle is presented to-day in this House, of a people who have no protection from this government asking it through their Representative, and, if the motion to postpone prevails, of its being practically refused, by the very men, who, of all others, are pledged to the protection of the citizens who emigrate to the Territories of the United States. For the first time, I believe, in the history of our legislation, have the people of a Territory asked that a portion of such Territory which, from physical disabilities, they were not able to protect, should be taken off, and organized into a separate government. I do not intend to take up the time of the House in discussing our duty to resident citizens who have gone there. Shame and disgrace attach to a nation that is incapable, or which neglects or refuses to protect its citizens. Citizens from my own State, and of my own acquaintance, have gone into this Territory with the positive assurances of the late Administration that they would be protected, who have not only sacrificed all their wealth invested there, but many of them have lost their lives. For the first time in the history of our government have the white settlers in the Territory been driven from their homes, leaving their property, to the amount of millions, at the mercy and control of savage Indians. I knew but little of that Territory, except as I gathered it from friends who had gone there, and from gentlemen who had called on me to urge the necessity of establishing a territorial government there. Not on my motion, sir, was a bill first introduced here for the organization of this Territory. On the 24th of December last, the delegate who represents that people, who is supposed to know their wants quite as well as gentlemen residing thousands of miles away, introduced a bill for that purpose. It was drawn up in the usual phraseology, and contained forty or fifty sections. But I preferred to have a short bill, something like the old bills organizing govern-

ments under Jefferson's administration, such as the bill organizing Ohio. I therefore reported this bill, which has but three sections, and contains the Jeffersonian proviso, without which I could not consent to the organization of this Territory. I therefore declined to yield to my colleague [Mr. Cox] to move to strike it out, for if it is organized by this Congress it must be free.

I did not report this bill without having satisfied myself that the people of this Territory had sufficient population to entitle them to a territorial government. I will state, for the information of the House, some facts in connection with the history of the population of other Territories at the time of their organization. The Territory of Indiana was organized on the 7th of May, 1800, with a white population of 4,517. The Territory of Mississippi was organized on the 10th day of May, 1800, with a white population of 5,170. The Territory of Michigan was organized on the 11th of January, 1805, with a population of 4,818. The Territory of Illinois was organized on the 11th of February, 1809, having been detached from the Territory of Indiana, and it had a population of 11,501. The Territory of Minnesota was organized on the 3d day of March, 1849, with a population of 6,038. The Territory of Washington was organized on the 2d of March, 1853, having been detached from the Territory of Oregon. There is no statistical information giving the exact number of inhabitants of that Territory at the time of its organization; but I have consulted the delegate from the Territory of Washington, who was then and is now a resident of that Territory, who thinks that its population could not have exceeded 2,000 or 2,500. At all events, after a territorial organization of nearly ten years, its population at the census in 1860 was only 11,578.

The Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, as gentlemen are aware, were organized on the 30th of May, 1854, when there was not a resident white inhabitant in either of them, by authority of law. Those who were there were intruders, in contravention of a law excluding every white man from the Territory who was not connected with the Indian agencies. The Territory of Nevada was organized on the 2d of March, 1861, when it had a population of 6,857. It

was detached from the Territory of Utah, over which there was at that time a territorial government, as there is to-day a government of form merely over the people of Arizona, who ask for this territorial government. The delegate from Nevada informed me to-day that the recent census, taken some six months only after the organization, shows a population of 17,000 souls, with two daily newspapers in the Territory; proving that that organization which secures life and property, and which gives civil protection, had brought these people to the Territory, where, with the teeming wealth that everybody knows exists there, they will have within a year a population greater than that of the State of Oregon. On the 2d of March, 1861, the Territory of Dakota was organized with a population of 4,839. The Territory of Arizona, as proposed to be organized, has in that part of it alone which is called Arizona county, 6,466 white inhabitants, 21 colored, and 4,040 civilized Indians, who live in their homes and till the soil. The Census Bureau have no official returns from the remaining part of the country proposed to be included in the limits of the new Territory.

Now, Mr. Speaker, this is the position of that Territory to-day. It is said, and I suppose with some truth, that a large portion of this population has been driven out. But my information from the Territory and from General Heintzelman, who called upon me, and who was there for a number of years, and built Fort Yuma, is, that those people are driven into the State of Sonora, and that the moment the Indians and the secessionists, who have control of the Territory, retire, they will go back to their homes and resume their claims on the mines. General Heintzelman said to me, in a conversation I had with him about the importance and necessity of organizing a government for this Territory, that, had it been organized five years ago, it would have contained to-day from fifty to seventy-five thousand population, who have been in the Territory, and failed to remain there because of the insecurity of person and property. That is the statement of a man who was there as a military officer of the United States.

Now, sir, let us see what has been the opinion of men who have had this subject-matter under consideration before

it came into my hands. Let us see the importance attached to the organization of this Territory by men who have been regarded as statesmen. Senator Gwin, of California, introduced a bill for the organization of this Territory as early as the 17th December, 1857. Senator Douglas, who was then chairman of the Committee on Territories, reported back a bill to the Senate, and recommended its passage. So long ago, then, as 1857, it was thought to be not only the duty of the government, but to be expedient and proper, by the gentlemen having charge of this matter, that a territorial government should be organized for that Territory. On the 4th of February, 1859, Senator Green, of Missouri, introduced a bill for the organization of Dakota and Arizona, he being then a member of the Committee on Territories. Jefferson Davis, a Senator at that time from the State of Mississippi, introduced a bill for the organization of the Territory of Arizona, which was referred to the Committee on Territories, and Mr. Green, then chairman of the committee, reported back substantially this same bill, with the recommendation that it pass.

This Territory has elected three delegates, at three separate and distinct elections, and sent them here to claim seats in this House, asking that the Territory be organized, and the protection due from the government to the people there be extended to them.

Now, I undertake to say here in my place, that if a territorial government had been organized in that Territory, and proper protection extended, the mines which are undeveloped in that region, and which are richer than those of Colorado, would have called to it a larger population to-day than now exists either in the Territory of Colorado or the Territory of Nevada. But for the lack of proper protection it was incapable of sustaining and defending itself against the horde of Indians who make their inroads there, and the small band of secessionists who have been able, by conspiring with those Indians, to drive out the loyal Union men who here to-day ask your protection. These, sir, are facts which no gentleman of this House, here or elsewhere, can gainsay.

Now, sir, I ask the attention of the House to this map [unrolling a map of the proposed and surrounding Territories]



which will show what an immense Territory this is, and the boundary with which it is proposed to be organized. Here is the Territory of New Mexico, nearly a thousand miles in length from the eastern to the western boundary. It is proposed to constitute this Territory by running a line from the southwestern boundary of Colorado, as is shown by this line, making a Territory larger than Nevada, larger than Colorado, larger than Utah, larger than the State of New York, and larger than any other State in the Union except Texas.

Now, that territorial organization will secure the largest proportion of emigration which now goes into California by the great southern mail route. That is the testimony of General Heintzelman; and from the location of Fort Yuma, built by him, that and a fort at or near Calabagas, properly garrisoned, will afford all the protection that will be needed for the Territory and the government now proposed to be organized.

Now, I do not propose, as I said in the outset, to take up the time of the House in the discussion of the importance and necessity of this measure. The honorable member from New Mexico, in the able and eloquent speech to which the House have just listened, has left no part of the ground unexplained, which I intended to occupy when I yielded the floor that it might be awarded to him, and I could not if I would add anything on the point he has so clearly presented, and with which from a residence of many years in that Territory he must be so familiar.

The band of secessionists now having control of this Territory must be driven out of it, and there is no way by which this can be done so easily, and the Territory so effectually secured to the Union, as by giving it a territorial organization; such an organization as is asked for by the people who live there; such an organization as will afford it local protection. Why, sir, I have been informed by a gentleman in whose integrity I confide to the utmost, that for more than three years no court has been held in that entire Territory; that murders of our citizens have been perpetrated with impunity, not only by savages, but by the very men who are now in rebellion against the government, and assume to

govern the Territory in the name of Jefferson Davis and the so-called southern confederacy.

That this Territory must be wrested from its present occupants, all admit. It is in the possession of a small but desperate band of outlaws and marauders, who were driven from Kansas and the other frontier States of the South and West. They have been enabled by conspiring with the savages, to drive out and despoil all the Union citizens, many of whom are to-day in the State of Sonora, Mexico, anxiously awaiting the time when the government shall again assert its just authority over the Territory, and afford them that protection to which they are entitled, in order that they may return to their homes.

I hope that the members of this House will not allow the appeal of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Wheeler], on the score of economy, to prevent them from discharging their solemn duty to our citizens. But I undertake to say that, in an economical point of view alone, it is the cheapest, best, and most effectual way of saving that Territory to us, and of protecting our citizens.

Why, sir, no longer than a few days ago, when you were discussing the tax bill, my friend from Indiana [Mr. Dunn] offered an amendment that this government should send out laborers to dig in the mines, to enable us to obtain the precious metals required to aid in carrying on this government. I undertake to say that if this Territory is organized at this time, in six months from its inauguration and the suppression of the rebellion there will be a population there larger than that of Nevada, because the mines are richer and emigrants may reach there by water communication. And I not only say there will be a population there larger than Nevada, but that the wealth produced will repay, a hundred fold, the expense which will be necessarily incurred, whether we organize the Territory or not, in its recapture from the men who now hold and occupy it. I ask you to look at the Territory of Colorado, which is not as rich in minerals as Arizona. A year or two ago there were scarcely a thousand American citizens there. To-day there is a population of forty-odd thousand, and in a year from this time Colorado will have a population greater than that of the State of Oregon.

The same may be said of Nevada. And do you tell me, then, that this Territory, which is admitted by all men who have traveled over it, or who have resided in it, to surpass all the other Territories in mineral wealth, will not have a larger population in the same length of time from its organization, when its population has run up to six or seven thousand under all its disadvantages.

But in addition to this, I desire to say that there rests upon the majority of this House a solemn obligation to pass this bill, and to pass it substantially as we have reported it; to pass it prohibiting slavery in the Territory, as it is their duty to dedicate all our National Territories to freedom. At the request of the delegate from New Mexico, I have consented to amend the bill by striking out Washington and inserting New Mexico, and to make one other amendment striking out all that part of the bill which relates to other Territories, and permit the prohibition of slavery to extend only to the Territory now proposed to be organized. I have done so because it has been represented to me by several members on this side of the House, for whose opinions I have great respect, that the general provision proposed on the subject of slavery in other Territories should be made in another bill. My colleague on the committee from Illinois [Mr. Lovejoy] has in his charge, by direction of the committee, the bill introduced into the House some time ago by Honorable Mr. Arnold, of Illinois, and which contains substantially the same provision touching the question of slavery in the other Territories. I have, therefore, consented to have the prohibition for other Territories omitted in the Arizona bill.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have given to the House the facts in relation to this matter. How much wealth has been carried into Arizona that is utterly and forever lost, unless this House now organizes this Territory, I cannot say, but the amount must be large. The citizens of Ohio alone have more than a million of dollars invested there, and the citizens of other States have invested large amounts.

MR. GURLEY. I wish to state to the House that I see a gentleman in the gallery who has spent \$50,000 of his own money in opening mines in Arizona, who was driven away

by the Indians; and if the government would only afford him and his associates, and others who may desire to go to that Territory protection, they will in return give us millions upon millions of dollars in silver. Gold has become so common now that we do not care much about it. Legal tender is as good as gold, and a little better, by our law. [Laughter.] But this Territory is peculiarly rich in silver. As my colleague [Mr. Ashley] and as I have learned from my constituents who have gone there, I believe that \$50,000,000 per annum would in a short time, say a few years, be extracted from the mines of that Territory in silver, if you will only protect the miners, so that they need not be compelled to work, holding the rifle in one hand, and the pick in the other, as they have hitherto been compelled to do.

I wish to say that my attention has been called to this subject from the fact that I have many constituents who have been out there, and engaged in mining. Several prominent gentlemen from Cincinnati have lost their lives in that Territory. For myself, I have **NARY** gold mine nor silver mine in the Territory.

**MR. ASHLEY.** Mr. Speaker, so far as I am concerned, the amount of earthly treasure which I have laid up in this world is very small; I trust that, in the other, it will be proportionately large. I, too, have no gold or silver mine in Arizona. I have friends there, however, who have invested large amounts in that Territory, and who will sacrifice all if the present condition of affairs should continue. I have had friends there whose lives have been sacrificed. I have conferred with gentlemen who have lived years in that Territory, who state—and their statement is confirmed by General Heintzelman—that whenever it is organized, from \$50,000,000 to \$75,000,000 may be exported annually in the precious metals. But aside from that consideration, the citizens of the United States who have gone there have the right to protection.

As I was saying, when interrupted by my colleague, the first and highest duty of this government is to protect its citizens. Yet, sir, the strange spectacle is presented of opposition to this bill by members on this side of the House, who,

with an inconsistency of principle wholly incomprehensible, propose that its further consideration shall be postponed until December next. Do not gentlemen know that if they postpone this matter until December next, it will be late in the summer or fall of next year before a government can be organized which will secure for these people the protection they now demand? It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that we fail fully to comprehend the wants and necessities of this perilous hour for the country. Men are so accustomed to run in grooves that even revolutions fail to lift a majority of those whom we have been accustomed to call leaders to the level plane of passing events. History informs us that most of those who have been regarded in times past as great statesmen and military heroes have fallen victims to their inability to rise to the level of the revolutionary plane. Unable to meet and overcome the exigencies of the hour, they have folded their arms, and, like Napoleon before Moscow, faltered, hesitated, and were lost. Well and truly has the poet said that—

“Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide,  
In the strife of truth with falsehood, for the good or evil side.”

Mr. Speaker, I do not by any means believe that the members of the House are indifferent to the great issues involved in this rebellion; indeed I know of the anxiety and solicitude of many of its most distinguished and patriotic members. But I do think, sir, that we fail to appreciate in all its terrible reality the importance and grandeur of the era in which Providence has cast our lot. We fail to realize that we are living in a time when the Republic of our fathers, in which are centered the hopes and aspirations of millions, is to be saved or lost. The march of events is so swift and irresistible, that we become dizzy in contemplating it, and do not remember that we are forever and forever being pressed forward. We seem to forget that we are to preserve constitutional liberty and American civilization, or permit them to go out in the night of barbarism and slavery. I appeal to all those who have not forgotten when, recently,

this capital was beleaguered by the defiant hordes of treason, and who have not forgotten all of the exciting and terrible events which have transpired within the past year; I appeal to all those who then saw, and still see, the dangers which beset this government and its people, whether they are not solicitous for the future.

Sir, I do not believe there is a member in this House, unless he be an accomplice in the treason which is seeking the nation's life, who is not anxious that victory shall crown our arms, and that there shall be a speedy restoration of the Union. But as a body, we hesitate and are divided in action. Five long and weary months of this session have passed, in which we should have had action, prompt, efficient action, against the rebels, and yet we sit deliberating. We have done but little aside from voting men and money to aid in the speedy suppression of this rebellion. No concert or unity of purpose has thus far marked our legislation. The nation, in breathless suspense, is awaiting the moment when some practical measure of relief shall be proposed and adopted. All the people ask is competent and efficient leadership, and millions of money and myriads of men are at our disposal. With impunity have traitors remained in our army, in our navy, and in almost every department of the government. We have done more, far more—I regret to say it—to encourage treason than to terrify traitors, by our inaction and our divisions.

MR. WICKLIFFE. I do not know whether I understood the gentleman in a remark which he has just made, and therefore I rise to ask him a question. Are we to understand him as saying that there are traitors still remaining in the army and navy, and in every department of the government?

MR. ASHLEY. Yes, sir; I made that statement.

MR. WICKLIFFE. In God's name, then, let us know who they are.

MR. ASHLEY. I give that as my opinion, based on facts which are within the reach of every member of this House. I believe that there still remain in all the departments of this government men who, at heart, are traitors to it. I know that to be the opinion of a majority of the members of the

select committee on the conduct of the war, and of the Potter committee. The members of both these committees with whom I have conversed are well satisfied that there are many now in office under this government who sympathize with those who are to-day seeking the nation's life, and yet we remain apparently indifferent and divided.

Sir, we spend weeks in discussing a tax bill, which might without much impropriety be called a bill to confiscate the property of loyal citizens, while we refuse, persistently refuse, to touch the property of rebels in arms against the government. We prefer to fall back upon musty precedents, and thus attempt to divert the will of the nation from its purposes by discussing learned absurdities and constitutional technicalities, rather than grapple as practical men with the cause of the rebellion. Treachery and treason stalk before us on all sides and defy us. We are told, not only by traitors but by some who profess to be our friends, that we have no constitutional power to confiscate the property of rebels in arms against the government; that we have no constitutional power to remove the cause and admitted support of the rebellion and thus make a like rebellion from the same cause forever impossible hereafter. Thus, amid this diversity of opinion, we are divided in council and rendered powerless in action, and are drifting as a nation no one knows whither. Instead of directing the public mind, as statesmen should do, by playing the politician we divide and distract it. Now, sir—

**THE SPEAKER.** The gentleman must confine his remarks to the subject under discussion. The motion is to postpone.

**MR. ASHLEY.** In my judgment, in the remarks which I am submitting, I am not out of order; and if the Chair had waited to see the application which I propose to make of them, he would not, I am sure, have decided me out of order. However, if that be the decision of the Chair, I will not further continue them.

**THE SPEAKER.** The chair cannot see what relevancy the confiscation of the property of rebels has to the pending question.

**MR. ASHLEY.** Papers and resolutions are often presented at the Clerk's desk to be read for the action of the House,

and questions of order are not unfrequently raised upon them. The Chair usually delays a decision until they are read, to ascertain their contents and relevancy, and in this instance I do not see why he should have departed from his usual course. I certainly do not intend to make any remarks which are out of order, and perhaps this allusion which I make to confiscation and our divisions on other subjects is not relevant; but I propose to make, with your consent, an application of these remarks, and you and the House may then judge whether they are pertinent to the pending proposition or not.

Now, Mr. Speaker, when interrupted, I was saying that we had failed utterly to do anything effective in behalf of the country at this session, if I except the act emancipating the slaves in this District, and the passage by this House of the homestead bill and Pacific railroad. We not only have permitted ourselves to be divided in council; we have not only failed to grapple vigorously with the cause of this rebellion, as statesmen and practical men, but, by playing the politician, we have divided the people at home. To-day we yield to the supercilious demands and pocket the insult of a foreign government, and to-morrow grow jubilant over a victory which means nothing. To-day we declare the backbone of this rebellion broken, and to-morrow a reverse destroys this faith, and we grow as skeptical as before; but whether rejoicing in victory or mourning in defeat, we are constantly assured by the friends and apologists of slavery that we must not pass any law which will touch this question. We are assured by gentlemen that if we are only patriotic— if we are only patient, conciliatory and magnanimous— our erring Southern brethren will soon return and sin no more, which simply means, as I interpret it, that they will return to the Union when we give them all that they ask, and more than they ever asked before the rebellion. Thus, day by day, week by week, and month by month, for a whole year, has this panorama of victories and defeats been passing in view before our eyes; and yet we remain undecided, and “sit here deliberating in cold debate,” without unity of purpose or harmony of action. This bill imposes a just punishment upon slavery, which has brought about this



rebellion. It puts it under the ban of the national government, and gives an earnest of our purpose, by declaring that slavery and involuntary servitude shall cease in this Territory forever.

Sir, the motion to postpone this bill practically secures a direct vote upon it. The defeat of this motion, and the prompt organization of this Territory, I regard as very important. Its passage will secure not only the approbation of the great majority of the loyal people of this country, but it will secure the approbation of the liberal people of every government in Europe. It will place the National Government where every earnest man in this House desires it to be placed — on the side of freedom.

Sir, this indifference, this division of sentiment, to which I have felt it to be my duty to allude, sits like an incubus upon many, and they seem powerless to dispel it. Many who should be with us in action, as they profess to be in sentiment, unfortunately are encouraging others to vote against this bill, who otherwise would sustain it. If this bill fails — this national proclamation, as it may properly be called, of freedom — it will fail by the votes of its professed friends, upon the pretext that it will cost the nation thirty or forty thousand dollars annually. If it does fail, I ask every member upon this side of the House, I ask every member in this Hall, if we will not justly be charged with abandoning that cause which sent a majority of Republicans into this Hall, and which intrusted the present national Republican Administration with the control of the government.

Sir, I trust the motion will fail, and that before this House adjourns, or before the two days set apart for territorial business shall have passed, this bill, so far as the action of the Representatives of the people can decree it, will have become the law of the land. If the bill fails, and this great opportunity be lost, and it should so happen at the next session that you cannot pass it, certainly those who so vote will incur a terrible responsibility, and of all men will be most guilty.

Sir, I repeat that I hope the motion to postpone will fail.

**MR. ASHLEY'S LETTER ON PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S  
EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.**

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**FROM THE TOLEDO COMMERCIAL.**

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We publish this morning a letter from Mr. Ashley to his constituents, congratulating them on the final triumph of the great cause of human freedom, of which he has been for many years the effective and untiring advocate. The letter will be found vigorous and forcible in style, and pervaded by a hopeful spirit.

Mr. Ashley presents an incontrovertible argument in favor of the constitutionality of the President's proclamation, which we trust our friends may read carefully. We call special attention to the exposition of the political history of our State during the past two years, the results which followed, and the lesson which it teaches. Want of space forbids, at this time, further notice.



BENJAMIN F. LEE.

Letter from Bishop Benjamin F. Lee, D. D., Waco, Texas.

As soon as Mr. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation was published, Mr. Ashley at once wrote the following happy letter endorsing and defending the President's great act, and congratulating his constituents on the certain triumph of the army and the cause of the slave. The promptness with which this letter was written, the forcible and vigorous style which pervades it, all tell that the head and heart of its author was for our liberation. The joy Mr. Ashley expresses, the hopeful spirit in which he wrote, and the prophecy he then made, we all know have been in a large part fulfilled.

BENJAMIN F. LEE.

## THE FUTURE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM.

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WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., January 1st, 1863.

**EDITOR COMMERCIAL:** The last of the hundred days' respite given to slavery expired with the dying year, and this glorious morning ushers in a new epoch in our history. The die is cast. To-day the Rubicon was crossed, and the nation, thanks to the persistent demands of her earnest sons, is at last irrevocably committed to the policy of universal emancipation.

The proclamation of the President, which will reach you on the wings of the lightning while I am writing, will meet with a welcome response from all unconditionally loyal men, and will sink deep into the hearts of the slaves who have long prayed for the deliverance it will bring. The execution of this decree of freedom may be impeded by faction and delayed by adverse majorities here and there, but it cannot fail, because it is the sentiment of the people, and the nation is pledged to its fulfillment before the world. Its execution will require time, fortitude, and patience. A comprehensive statesmanship must guide, and the active co-operation of all loyal men will be necessary to direct, in safety, the change of a vast industrial system, and the sudden transition of four millions from slavery to freedom.

Let us have faith that this grand purpose will be successfully accomplished, and that from this day will date the dawning of a new era in the United States in favor of freedom and constitutional government. I may be over sanguine in my hopes of the future, but it seems to me as if the hour has struck when the Union contemplated by our fathers is about to be realized. To me it appears that the present will be a year ever memorable in the history of the republic and the world, a year in which the enfranchised millions of the

United States can stretch forth their glad hands to the enfranchised millions of Russia, and thank God that the establishment of justice in the administration of these two great governments has made the chattelizing of men hereafter within all their borders forever impossible, and paved the way for breaking the bondage of men among all the nations of earth. The hue and cry that will be raised by the rebels in the South and their sympathizers in the North will be that this proclamation of the President is UNCONSTITUTIONAL. There are many men who will unblushingly denounce this act as unconstitutional, who never read the Constitution, and who, if they should read it, could not understand it. This pretended reverence for the Constitution comes with an ill grace from the men and the party that have never scrupled to disregard it, or to violate any compact, however sacred, which stood in the way of the demands of the slaveholding rebels.

Article 1st, section 8th, of the Constitution provide that

“The Congress shall have power

“To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

“To provide and maintain a navy.

“To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

“To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection and repel invasions.

“To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States.”

These express grants of power are ample for all purposes of war. When Congress shall declare war or recognize the existence of war, all rules applicable to a state of war at once govern every movement of the army. These laws are well established among the civilized nations of the world.

If a rebel must first be convicted by “DUE PROCESS OF LAW,” in a court of law, then no war, either offensive or defensive, can be carried on. Under such interpretation of the Constitution not a gun could be fired, because it might kill a rebel “WITHOUT DUE PROCESS OF LAW,” and killing men without judge or jury not being regarded as “DUE PROCESS

OF LAW," within the meaning of that term, as employed in the Constitution, it follows, according to rebel logic, that all war on the part of the United States, against them, is unconstitutional. But these rebel sympathizers will hardly assume now that they have a de facto government, that the government of the United States has no right to order the killing of a rebel in battle, under the laws of war. They will concede that a rebel life may be taken constitutionally in battle, that his property may be taken for the subsistence of the army, that his horses, his cattle, anything but his slave, may be justly and constitutionally taken. But the President and his supporters are unscrupulously denounced as violators of the Constitution, because of this proclamation. I need not deny such an idiotic charge. In common with the loyal people of the United States, I revere the Constitution of my country, and hold it to be the supreme law of the land. I regard it as the most sacred heritage of our fathers, a charter of national liberty, which honestly interpreted, needs no amendment, and contains within itself every provision that under all possible exigencies are necessary to preserve it, and perpetuate the government and nation which it created. I would not evade or violate this Constitution. The people are in arms to maintain it, and they will maintain it. Slavery, and every enemy of the Constitution, must fall, but the Constitution and the Union must be preserved. I have believed from the first, as my constituents well know, that slavery must die before this rebellion could end. I have believed from the first that the petty stratagems of so-called statesmen, generals and doughface editors who feared, as well as those who worshiped slavery, while they might postpone, could not prevent it.

If it be true then, as even Honorable Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, now concedes, "THAT SLAVERY MUST DIE IN ORDER THAT THE CONSTITUTION MAY LIVE," he is an enemy of the Constitution who will not aid the overthrow of that power which is seeking the nation's life. Let it not be said by any pro-slavery rebel sympathizer in the North, that we cannot destroy slavery without destroying the Constitution. That great charter of our liberties contains no provision, as

I interpret it, perpetually binding upon the nation the curse of human slavery. It contains no provisions securing immunity to traitors. No enemy of the government has any guaranteed rights under the Constitution, except those which are secured to him by the laws of war. Instead of attempting the destruction of slavery in violation of the Constitution, or by evading any of its requirements, I believe it can be destroyed, as can every enemy of the government, within the Constitution, and by express provisions of the Constitution. Whatever restrictions the Constitution may impose upon loyal citizens, I am sure it nowhere contains a guarantee for traitors, either in person or property. By the express provision of the Constitution, which I have quoted, the President, who is the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, has authority under the war power to issue his emancipation proclamation. On this point the President thus speaks:

“Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this 1st day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days, from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States the following, to wit:

. . . . .

“And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are and henceforward shall be free, and that the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

“And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free, to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense, and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

“And I therefore declare and make known, that such persons, of suitable conditions, will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

“And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.”

No man can read this proclamation of the President without a thrill of patriotic pride, and they who possess the consciousness, as I do, of having labored from the first to secure the results which it ultimately promises, a perpetual union of these States, with harmonious institutions, based upon freedom instead of slavery, will feel a satisfaction which words are too feeble to express.

Let all remember that we should not have had this glorious proclamation to-day had the earnest men of this country remained silent and criminally indifferent to this great movement, as did political fossils, compromisers, and the men in the North who did not believe in God or man. Such men joined hands with this class in almost every Republican county in our State, and did not scruple to apologize for the rebels, and defend the rightfulness of human slavery. This unnatural coalition, called a “Union for the sake of the Union” party, made by pro-slavery men and timid men in and out of the Republican party, was made for the most part for the sake of the spoils of office in Republican States and counties, where the opposition were in a hopeless minority. They refused to do this in pro-slavery States and counties where they had undoubted majorities.

But in Republican States and counties they were clamorous for the “Union for the sake of the Union” movement. You will remember how boldly the most notorious pro-slavery men, in every Republican county in our District, rushed into the “Union for the sake of the Union” conventions, took the front seats without a scruple and demanded the best offices without a blush. This coalition throughout the State enabled the friends of slavery to break down the Republican party, and inaugurate, in its stead, this so-called

“Union movement” upon the Crittenden platform, thus securing the great States of Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois, in the late elections, to the political opponents of Mr. Lincoln’s administration. Wherever the Republican organization was maintained in its integrity, the administration was handsomely sustained. Witness our overwhelming triumphs in Maine, Massachusetts, Iowa, Minnesota and Kansas. I need not tell you how earnestly I labored to prevent this fatal step in Ohio. When I first learned that such a movement was on foot in May or June, 1861, I went to Dayton, Cincinnati, Columbus, Cleveland, and other places of lesser note, and protested against it.

After coming to Washington, at the extra session, I submitted to the Republican members of Congress the draft of a call for a State convention, which I had left with the State Central Committee, and every member of Congress from Ohio with but one exception, signed it, as a suggestion embodying their views on the subject, and I sent that to the State Committee at Columbus, but they disregarded all such suggestions, and made the unfortunate call they did for our State Convention, and, as was predicted, have succeeded in aiding the opposition in this State to secure fourteen of the nineteen members of the next Congress to the Vallandigham Democracy. With the State Government at Columbus ostensibly in our possession, these tricksters and trimmers have increased the majority against us in Franklin county more than double. Are not our friends satisfied by this time, that this “Union for the sake of the Union” appeal is a political dodge on the part of the most transparent of political adventurers? If they are not, let them try it again. From the first, I have been and am now in favor of a union of all earnest men, upon principle, to put down this rebellion, but not such a union as was secured by a coalition with proslavery men upon the Crittenden resolutions, for, as every man knows, those resolutions were a cheat and a sham, and I glory in the fact that I spat upon and repudiated them in my last canvass. Let us return to our principles and reorganize the only true Union party, the Republican party, the only party that has been true to freedom, the only party



that during all this terrible conflict has had no traitor or rebel sympathizer in its ranks.

The battle is to be waged from this time henceforward, not only against the rebels, but also against the CAUSE and SUPPORT of the rebellion. There can be but two parties in the North, the party of freedom and the party of slavery. The party of freedom will be, as it ever has been, for the Union, the party of slavery will be as it ever has been, for all compromises demanded by their old political allies, the rebels. In this great contest, then, there can be but two sides, and he who is not for "Liberty and Union," must be against "Liberty and Union." The battle may be long and rage fiercely, but from this day dates our victory.

"Wake, watcher, see the mountain peaks  
Already catch a golden ray,  
Light on the far horizon speaks  
The dawning of a glorious day."

. . . . .  
"Hard-fought and long the strife may be,  
The powers of wrong be slow to yield,  
But RIGHT shall gain the victory,  
And FREEDOM hold the battle-field."

J. M. ASHLEY.

## PATRIOTIC ADDRESS OF HON. J. M. ASHLEY,

AT THE GREAT UNION WAR MEETING OF NORTHWESTERN  
OHIO, AT WHITE'S HALL, TOLEDO, MARCH 18, 1863.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I regret that more speakers from abroad are not present, to entertain and instruct you. I hoped it would only be necessary for me to approve in a few words this movement, and that we should all have the pleasure of listening exclusively to distinguished speakers from abroad. The saying of Christ, when teaching in a synagogue of Galilee, that "A PROPHET IS NOT WITHOUT HONOR SAVE IN HIS OWN COUNTRY, AND AMONG HIS OWN KIN AND IN HIS OWN HOUSE," is as apposite to this occasion, as that on which it was first uttered. I spoke at the depot to-day, and will therefore detain you but a short time now.

Mr. President, I need not say that this grand demonstration of to-day and to-night, to indorse the sentiments contained in the patriotic appeal of our brave brothers in arms, meets the unqualified approval of my judgment and my heart. [Applause.]



Letter from Prof. B. W. Arnett, Jr., A. B.

The reader will find that this short patriotic address is one of Mr. Ashley's most appropriate and clever off hand speeches. It was delivered at a meeting called to endorse (as the reader will see) an appeal from the Union soldiers, at the front, for concord at home, and a united and uncompromising party, so as to secure a more vigorous prosecution of the war. The speech has in it the genuine ring; no man can mistake the purpose of the speaker. Mr. Ashley saw at that early day the doom of slavery, and spoke only as a man B. W. ARNETT, JR. can speak, who has a glimpse of the future and beholds the approaching triumph of the cause he loves. He proclaimed in this speech that "Truth's enemy wins a defeat with victory." This is profound philosophy, and is the kind of faith that comes only to great and heroic souls. B. W. ARNETT, JR.

I am not only willing but anxious to unite politically with all who will UNCONDITIONALLY sustain the government in this hour of mingled peril and glory; with all who will sustain it in all its measures, including the greatest and best; with all who will in thus sustaining it, give our heroic soldiers an honest support. I am for such a Union organization as shall know the political antecedents of no man who is outspoken and unqualified for the preservation of the government, at every hazard. Our soldiers, who understand from practical experience the wants and necessities of the hour, have spoken to the nation with no unmeaning words. There is not a loyal man within the limits of the Republic who has heard their eloquent appeal, whose pulse has not beat quicker and whose heart has not been stirring with patriotic pride. Let every loyal citizen of whatever former party, who has heard that noble appeal, give it his generous approval. Whatever may be the course of others, I am for the government unconditionally; for a vigorous prosecution of the war, until our cause shall triumph.

Mr. President, it is not necessary for me to say to our gallant soldiers that they shall have in the future, is they have had in the past, my earnest support. They know that, and to-night I say to you and to them, that they who are periling life for home, kindred and country, have the right to command me, and when they command I shall obey. In whatever path they direct, touching the rebellion, I will cheerfully go. Their voice shall be my voice, their aspirations my aspirations, their hopes my hopes; for I know that their every hope, aspiration and prayer is for our country and our whole country—for the preservation of that Constitution which is our shield, our safety and our defense, for the triumph of that dear old flag, without a star obliterated or a stripe erased; that flag which to-day is the emblem of our national greatness and national glory—dearer at this hour to all patriot hearts than ever before, because of the efforts made by traitors to destroy it. There is no true man or woman within the limits of the republic who will not swear that

“No other flag shall ever float above our homes or graves.”

Mr. President, had the voices of the nation's defenders been heard at the ballot-box last fall, as they ought to have been, and as I urged that they should be, to our members of the legislature, no such disgrace would have come upon Ohio as the election of fourteen members to the next Congress, hostile to the war policy of the government; and of a State ticket pledged, by the platform upon which it was elected, to open and undisguised opposition to the constituted authorities of the nation.

I am for a "UNION PARTY," a party representing the living present and not the dead past—a party of principle, not of spoils—a party to be called, as it ought to have been from the first, "THE FREE UNION PARTY"—a party pledged to a reconstruction of the Union on a basis as enduring as the everlasting hills, having for its corner-stones Liberty and Justice. I am for such a political organization and no other, because any other will be a cheat and a sham. I know that, despite the adroit sophisms and petty stratagems of the timid, the scheming and unprincipled, we shall have such a party; and I believe, as time advances, it will overwhelm and destroy all others in its triumphal progress. But whether so or not, I intend by the blessing of God, to fight slavery and its allies to the bitter end. [Applause, long continued,] I repeat, that, by the blessing of God, I intend to fight slavery and its allies to the bitter end, because I believe the twain are the foes of our country and enemies of the human race. [Applause.]

If it shall so be, that in this terrible and bitter contest the cause of freedom must fail, which I do not believe, let the enemies of the government rest assured that the opponents of the twin monsters, slavery and rebellion, will go down, if go down they must, with their faces to the foe, and the stars and stripes streaming over their heads,

"And leaving in battle no blot on their name,  
Look proudly to Heaven, from the death-bed of fame."

Mr. President, the most important Congress which ever assembled since the organization of our government,

has just closed its labors. I need not enter into a discussion of the merits of the men or the measures of that body. Time will develop the importance of those measures and posterity will do them and their authors justice. Whatever acts were passed, were passed by men legally and constitutionally elected for the emergency—an emergency without any parallel in our former history. Whatever mistakes that Congress may have made, whatever it may have left undone which it ought to have done, however short it may have come of our own expectations, or the expectations of others, the record is made up; no human hand can alter it. I intend to stand by it, and by it I ask to be judged. One thing is certain—the day of half-way measures is over; the time for compromising with the South has forever passed, and our patriotic soldiers have told you what I now gratefully repeat, that voluntary submission to the rebels will not be tolerated. Nevermore will there be any legislative sympathy with rebellion. All patriotic men are beginning to see and feel the necessity of this, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, every loyal citizen is standing in readiness to respond to the appeal of our brave soldiers, for the creation and support of a party which shall have for its first and highest object, the vindication of the government, the maintenance of the Union, the preservation of constitutional liberty—a party that shall declare open and undisguised hostility to all attempts at intervention or mediation in our affairs by foreign governments. On such a platform let all the free Union men unite, and present to the world a party which, at home and abroad, shall know no law but justice, which will ask “FOR NOTHING THAT IS NOT RIGHT, AND SUBMIT TO NOTHING THAT IS WRONG.” Such a party the politicians and demagogues will hate, but with an intelligent, liberty-loving people it will be invincible. In the triumph of such a party the honor of our country will remain undimmed, and we will make a grander history for it than ever was dreamed by enthusiastic poet or orator.

Mr. President, one of the greatest crises through which the nation ever passed, was passed during the recent session of Congress. Comparatively quiet, it was nevertheless most dangerous. Less than three months ago, well-

grounded fears, growing out of the secret plottings of Northern rebel sympathizers, were entertained of a rebellion in the North. Traitors grew bold at the result of last fall's elections, not only in but out of Congress, and secret meetings were held all over the North, having for their object a surrender of every patriotic principle to purchase an inglorious peace from the rebels. The infamy of this cowardly proposition requires no notice from me in this loyal assemblage; nevertheless, the government was seriously threatened. Secret emissaries were sent with dishonorable propositions of peace to Jeff. Davis, who, arch traitor that he is, was more honorable than they, and saved the complications they had woven, by indignantly spurning them from his presence. During this dreary period, men looked into each other's faces with fear and trembling—and, as was the case in the French Revolution, began to distrust each other. The turning-point at last came. When the secret clubs in New York City proposed to inaugurate their revolution, by taking from the banks of that city, by force, what money they required; the rebuff our Northern enemies received from the rebel government at Richmond; the voices of our soldiers from the battlefield, and the kindly response of the friends of freedom in Europe to the President's Proclamation of Emancipation, headed by that champion of freedom, John Bright, arrested them in their mad career of infamy and treason, and some of their most reckless leaders sought the earliest moment to repair their mischief and publicly atone for what they had done; and to-day our noble ship, which many began to fear had become unmanageable, and might founder, after having passed through a raking fire and defied the fury of the storm for nearly two years, is at last slowly but surely righting herself, and begins to answer to the will of the helmsman, Abraham Lincoln (God bless and preserve him). [Long and continued applause.] Yes, his arm has been strengthened, and his heart cheered by the manly appeal of our patriotic soldiers, and once more our grand old ship of state rides majestically and more than conqueror on the tempestuous sea of treason and rebellion [applause], and our government was never so strong at home or abroad as to-day,

and I know we shall triumph. [Applause.] I do not agree with my friend, Mr. Bates, who has just taken his seat, that our army on the Potomac will never be successful. I tell you that, under God, when Joe Hooker moves upon the enemy he will lead the army of the Potomac to victory. [Great cheering.] I reserve to myself the right to criticise, at a proper time, the acts of all men, public or private, whether President, Cabinet officers, Commanding General, or demagogue stump orators. [Applause.]

Mr. President, this country is yours and mine, whatever has been or may be the supposed faults or shortcomings of its rulers. It is our country from ocean to ocean, and from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico. I yield allegiance to the government of the United States, and to no other. I owe no divided allegiance. The flag of my fathers is my flag. I never have, and, by the blessing of heaven, I never will acknowledge any other. [Applause.] I have been laboring for the past two years, as I never labored before, to perpetuate this government. I have, to the extent of my ability, and with an earnestness of purpose which has permitted no divided allegiance, contributed by my counsels, votes and all the means I could command, to defend that flag and preserve it as a representative of our nationality, and an emblem of our liberty. That I may have been mistaken in some of my counsels and some of my votes, is more than probable; but, however that may have been, you all know that, throughout this struggle, I have been earnestly on the side of the government and the old flag, and that the first and dearest wish of my heart has been and still is to see that banner, which to me is a representative, not only of our nationality, but of "LIBERTY AND UNION," also triumph on every battle-field, and to see the Constitution of our fathers re-established in its just sway over every State and Territory in the republic. [Applause.]

Mr. President, many say I have committed blunders. Admit it, which I do not. I answer all such by quoting a rule which is as applicable to-day and here, as it was eighteen hundred years ago. "LET HIM WHO IS WITHOUT A FAULT CAST THE FIRST STONE."

Apply this rule to all who have made mistakes in reference to this rebellion, and how long would I stand here before the first stone would be cast? If all who have thought and written about the matter have committed blunders, may I, who am no more infallible than the rest of you, not be pardoned for erring on the side of Liberty and Justice? If I have erred, my worst enemy will admit that so far as this great battle of liberty is concerned,

“My faults have leaned to Virtue’s side.”

One thing is certain, I have not erred against the government and in favor of the rebels, or on the side of slavery. I have not remained silent as a political trickster would have done—nor stifled my convictions—nor played the demagogue, nor have I ever told you that everything was right, when I knew that almost everything was wrong, touching the management of the war. Had I thus acted, the indifferent, conservatives, and the shams, and even the rebel sympathizers among us, might have united in singing my praises, complimenting that rascally virtue, which some call discretion, and commending my statesmanship. Indeed had I acted against the government, only using the duplicity and falsehood necessary to prevent arrest as a traitor, many pretended friends of the government would have found little fault with my conduct.

The opposition to me has all arisen because I have been untiring in pleading for such a change in the management of the war as I believed was necessary to save the nation’s life. For this reason, I have demanded from the first, that our soldiers should fight for Liberty and Union, instead of Slavery and Compromise. [Applause.] I did not, however, relax one iota of vigilance and devotion to the government, because in all things my views were not at once adopted by the Administration, and I should not have relaxed, if they had not been adopted up to this hour. I am and have been for the government, despite the policy of the first eighteen months of this rebellion, which in my heart I could not approve. I shall continue to vote, as I have, for every man and every dollar asked for by the President, and shall endeavor



to strengthen his hands, with whatever ability I possess, until this causeless and wicked rebellion is crushed. Do not be deceived. There will be no peace, there can be no peace, until the government triumphs. Until then, this struggle will go on. No human power can stay it, until the grand idea of the human race shall be realized, and Liberty and Justice shall become the acknowledged corner-stones of our political edifice. [Applause.] That which seemed so plain and distinct to my hopeful vision, two years ago, is now being seen by all; that which was then to me the full-grown tree of Liberty, and which in my joyous faith I hailed with an overflowing heart that could not keep silent, it now needs no faith to see. To-day it is plainly visible to all. True, some, who all their lives have been blinded because they had no faith in God or man, may yet see it only as we behold the coming spring-time, in the melting of the ice, the running brooks, the budding leaf and the opening flower; but all begin to feel, and see, and know, that this is a war of ideas, a war between Liberty and Slavery, between a government of the people and an oligarchy, and that the spring-time of liberty, impartial and universal, has not only dawned, but is rapidly approaching the period of fruition. [Applause and cheers.] Let us take fresh hope. Let us renew our courage. This struggle will go on until Freedom conquers. [Applause.] From every blood-stained battle-field, the voices of the living and the dead come to us, bidding us be firm. From every loyal man and woman in the North, the demand is that this battle shall continue, and fathers, mothers, wives, sisters and brothers, who have lost their dearest and bravest on the field of conflict, are daily and nightly offering up their earnest prayers that the God of nations will accept the sacrifice they have made, and save and regenerate their country.

That it will be saved and regenerated I have never doubted. The battle may be long and rage fiercely, the night be dark, the enemy win victories, and thousands of our Northern homes be made cheerless and desolate, but there shall be no compromise and no surrender. The very air shall be burthened with the hopeful speech, and song,

and prayer of the patriot, and it shall go on until the right shall triumph. And, as I now listen to the patriotic appeal of our soldiers, I seem to hear their united voices, clear, strong and melodious, ringing in my ears, the welcome cheering words of the poet:

“ It still goes on. The driving rain  
May chill, but light will gleam again.  
It still goes on. Truth's enemy  
Wins a defeat, with victory.  
It still goes on. Cold winter's snow  
Comes that the grass may greener grow ;  
And Freedom's sun, whate'er befall,  
Shines warm and bright behind it all.”

[Long and continued applause.]

## WOOD COUNTY UNION CONVENTION.

ELOQUENT SPEECH OF GEN. ASHLEY AT BOWLING GREEN,  
SEPTEMBER, 1863.

As a report of the Wood County convention has already been published, we give a synopsis of the prefatory part of Mr. Ashley's speech, and a verbatim report of his concluding remarks on that occasion.

Of these remarks, which deserve the perusal of every patriot, it is sufficient to say that we have never witnessed more intense interest than was manifested by the audience during their utterance. After numerous preliminary remarks, Mr. Ashley appealed to the people in favor of the President's Emancipation Proclamation. He said "that proclamation alone was worth one hundred thousand men." He showed the influence it had on the popular mind in Europe, in the offer of money by capitalists; in the expression of sympathy received by the President from 35,000 operators, headed by that noble man, John Bright; in the endorsement and approval of the emancipation proclamation by the leading religious bodies of England, France and Germany.



Letter from Benjamin W. Arnett, D. D.

I have read this grand speech with unalloyed satisfaction. When I remember the dark nights of sorrow through which our race was then traveling, and the discouraging conditions under which it was delivered, I am simply charmed with its eloquence and power, and can form a just estimate of the man who made it. I am sure that all men who read the speeches in this volume will agree with me, that what Whittier years ago wrote of Governor Ritner of Pennsylvania, may now be appropriately quoted and said of Mr. Ashley, for all have come to know that during our great anti-slavery conflict, he stood "Like the oak of the mountain, deep-rooted and firm, erect when multitudes bent to the storm; When traitors to freedom and honor and God, are bowed to an idol polluted with blood."

Not only the Afro-American, but all men who love liberty, will join in approving the testimony which in this "souvenir" we now prepare for him. I can never forget the impression made on my mind, as I sat in the gallery of the House of Representatives and witnessed the last great parliamentary battle between Freedom and Slavery. It was on the 31st of January, 1865. The Hon. James M. Ashley was leading the army of heroes. After the lapse of twenty-eight years, I can vividly see his manly form and hear his words, as he plead for the cause of universal freedom. The shouts of the multitude, the songs of triumph, the cannon's roar, all are with me now, and the merry bells of freedom are still ringing in my ears. As long as men admire the heroic and brave, the hero of this great battle will be remembered, and his name will be among the immortal of the ages.

B. W. ARNETT.

They thanked the President for this act in the name of God, of humanity and of liberty. He showed that this single act had changed the tone and sentiment of the masses in Europe towards the North, and that we need not fear intervention as we did one year ago. He stated that it had kindled the flame of patriotism in the hearts of northern freemen, and that the united response from our patriotic soldiers plainly showed that they fully comprehended the true nature of the conflict, and thanked the President for releasing them from the degrading occupation of guarding the property of rebels, and from upholding the infamy of slavery.

The policy of freedom thus inaugurated had united the unconditional friends of freedom at home, in the army and in Europe. He asked all who had differed, and all who now differed with the policy of the President, on the question of emancipation, to stand by the government to the last, urging them to forget all partisan prejudices, and by unity of action save our national existence, and accomplish the triumph of free government. He said that for over eighteen months he and the friends of freedom generally had stood by the government and had voted all the men and all the money they asked, although the administration had persistently refused to adopt the policy of emancipation, and he should have continued that support had their policy remained unchanged. He said he was a passenger on the old ship, and he intended to go down with her if she were lost, and therefore he stood firmly and unwaveringly by her commander. Is it asking too much of those who now differ with us on the policy of the government in regard to emancipation, to render it the same cordial support which we rendered, when the contrary policy prevailed?

Mr. Ashley closed this speech with an appeal which we give verbatim. He said:

FELLOW CITIZENS: The terrible conflict in which as a nation we are engaged will be recorded in history as the most eventful of the nineteenth century. It will constitute one of those memorable epochs which come but once in centuries; from which, if we are successful, freedom will date its grandest triumph. This war is indeed the battle of the

ages. The best hopes of mankind on earth are wrapped up in the issue. Man's capacity for self-government is on trial before the world, and we must conquer or the verdict will be against democratic government and in favor of privilege and despotism everywhere. [Applause.]

The conspirators and rebels are attempting the destruction of our democratic government, because democracy, "pure and undefiled," is opposed to privilege and slavery. They desire the establishment of a government which shall be administered exclusively by a privileged class, a slave-holding aristocracy, in which capital shall own the laborer.

The issue is fairly made up, and we cannot ignore or escape from it if we would. The question then, which every loyal man is called upon to decide this day, is, shall our nationality and the constitution of our fathers be preserved, with freedom as the fundamental law of the republic, or shall our nationality and the republic be destroyed and an anti-democratic government be erected upon its ruins, with slavery as its chief corner-stone? There can be but one response to this interrogatory by every patriotic Union man before me; and I know that there will be but one response, not only by you, but by the loyal heart of the nation. [Applause.]

Fellow Citizens: The earnest, uncompromising anti-slavery men of this country, though few in numbers, have changed the policy of this government; whatever pro-slavery politicians, or timid, vacillating, non-committal men may say or think, I say to you, that the anti-slavery men of the nation, with the gospel of liberty in their hearts, and the sword of justice as their weapon, have, by the almighty power and force of truth, educated the nation up to the present standpoint, and thus caused the administration to adopt their policy. I need hardly tell you that, since the outbreak of the rebellion, the great heart of the nation, under their teachings, has been slowly but surely tending toward universal emancipation. Unquestionably a large majority of the loyal men of the republic have, since the 1st of January, sworn in their hearts, as I had long ago sworn in mine, that, as slavery was the cause of this rebellion, it

shall die. [Applause.] All earnest men will agree with the distinguished Secretary of the Treasury, that "this is no time to split hairs of logic." What matters it to any liberty-loving man how slavery die, so that it die, whether by military power or congressional enactment? [Applause.] All may, with propriety, call the Emancipation Proclamation of the President a war measure, for up to this hour General Emancipation has been, by far, the most successful of our generals. [Applause.] But it would be unjust and unmanly to say that the Emancipation Proclamation was nothing more than a war measure. I say to you it is more; it is a measure of justice, and cannot be properly separated from the measures which make up the entire policy of the administration. [Applause.] The truth is, and I will not disguise it, for favor or through fear, that if the President and Congress have not done, as I say they have not, all that they might properly and constitutionally have done to hurt slavery, they at least have knowingly done no act to help slavery, and they could not have done so without being held guilty before the world of an infamy which would have blasted, and justly, their names and memories forever. [Applause.] Every act of the President and Congress touching the subject of slavery has been favorable to a policy, which, if logically followed, will sooner or later result in universal emancipation. [Applause.] The rebel chiefs understand this, and the whole world, thanks to the President's proclamation, now comprehends it. The public man who did not so read and understand this issue from the first, has a far better claim to wear the title given to the Bourbons of France, than to be classed with the statesmen of this country. [Applause.] Let any intelligent man ask himself what has been and what now is the policy of the administration on the slavery question, and he will know which way the nation is moving; for, on this question, the administration has never led, but followed, and that very tardily, the public voice. [Applause.] Let the acts of the President and Congress answer as to what is to-day the policy of the government.

Congress passed and the President approved an act

emancipating all slaves at the national capitol. [Applause.] Congress passed and the President approved an act prohibiting slavery forever in all the territories of the republic. [Applause.] Congress, at the request of the President, offered to aid pecuniarily the border slave States if they would liberate all slaves, and authorized the employment of slaves in the military and naval service of the United States. [Applause.] Robert Small and other slaves who have captured prizes and come within our lines, have been treated by the government as free men, and the usual proportion of the prize money has been awarded them, and to-day the government is gladly accepting the services of all black men, north or south, whether they have been free or slave, who will enlist in the service of the United States. [Applause.]

A new treaty has been made with Great Britain, the more effectually to suppress the trade in African slaves, and the first slave pirate ever executed under our law was hanged by order of President Lincoln. Congress passed, and the President approved, an act prohibiting the trade in Chinese coolies, and Hayti and Liberia have been recognized as belonging to the family of nations. [Applause.]

Where, I ask you as honest men, do all these acts logically and unmistakably lead us as a nation? Let every intelligent man answer for himself. I tell you that the government is irrevocably committed to the policy of emancipation, and no power on earth can turn it back. [Applause.] The President's proclamation was then, in my opinion, not only a military necessity, but an act of justice also, demanded by the logic of events no less than by the prudent policy which a wise statesmanship had inaugurated, as the leading measure of the administration for the preservation of the republic. [Applause.]

On this point let the President speak. I read from his proclamation:

“ We say we are for the Union. The world will not forget that we say this. We know how to save the Union. The world knows we do know how to save it. We, even we here, hold the power and bear the responsibility. In giving freedom to the slave we assure freedom to the free, honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly

save or meanly lose the last best hope of earth. Other means may succeed; this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just, a way which if followed the world will approve, and God must forever bless." [Applause.]

Accepting this view as the true and logical interpretation of the issue involved in this terrible conflict through which we are passing, let us consecrate ourselves anew to the great work before us, pledging ourselves, before heaven and the world, that come what may, intervention and foreign war, disaster and defeat of our armies, and betrayal by Northern traitors at home, WE WILL NEVER COMPROMISE OR SURRENDER. [Applause.] If we are earnestly united, no power on earth can conquer us, and we may rest assured that the nation thus purified, strengthened and invigorated by the baptism of fire and blood through which we are passing, will come out of the conflict redeemed and regenerated, consecrated to Liberty, by the genius of universal emancipation. [Applause.]

. . . . .

Mr. Chairman: I admit, that at the beginning of our anti-slavery battle, I did not expect to see slavery go out in a baptism of fire and blood. I hoped, as peaceful and patriotic men everywhere hoped, that the battle would be one of ballots instead of bullets. The slave baron conspirators, in their madness, decreed that it should be otherwise.

Now, we all recognize "that he who takes the sword, shall perish by the sword." And you and I know, that after our long, dark night of national wrong and crime, "that the sum of all villainies" must now also perish by the sword. [Applause.]

With a joy which no human language can express, because it reaches the sublime, and passeth all understanding, the ransomed nation will soon be ready to join in one united hallelujah, as from its soul it sings Mrs. Howe's Grand National Anthem, "The Battle Hymn of the Republic":

"Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord;  
He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath  
are stored,



He has loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift  
sword;

His truth is marching on.

“I have seen him in the watch-fires of a hundred circling  
camps;

They have builded Him an altar in the evening dews and  
damps;

I can read his righteous sentence by the dim and flickering  
lamps;

His day is marching on.

“I have read a fiery gospel, writ in burnished rows of steel;  
As ye deal with my contemners, so with you my grace shall  
deal;

Let the Hero, born of woman, crush the serpent with his  
heel;

Since God is marching on.

“He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call  
retreat;

He is sifting out the hearts of men before His judgment-seat;  
Oh! be swift, my soul, to answer Him, be jubilant, my feet!

Our God is marching on.

“In the beauty of the lilies, Christ was born across the sea,  
With a glory in His bosom that transfigures you and me;

As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,

While God is marching on.”

## SPEECH

OF HON. J. M. ASHLEY, OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MARCH 30TH, 1864.

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THE LIBERATION AND RESTORATION OF THE SOUTH.

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MR. SPEAKER: The hour has come in which Congress must deal with the great crime of the nineteenth century. The leading conspirators must be punished by punishments commensurate with their terrible deeds. Every loyal citizen of the United States will expect this of those to whom they have at this time confided the destinies of the nation. They will demand that this great crime be so dealt with, that the government shall obtain "indemnity for the past and security for the future." As one of the representatives of the loyal people of Ohio, I demanded at the beginning of the rebellion, and I demand now, that it shall be so dealt with, that a like crime from the same cause shall in the future be impossible.

The proper disposition by Congress of the causes which produced the rebellion, and all questions intimately connected



A. GRANT.

Letter from Bishop A. Grant, Atlanta, Ga.

This was Mr. Ashley's first speech in Congress on the perplexing question of reconstruction. He declared in language that no one can misunderstand, that neither Mr. Lincoln as President, nor any General of the Army, was vested by the Constitution or the laws of war, with authority to organize civil State governments in any of the rebel States. He claimed that Congress alone was clothed by the Constitution with this extraordinary power. He denied that any President or General had any authority vested in them for such purpose. His criticisms of the President and General Banks for his blundering and unfortunate proclamation in Louisiana were strong and vigorous, just and manly, and will be read with interest and instruction now. In his letter on page 310, Mr. Sumner heartily endorses this great speech.

A. GRANT.

with it, have given me, as they doubtless have given every loyal man, great anxiety.

The question before us is, how shall the States whose governments have been usurped or overthrown, be re-established and their loyal citizens be re-invested with all the rights, privileges and immunities of citizens of free States in the American Union.

This is indeed a question of transcendent importance—one with which the mere politician has as little fitness as disposition to grapple. To meet, and properly dispose of it, demands the highest order of statesmanship. The untried problem of re-establishing loyal State governments over vast districts of country, so long in rebellion, involves the gravest responsibility, and presents questions of constitutional power which have never before been discussed, as they must now be discussed, by the National Congress.

I am free to confess that from the first my anxiety has been, not so much how to conquer the rebels, as how to secure an honorable and enduring peace after they were conquered. This is a question, which, until its final settlement, will demand the serious consideration of the ablest statesmen in the nation.

It may be an unwelcome question to many gentlemen in this House. I doubt not that it is. I have reason to know that it was an unwelcome question to many in the last Congress, but whether welcome or unwelcome, it cannot now be disposed of or excluded from these halls as it was two years ago by parliamentary strategy and congressional dodging.

The logic of events is forcing the nation onward with such rapidity that we cannot, if we would, evade this question, and many gentlemen are now prepared to act, who were opposed to all action two years ago. Thanks to our heroic army, the rebellion is now so far suppressed, that the question of reconstruction is forced upon and demands our immediate consideration. All can now see that it ought not to have been delayed so long, and I am sure all will agree that it cannot longer be neglected, without great injustice to the loyal people of the rebellious districts.

At the outbreak of the rebellion, practical men saw and urged the importance and necessity of an act of Congress to

provide temporary governments of some kind, for the districts of country in rebellion; to authorize the loyal citizens residing therein, as soon as the rebellion was sufficiently suppressed, to reorganize State governments, where they had been usurped or overthrown, and to guarantee to them State governments, republican in form, as prescribed by the national Constitution. The bill from the select committee now before the House, recognizes fully and clearly the authority of Congress to pass all laws which are necessary and proper to carry into practical effect that constitutional guarantee. The authority to legislate on this subject, once admitted — whether under the war powers or peace powers of Congress — the only questions which can possibly divide the unconditional Union men in Congress, or throughout the country, will be as to matters of detail. It will be noticed that the committee have sought to avoid the adoption of any especial theory, in the bill which they have presented. Whether the rebel usurpation has destroyed the constitutional governments of the seceded States, or whether those State governments are simply suspended or in abeyance by reason of the abdication of their officers, or whether by the acts of treason and rebellion on the part of their citizens and constituted authorities, the States thus in rebellion have committed State suicide, the committee have thought best to leave to the determination of each member for himself. Hence, no report is submitted with this bill. For the same reason, no report accompanied the bill submitted by me on this subject two years ago, with the approval of a majority of the Committee on Territories. The sovereignty of the United States, and the power of Congress under the Constitution, to legislate for the districts of country in rebellion, is fully recognized by this bill. All that I have ever contended for touching the question of congressional power is here admitted. Determining from the outbreak of the rebellion, that slavery should die, I have sought only for such congressional action as would restore the rebel States to the Union, with freedom as their fundamental law. For this purpose, I then insisted and now insist, that until such time as the loyal citizens, in each of the rebellious States, are numerous enough to maintain a State government, and shall adopt a

Constitution prohibiting slavery forever, they ought to be treated and governed as citizens of the United States, residing within the national jurisdiction, on national territory, without State governments. With me this has been from the first the all-important point. Practically, this idea pervades the entire bill before us. I care not whether the power to govern the districts of country, declared by the President's proclamation to be in rebellion, after they shall have been subjugated, is derived from the war powers or the peace powers of Congress. I believe either to be constitutional and sufficient. I believe we may establish either temporary military governments, or temporary civil governments. Certainly, Congress may, as the representative of the sovereign power of the nation, pass such laws as in its opinion may be necessary to secure the rights and liberties of the loyal people in those States whose governments have been destroyed by traitors. To this end Congress may, by authority of the national Constitution, prescribe such conditions for the restoration of the States whose governments have been usurped or overthrown, as will best secure the peace and stability of the nation, and guarantee to such States republican governments. Believing that this can be done in no way so safely and so well as [by organizing and recognizing new State governments, as provided for by this bill, I am in favor of its passage.

Mr. Speaker, in attempting a solution of the difficulties which environ us on this question of reconstruction, I have sought only for the adoption of such measures as would secure the SAFE and SPEEDY restoration to the Union of all States in rebellion, on a basis that would command the approval of the ablest statesmen of the country. I have had and now have no THEORY that I will not yield to accomplish this most desirable result. I believe it to be the imperative duty of Congress to lay deep the foundation of our proposed action on this subject. I believe it to be our duty to declare, in the most solemn manner, that if hereafter any State shall renounce its allegiance to the national Constitution and appeal from the decision of the ballot-box to the arbitrament of the sword, it shall be subjugated by the sword, and all its prerogatives as a State be forfeited, until such time as Con-

gress provides for its reorganization, or until its loyal citizens shall, in the exercise of their inherent rights of self-government, call a convention and adopt a new State Constitution, republican in form, in conformity with and subject to the Constitution of the United States, and be recognized or re-admitted by Congress to exercise their proportionate part of the governing power of the country.

Mr. Speaker, I can give my support to this bill and defend it, only on the assumption that there are no constitutional State governments in the rebel States. Are there any such State governments? I hold that there are not. I hold that a State may forfeit its right as part of the supreme governing power of the republic. I think this proposition cannot be successfully controverted. A majority of the electors of any State in this Union may, unquestionably, alter or abolish their written Constitution, and refuse to establish another in its stead. If they may, as all concede, do this, then the abolition of a State Constitution, in the manner prescribed by the organic or statute law of the State, and the adoption of a new Constitution, renouncing their allegiance to the United States, would terminate their right, under the Constitution, to exercise any part of the governing power of the nation. If, then, a State of this Union may, by the actions of its citizens, forfeit its rights under the Constitution to exercise part of the sovereign power of the nation, or in any way cease to maintain such a State government as can be recognized by Congress under the Constitution, the assumption that "a State once a State is always a State," is a fallacy as pernicious as it is false.

I trust that no argument is needed at this late day to refute the illogical and sophistical reasoning which was so prevalent in this Hall and throughout the country during the Congress immediately preceding the rebellion. It will be remembered that it was then, and is now to some extent, maintained that if any one or more States withdrew from the Union by the action of a majority of its qualified electors, "for reasons, the sufficiency of which, before God and the great tribunal of human history, they alone should be the judge," that their action in so doing in conformity with the laws of their own State, destroyed the government of

the United States, and left each State free to act for itself as an independent nation.

It was only those who were indoctrinated with the false theory that the United States were a confederated government and not a nation, or who were blinded by the Calhoun doctrine of State rights, who set up for answer to this shallow assumption, the claim "that a State once a State is always a State."

I lay it down as a proposition, which I do not believe can be controverted, that the constitutional relations of a State to the national government may terminate, and the State cease, as a political organization, to be a State invested by the Constitution with part of the sovereignty of the nation, in one of the following modes:

1. By successful revolution and the establishment of an independent government.
2. By the conquest of a foreign power.
3. By the treaty-making power, whereby one or more States, or any part of a State, may be ceded to a foreign nation.
4. By acts of treason and rebellion on the part of the constituted authorities of a State sustained by a majority of its citizens.
5. By the refusal of a majority of the electors in a State to perform their duties as citizens, and by prohibiting the minority from exercising the functions of a State government under the Constitution.

Other modes might be named, and have doubtless suggested themselves to gentlemen who have examined the subject. These, however, will suffice to illustrate the views I desire to present.

The first and second propositions will not be disputed. All will concede that by successful revolution or by conquest States may cease to be members of the Union.

There may be some who will deny that by the treaty-making power, the government of the United States can cede one or more States or any part of a State to a foreign power. Those who claim that "a State once a State is always a State," will doubtless deny any proposition at war

With this theory. The power, however, to acquire and to cede territory, is an attribute of sovereignty fully recognized by the civilized governments of the world. John Quincy Adams declared, in a speech delivered by him in the House of Representatives, many years ago, that a State could constitutionally be ceded to a foreign power. If one State may be ceded, then two or more States, or any part of a State, may be ceded. In settling the disputed boundary between Great Britain and the United States, Mr. Webster negotiated a treaty ceding to Great Britain part of the State of Maine, which the Senate of the United States ratified, and it became and is to-day the law of the land. If that treaty had ceded all the territory included within the limits of the State, save one hundred acres, would the families occupying the remaining territory have the right to assume the government of the State, and put the machinery of a State government in operation, elect themselves to office, and send Senators and Representatives to Congress? If "a State once a State is always a State," this right would be unquestionable, and they would assuredly be clothed with that power. It is said, if there be but TEN or even TWO loyal citizens in any State which by the votes of a majority of its legal electors has, in the manner prescribed by law, abolished its State government, established a new and hostile government, and made war against the United States to maintain it that the two or TEN citizens remaining loyal, or professing loyalty, are, by virtue thereof, invested with the entire power of the State government, as it existed before the rebellion; that, indeed, the old Constitution survives the action of the majority which has abolished it and adopted a new one; and that the two or TEN loyal men may, under it, elect and inaugurate officers from their own number, and thus, while assuming that the acts of the majority are null and void, hold within themselves and perpetuate the existence and government of the State.

What wonder that we have had such blundering in Virginia and Louisiana on this question of reconstruction, when we have loyal men claiming to be statesmen in the Senate and House of Representatives, misleading themselves and the country with such an extraordinary proposition as that



which assumes that "a State once a State is always a State," and that TEN men may set up and maintain a State government in a State, which half a million of men have voted to abolish.

But I desire, more particularly, to call the attention of the House to the fourth proposition, that the constitutional relations of a State to the National Government may be terminated, by the action of its constituted authorities, sustained by a majority of its citizens, in abolishing their State constitution, establishing a new one, and making war upon the supreme government, to maintain the new government thus established. I claim, that a State, which is guilty of such action, divests itself of all rightful authority to participate in and be part of the government which it is seeking to destroy, just as every citizen who commits treason, forfeits his right to citizenship, property and life. The territory constituting the State, is still within the national jurisdiction and constitutes part of the national territory; its citizens, though in rebellion, are still citizens of the United States, and under the Constitution they owe a paramount allegiance to the national government; but the State, having been converted by the treason of its rulers and citizens into an engine of war for the destruction of the nation, has justly and legally forfeited all its rights as an organized political community, invested with part of the sovereignty of the nation.

Whatever part of national sovereignty was by the Constitution and laws of the United States vested in such State, lapsed by virtue of its treason and rebellion of its citizens, and remains in the supreme government.

Gentlemen have asked, with an air of apparent gravity, "When did these States cease to exist? Was it on the passage of their secession ordinances? If not, at what precise period of time did they cease to be States, and get out of the Union?" I answer that the territory and people constituting the State have not and cannot "get out of the Union," as gentlemen are pleased to term it; that is, they cannot withdraw themselves and the territory of the State from the constitutional jurisdiction of the National Government, except by successful revolution; but when a majority of the electors

of any State, in compliance with the spirit and forms of their organic or statute laws, change their State Constitutions and governments, and renounce their obedience to the National Constitution, their State governments cease from that very hour. Gentlemen must remember that this is not a rebellion on the part of the majority, or indeed any part of the people of the rebel States, against the constituted authorities and former recognized governments of those States, but a rebellion on the part of the constituted authorities, and a majority of the people of those States, against the government of the United States. If it were a rebellion of a minority, or even of a majority of the people of those States, against their old State government and constituted authorities, as well as a rebellion against the National Government, the old State governments would remain, if their Constitutions had been abolished, and their constituted authorities had remained loyal; but their State governments would be in abeyance, while the rebel insurgents held possession of the State. The constitutions and governments of all the rebel States, however, having been changed or abolished in the manner prescribed in the organic or statute laws of said States by the will of a constitutional majority of their qualified electors, surely no lawyer will claim that a legal State Constitution and government exists in any of those States, such as can be recognized by Congress or any department of the National Government. When such a change of their constitutions and governments was effected, their constitutional relations to the National Government ceased. They then ceased to be States of this Union as political organizations, invested by the Constitution and laws of the United States with part of the governing power of the republic, but the territory and people remain as before, legally subject to the laws and Constitution of the United States.

If this theory be not the true one, then all that the conspirators in Congress from the rebel States needed to have done and all they need do in case of another rebellion, is to remain in the Senate and House, and insist that the States which they represent, through waging war against the

National Government to destroy it, are still States, endowed with part of the sovereign power of the country, and that as representatives from these States, they have the constitutional right to retain their seats as part of the governing power of the country.

Sir, if the conspirators and rebel chiefs could have known that a doctrine so fatal as this to our very existence as a nation, would have been seriously maintained by loyal men in the midst of this great rebellion; if they could have known that men claiming to be statesmen, would assert as a principle that "a State ONCE A STATE IS ALWAYS A STATE," and that the minority of its citizens had the constitutional right to send full delegations of Senators and Representatives to Congress, though a majority, with the constituted authorities of the State, were in rebellion against the National Government; if they could have been made to believe that the Thirty-Seventh Congress would have insisted that this minority in any of the rebel States, without an organized civil government, recognized by Congress, had the right to fill these Halls with their Representatives, on condition of swearing fealty to the government, without regard to the number of their constituency, so that they ranged anywhere from TEN to ONE or TWO hundred professedly loyal voters for each member of Congress: I say, if the conspirators and rebel chiefs could have anticipated all this, they would doubtless have materially changed their programme, and every vacant chair in Congress would have been filled from the outbreak of the rebellion to this hour, with the open or secret enemies of the government, all laboring for its destruction.

Mr. Speaker, I know, and alas, we all know, too well, that Southern statesmen, for the past thirty years, have had good reason to be familiar with the stupidity of Northern Representatives in Congress; but, sir, I venture the assertion that no Southern man, in the maddest hour of his passionate contempt for the North, ever conceived that Northern men would be guilty of the stupidity of claiming to-day, that South Carolina, or any other rebel State, has a State Government in existence, which entitles it under the National Con-

stitution to exercise part of the governing power of this nation. Gentlemen may insist as long and pertinaciously as they please, that States cannot dissolve their political relations to the National Government, and that when they are once States, they are always States. The fact that States, with the approval of a majority of their citizens, have abolished their State Constitutions, renounced their allegiance to the National Constitution, and made war upon the National Government to destroy it, is as notorious as the fact that our armies are engaged in putting down the rebellion. I hold that no act of rebellion and levying war on the part of the constituted authorities of a State, and no ordinance of secession passed by a State Legislature or a convention in any State, with the approval of every elector in it, can legally or constitutionally affect the rightful jurisdiction of the National Government over the people and territory of such State, but such ordinances of secession and acts of rebellion and levying war on the part of the constituted authorities of said State, sustained by a majority of its citizens, destroys, as a matter of fact, the political organization known and recognized as a State by the National Constitution, and no State thus in rebellion can maintain constitutional relations to the National Government, until it is reorganized by the loyal people, subject to and in conformity with the Constitution and laws of the United States. Before they are thus reorganized, and until Congress recognizes them as States, and admits their Senators and Representatives, the governing power heretofore lodged in them as political organizations, having, by their acts of treason and rebellion, lapsed, remains in the people of the States which are faithful to the National Constitution.

When I first advanced this theory in 1861, and again by the bill introduced by me in March, 1862, professedly loyal editors were not wanting in my own State, who were so narrow-visioned as to charge me with endorsing the doctrine of secession. Indeed, the Democratic minority of my own committee submitted two reports to this House at the first regular session of the last Congress, making substantially the same charge. It might be both amusing and instructive

at this time to review those reports, did time permit. I ask, gentlemen, if there can be any greater contrast between the doctrine of secession and that which I then claimed and now claim, as rightfully belonging to the supreme sovereign power of the nation. I held then, and hold now, that the government of the United States has the constitutional right to maintain its authority over every State, in defiance of State secession and State rebellion. The object of the bill introduced by me, more than two years ago, was to aid in enforcing this right. That is the object of the bill now before us. Gentlemen who can discover in this a recognition of the right of secession are evidently remarkable logicians, and should be known at once to the great masters, in order that their names may be embalmed with those who "were not born to die."

The leading ideas embodied in the bill reported by me from the Committee on Territories, in the last Congress, and at which many gentlemen on the other side professed to be so greatly shocked, have all been adopted, as they know, as part of the policy of the government. Even the liberation of millions of slaves by proclamation has been accomplished, and many of these liberated slaves have had the plantations of their rebel masters given to them for homesteads in accordance with the policy indicated in that bill, and yet the nation "still lives."

The National Government not only lives, but it is powerful enough to put down the rebellion and these rebel State governments. Having done this, Congress will doubtless find constitutional power to prescribe such conditions as shall keep them in the Union, and maintain its supreme authority over every citizen and every foot of the national territory, until such time as the loyal citizens of each State shall reconstruct new State governments, with republican Constitutions, and they shall have been recognized by Congress.

I might fortify my position still further if it were necessary, by showing that both the executive and legislative branches of the government have, by their repeated acts, recognized the fact, that the old constitutional State governments were destroyed or had been abolished in all the so-

called seceded States. There are many clever theories on this subject; one is that these State constitutions and governments still exist, notwithstanding they have been abolished by the action of their citizens and the new State governments are at war with the National Government. This legal crotchet possesses the minds of some gentlemen who insist that the old constitutions and governments still remain, because the action of the majority is illegal, and therefore null and void. To this I interpose the stern fact that a majority of the legal electors have abolished their State governments, and that there are no governors, judges or legislators recognized by the National Constitution in those States, that, therefore, those States, as political organizations, are dead. Gentlemen may parade before us the ghosts of these dead States, and call them living and palpable, but they are no more States with constitutions and laws which can be recognized by Congress, than the artificial ghosts which are used to illustrate the drama are the ghosts of departed saints or sinners. The State organization, with its governors, judges and legislators, and its written constitution, is gone. Philosophically speaking, perhaps, as Mr. Brownson suggests in the January number of his *Quarterly*, there must be, with every people sufficiently numerous and intelligent to maintain a republican government, an unwritten, before there can be a written constitution, and in this sense a constitution may be said to exist in every State. But all the rebel States have written constitutions. They may not now faithfully reflect the unwritten constitution of the people in the rebel States. We shall see how that is when they come to act under the provisions of this bill, in reorganizing their State governments, and making another written constitution. If the action of the constituted authorities of the rebel States, sustained by a majority of their electors, in abolishing their State constitutions and governments, has not changed the legal relations of these States of the United States, then the National Government has no legal cause of complaint against these States. The FACT is, however, despite all theories, that the constitutional relations of these States to the National Government are changed, and there is not a day passes in which this

stern fact is not in some way acknowledged by every department and officer of the government.

I need not elaborate the fifth proposition. It will not be denied that the majority of the legal electors of a State may refuse to maintain a State government, that they may refuse to send Senators and Representatives to Congress, and may prohibit the minority from exercising the functions of a State government by abolishing the State Constitution; by refusing themselves to establish, or permit others to establish, another in its stead. The government of the United States cannot compel the people of a State against their wishes to maintain and perform the functions of a State government under the Constitution. They cannot compel the people of a State to send Senators and Representatives to the national Congress, and the only alternative left to the Government of the United States, when State Constitutions are abolished, or the people refuse to maintain State governments, subject to the Constitution and laws of the United States, is for Congress, representing the supreme sovereignty of the nation, to provide by law for the protection of the lives and property of its citizens, and for governing the territory formerly within the local jurisdiction of the State until such time as a constitutional State government can be formed and recognized by Congress. And, here, sir, I dismiss this part of my subject.

Mr. Speaker, I do not claim that this bill is perfect. Under the circumstances, however, I believe it is the best we can get. I do not think it safe beyond question, to authorize the organization of State governments, when only one-tenth of the electors are loyal to the United States. I admit that this provision was in the bill, introduced by me in the early part of the present session. I incorporated it in the bill, to make it harmonize with the President's suggestion, and not because it had the sanction of my own judgment. As a member of the committee charged with the subject of providing for the reorganization of constitutional State governments by the loyal citizens in the rebel States, I have sought to secure the best bill I possibly could. It is not all I could desire, but I do not intend to offer any amendments to it, but if an amendment is offered, increasing the number of loyal

electors required to organize a State government, I shall feel obliged to vote for it. I believe the democratic idea the better one, that the MAJORITY and not the MINORITY ought to be invested with the organization and government of a State. Certainly it is safer to entrust a State government to the maintenance of a MAJORITY than to ONE-TENTH claiming to be loyal, while NINE-TENTHS are openly disloyal.

In answer to many objections which have been urged by distinguished gentlemen who have written me on the subject of the TEN PER CENT. basis, I will say, that the loyal ONE-TENTH are to represent all the inhabitants, loyal and disloyal, in the State; that representation in Congress is not based upon the number of ELECTORS or loyal citizens in any State, but upon the whole number of inhabitants. Formerly in the South, THREE-FIFTHS of all the slaves were included in their enumeration. Since the emancipation of the slaves, the three-fifths representation clause in the Constitution is practically abolished, and each emancipated slave will hereafter be enumerated as an inhabitant. So that there is no injustice to the North, in allowing the old representation in Congress from the rebel States. That part of the population known as the two-fifths free and slave, not counted in the enumeration, will now be added, and two-fifths of four millions will probably exceed the number of whites killed or driven from the Southern States. If we should undertake to apportion representatives in Congress from the several States upon the number of loyal electors, we should find, I fear, a number of districts in the North quite as disloyal as many in the South.

I believe that the safety of the government, and justice to loyal men, demand that we should put the entire authority of reconstructing new State governments in the rebel States into the hands of loyal men and none others. If it is deemed safe to entrust ten per cent. of the number of electors in each State in 1860, with this power and responsibility, so be it. If we invest them with this power, they must represent at the ballot-box, and in all the offices, State and National, the entire population of those States, loyal and disloyal, including all the colored inhabitants.



There are some other points in the bill, which I am prevented from noticing for want of time.

Mr. Speaker, if we would avoid all possible complications, and the danger of another conspiracy and rebellion, let us provide, before this Congress adjourns, by law, for the re-establishment of republican governments, by the loyal citizens, in the rebel States. A subject of so much importance must not be left to the caprice or whim of a military commander.

Mr. Speaker, suppose the doctrine be adopted, that "a State once a State is always a State," and that a small minority claiming to be loyal, may at any time, and in any part of the State, occupied by our forces, call a mass convention of those favorable to organizing a new State government, and when the convention is assembled, it selects a governor and State officers, and authorizes them to assume the functions of a State government, either under the old constitution, as was done in Virginia, or under a constitution proclaimed by martial law, as was recently done in Louisiana, and that the governor thus chosen proceeds to issue his proclamation for the election of a legislature, and members thereof, in pursuance of said proclamation, are elected in some half dozen counties of the State, and convene and organize as the legislature of the State, and frame a law apportioning the State into congressional districts, and elect two United States Senators, and appoint a day upon which representatives are elected to Congress, and send their electoral vote here for President and Vice-President next winter, what action would this House take upon such a condition of things? If five or six or more of the rebel States, in which we have a military force, should by the action of a few hundred men, thus organize and send their electoral vote here, and claim, as they would, that it should be counted, would this House consent to it? Suppose the electoral vote thus sent here should change the result of the Presidential election—and if counted elect a President in sympathy with the rebels; or suppose there were three Presidential candidates before the people, and that the votes of these assumed State organizations are so cast as to defeat an election by

the people, and make it necessary for the House to select the President, do not gentlemen know that the excitement which attends such a contingency would exceed in violence anything ever witnessed in this country, and that it might terminate in another rebellion? Are not gentlemen apprehensive that the conspirators of the South, driven to desperation, may undertake to accomplish their purpose by some such scheme as this? And is not our present unguarded and loose manner of reorganizing the rebel States well calculated to invite the rebels to just such an effort as I have suggested. I frankly confess that I am not entirely free from apprehension. Gentlemen may reply that we have a majority of the States as now represented in Congress, and that, therefore, there can be no danger. To this I rejoin, that every State so reorganized will have its Senators and Representatives here next winter, demanding admission, and if the executive department of the government has "recognized them as the true government of the State," there will be danger that a majority of this House would vote to admit them as members as they did in the last Congress. I desire, therefore, to guard against any possible contingency of the kind now. If we pass this bill, such a conspiracy cannot possibly succeed.

I think I may safely speak for a large majority on this side of the House, when I declare that never by their authority or consent will a single electoral vote from any rebel State for President or Vice-President be counted in this Hall until that State shall have reorganized a State government, republican in form, and it has been recognized by Congress. In other words, before one of the so-called seceded States can be permitted to reassume any part of the governing power of the country, it must resume its constitutional relations to the National Government in conformity with and subject to the Constitution of the United States. The State governments which have been overthrown or destroyed, must be replaced by new governments, organized by the loyal people, and these new governments can only become constitutional governments when thus organized and recognized by Congress.

This is certainly a point about which there ought to be no dispute among loyal men. I lay it down as a principle,

from which we ought not to depart, and which we cannot safely yield, that this whole question of reconstruction, whether under the war powers or the peace powers of the government, is a question confided by the Constitution expressly on Congress, and not to the President or to any general charged by him with the execution of military orders. I desire the House and the country to understand that by silence we sanction every assumption of doubtful constitutional power by any department or officer of the government. The dominant party in Congress ought to remember that it is making history, and will be held responsible in history for every dangerous precedent established with its consent. It ought not to be forgotten that every act of the executive and Congress becomes a precedent, to be revived hereafter if occasion offers, by those who shall then be charged with the administration of the government. I may be deemed over-anxious on this subject. But, sir, I know the power of example, and I much prefer that the President and every officer appointed by him shall do no act, unless clearly authorized by the Constitution, or by act of Congress.

I prefer that before any doubtful constitutional power is exercised by the President or any officer of the government, the question shall be submitted to Congress for its decision and advice. I think we ought to demand the establishment of this rule, and insist on its strict observance by the President and every department of the government. However ready we may be as partizans to apologize for or justify the assumption of doubtful constitutional power by those endowed by us with authority; as a representative, I am unwilling that the President of my own choice, or any officer of his appointment, should exercise any power which I would condemn if exercised by a political opponent.

Mr. Speaker, I have the most unlimited confidence in the President. His patriotism no man can doubt who knows him as well as I do. That he does not intend to assume any of the prerogatives of Congress, I know. He is the last man in the world whom I would suspect of using unwarranted power for personal or selfish ends. And precisely here is the danger. We have no fear, because we who know him confide implicitly in his honesty of purpose, and believe that he

intends every act for the public good. But we ought not to forget, Mr. Speaker, that the precedents, which every department of this government are now making, may be used hereafter by ambitious and bad men for very different purposes. The safe way is the better way. And that is for every department of the government to keep strictly within the limits prescribed for it by the Constitution and laws of the United States. Many gentlemen seem to act as though the President, during the continuance of the war, could assume the entire war power of the government, and that our functions as Representatives were suspended until the close of the war, except to act as mere recording scribes. I protest against such an assumption, and against that silence which might be interpreted into an assent to it. It is true that the President of the United States is made by the Constitution, Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy, and in that capacity, he may issue such orders to the officers and men as he may deem proper to accomplish the MILITARY object sought by Congress when declaring or recognizing war, but legally he can issue such orders FOR NO OTHER PURPOSE. In addition to this, every order must be in strict conformity with those rules and articles of war which have been or may be enacted by Congress, or with the well-known laws of war as recognized by civilized nations. The President can make no new rule or article of war. That, sir, is a prerogative which belongs to Congress alone. The idea which I wish to impress upon the minds of gentlemen is this, that Congress, by the express terms of the Constitution, is invested with the war-making power of the nation. Whatever rules and articles of war it adopts must be enforced. Whatever it declares shall not be done, as an act of war, cannot properly be done.

The President, in time of war, is authorized to do many acts by virtue of the power vested in him by the Constitution as Commander-in-chief, by the rules and articles of war enacted by Congress, and by the laws of war recognized by civilized nations, which he cannot do as a civil Chief Magistrate. As a civil Chief Magistrate, he cannot confiscate property or emancipate slaves by proclamation. But in

time of war, by the laws of war, as Commander-in-Chief, he may confiscate enemies' property and emancipate all slaves. He may govern the country which he conquers by martial law, until Congress shall otherwise direct. But I have failed to find any power conferred by the Constitution, or by the rules and articles of war, or by the laws of war, authorizing the President to establish, without the direction of Congress, civil State governments over conquered territory, or to reorganize new State governments, or to prescribe what kind of constitutions the loyal citizens should adopt, before he will recognize them as States restored to the Union.

I believe this entire power is vested by the Constitution in Congress, and not in the President. Congress is not only the war-making but the law-making power of the country. In time of war and in time of peace, Congress must exercise the sovereign power of the country, or there is no safety for the future of this nation and for republican institutions.

Mr. Speaker, I do not object so much to some things which have been done, or the objects sought to be accomplished, as I do to the manner in which they have been done. I do not intend, quietly, to permit the President or any head of a department, or any general in charge of an army, to assume the legislative functions of the government. A great question, such as the one before us, of the organization and restoration of States to civil life and power, with free constitutions, cannot safely be entrusted to any power but Congress. And, sir, that is where the Constitution has placed it. In addition to this, sir, I object to any effort at forestalling the action of Congress by the military power. I object to precipitating great civil questions of the magnitude and importance of this upon the people of the rebel States, before the loyal resident citizens are prepared to meet them, and are properly organized to insure success. I object to it, because, whether the reconstructed State governments are satisfactory or not to the unconditional Union men of those States or of Congress, as the representatives of the nation we are placed in a position where we must either refuse to recognize the States so reorganized, and recognized by the military authorities in command as the constitutional governments of such

States, or we must quietly submit to the assumption of authority by the military power and by the executive department of the government, which belongs alone to Congress.

Suppose the convention in Louisiana organize a government obnoxious to a majority of the unconditional Union men of that State, and either refuse to submit the constitution to the loyal people for their approval or rejection, or if it be submitted, it is submitted as the Kansas Lecompton constitution was submitted, and the openly disloyal and pro-slavery conservative elements, claiming to be loyal, are permitted to vote for it, thus securing a majority in its favor. If the general in command, and all the departments of the government, except Congress, treat the officers of a State government thus organized as the constitutional government, what shall Congress do? Submit to it and admit their Senators and Representatives, or reject them? I should like to ask, gentlemen, if Congress should refuse to admit them and refuse to recognize the new government as the constitutional government of the State, whether the electoral vote of that State, if sent here either under the old State organization or under the new one, thus constituted and recognized, would by the authority of this body be counted, and the governing power of the country, to that extent, be placed in the hands of a mere handful of men controlling a State government which we refuse to recognize? Suppose further, that all the departments of the government but this House should recognize the new organization, and that the Senate should admit its Senators as they have done in the case of East Virginia, while we refused admission to their members elected to this House, would the electoral vote be counted if sent here? Would this new government be the constitutional government of the State until recognized by Congress—I mean by the concurrent action of the Senate, House, and President? Gentlemen who examine this subject cannot fail to see the complications and difficulties in which we may be involved unless some uniform policy regarding the reorganization of States is adopted by Congress and strictly observed by the executive department of the government.

[Here the hammer fell.]

MR. GRINNELL. I move that the gentleman have leave to proceed.

Leave was granted.

MR. ASHLEY. The President, in his late proclamation, says:

“And I do further proclaim, declare and make known, that whenever, in any of the States of Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina and North Carolina, a number of persons not less than one-tenth in number of the votes cast in such States at the Presidential election of the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty, HAVING TAKEN THE OATH AFORESAID, and not having since violated it, and being qualified voters under the election law of the State, existing immediately before the so-called act of secession, and excluding all others, SHALL RE-ESTABLISH A STATE GOVERNMENT, which shall be republican, AND IN NO WISE CONTRAVENING SAID OATH, shall be recognized as the true government of the State.”

“Shall be recognized as the true government of the State” by whom? The fair interpretation of the language used is that the State, when organized in conformity with the provisions of the proclamation, will be recognized by the President. The country so understands the proclamation. And yet I can speak authoritatively, when I say that the President does not intend to do anything of the kind without the concurrence of Congress. If the rebel States still retain their political organizations under their old constitutions, neither the President nor any general in command can by proclamations or orders change those State constitutions. If the old State constitutions and governments of the rebel States are destroyed, then neither the President nor any general under him, can, with the military power, establish civil State governments with such constitutions as they may dictate, without the consent of Congress.

The military power and the civil power must not be confounded. Above all it must not be forgotten that Congress alone is clothed with the war power and the civil legislative power of the nation.

Mr. Speaker, suppose the Union men, by unwise divisions and personal ambitions, are defeated in the coming Presidential election, and by such division a President is elected by

the opposition. Would gentlemen on this side of the House quietly sit here, and permit a pro-slavery President, with the entire military power of the country, and one-tenth of the local population of the rebel States, professing to be loyal, to reorganize State governments, and recognize them as the constitutional governments of these States, without the consent of Congress? No, sir. From an hundred men, now on this floor, a protest would come in the name of an outraged people, protesting against such an usurpation of the prerogatives of Congress, and against such a flagrant violation of the Constitution. Why would we all cry out with one voice, if such a scheme for reorganizing the rebel States was in process of enforcement by an opposition President? The answer is easy. We would not submit to it, because we would be certain that with such power in the hands of their President, they would re-establish slavery and the old slave State governments in every rebel State, and thus bring back many of the traitors to the vacant seats here. Of course, sir, we would all protest; and as I would protest then, so I protest now, against the adoption of any policy by the executive or military departments of the government on this question of reconstruction, until it shall first have had the sanction of Congress. Sir, I want no precedent established by this administration, touching the exercise of doubtful constitutional power, which I would object to if adopted by an opposing administration. Whatever power I claim for an Executive of my own choice, I am willing to concede to another who is not my choice.

Mr. Speaker, let us keep every department of the government strictly within its constitutional limits, and in the future we shall not be driven to the disgraceful necessity of apologizing for or repudiating our own acts, before we can with any show of propriety or fairness arraign those who, through following our precedents, are doing so for different purposes.

Mr. Speaker, if a President may, because war exists, civil or foreign, exercise any of the powers conferred by the Constitution on Congress, whether relating to the civil or military administration of the government, an ambitious



and unscrupulous President can find pretext enough for precipitating the nation into either a foreign or civil war, as was done in the case of Mexico, and with the Mormons. Then following such precedents as we are establishing by our silence, the Executive could assume to exercise almost every function of the government under the plea of necessity, and the right conferred by the admitted war powers of the government. Suppose the pro-slavery States rights party of this country should elect a President and a majority of this House, this year, owing to causes such as I have suggested (which may Heaven forbid); and they should conspire, as it is not at all unlikely they would, to reinstate the old order of things, assume the confederate debt, re-enslave all persons emancipated by the President's Proclamation or by Congress, and restore all confiscated estates to their former owners, would they long want a pretext for continuing this war, or involving the country in another civil war, if thereby their President could assume unlimited power, and with the army and ten per cent. of the voting population, without regard to its loyalty, revive the old State Constitutions, and obtain their recognition by the executive branch of government as the constitutional governments of these States, without the consent of Congress?

I confess, sir, I believe there are thousands of men in the North to-day, who stand ready at any opportune moment to enter into just such a conspiracy. If gentlemen will recall what has transpired in this country since the days of Tyler, Calhoun and Texas annexation, especially during the administrations of Polk, Pierce and Buchanan, they will not find it difficult in my judgment to reach the conclusion that either of these administrations, if in power in 1865, would cordially have entered into just such a conspiracy as I have delineated. Do gentlemen say that this is impossible? I answer, by repeating what I have said before to the people of my own, and indeed of every district in which I have spoken, that I fear an attempt will be made, if the pro-slavery party of this country elect a President of their peculiar faith, to accomplish all I have depicted, and the confederate rebel debt will be the lever power employed for that

unholy purpose. If they should succeed in an election, no man need predict what they will not attempt. The country has not yet forgotten how the Texas annexation scheme was bought through Congress, by the leaders of this pro-slavery rebellion. They had but TEN MILLIONS of dollars in scrip to operate with, worth from FIVE to SEVEN cents on the dollar; annexation and assumption made them par. In this new political and financial scheme, the conspirators will have three or four thousand millions of dollars in confederate bonds, with which to effectuate their purposes. Sir, when I remember what infamous, God-defying acts, the American Congress, under the lead of the present pro-slavery rebels, has been guilty of, in days that are past, I shudder when I contemplate the terrible ordeal through which the nation, in its process of regeneration, must pass, after the close of the war.

Mr. Speaker, I have already, in passing, referred to the action of General Banks in Louisiana. Let me call the attention of the House and the country to his unwarrantable and indefensible assumption of civil authority in that State. In the first place, against the protest, and in defiance of the well-known wishes of the only organization known to the country, or recognized by the unconditional Union men of Louisiana, General Banks issues an order for an election on the 22d of February last, of State officers, under the old State organization and pro-slavery constitution. If the old pro-slavery constitution and State government of Louisiana are to be thus re-established and recognized in defiance of the wishes of the loyal men of that State and without the sanction of Congress, this House ought to understand it. For myself I enter my protest against any such assumption of civil authority by the military power. Let us look a little farther into the matter. After ordering an election for State officers under the old constitution, which, if acquiesced in by Congress, will legally revive the old order of things in that State, General Banks issues another order directing that an election shall be held for delegates to a convention, for the purpose of amending the constitution of the State so

that it may conform to something—it is difficult to say what. The following is his order upon the subject:

“In order that the organic law of the State may be made to conform to the will of the people, and harmonize with the spirit of the age, as well as to maintain and preserve the ancient landmarks of civil and religious liberty, an election of delegates to a convention for the revision of the constitution will be held on the first Monday of April, 1864.”

Whence did General Banks derive authority to issue such an order? Certainly not from Congress, nor from the laws of war, as recognized by civilized nations, nor from any rule or article of war known to our military code. If the power to issue the order is not derived from either of these sources, then the action of General Banks is a most wanton and defenseless assumption of military power, as well as an outrage upon the only organized body of men known and admitted by all to be free State men. As a military commander in the service of the United States, he may govern a conquered people by martial law until Congress or the people, in the exercise of loyal, popular sovereignty, recognize a civil government, subject to the Constitution of the United States, without interference or coercion from him by the military force under his command. But neither General Banks nor the Commander-in-Chief, can, by martial law, proclaim a constitution for the civil government of any State. General Banks, however, declares in this extraordinary proclamation, that “**THE FUNDAMENTAL LAW OF LOUISIANA is martial law.**” If any gentleman can enlighten the House or the country about this matter, he will entitle himself to the lasting gratitude of all loyal men. Will any gentleman tell me how “martial law” can become “the fundamental law” of any organized civil State government known to the Constitution of the United States? I hold that neither General Banks, nor any other general in command of a department, has authority to order an election for State officers in any of the rebel States, under any fundamental law, whether it be martial law or civil law. Still less has he any show of power or excuse for ordering an election of delegates to a constitu-

tional convention, if there is an existing fundamental law in the State.

If the State officers who have been elected by General Banks's orders assume the functions of civil government, they will undoubtedly be recognized as officers under the old State constitution of Louisiana, whatever General Banks may say about martial law as the fundamental law of the State. If they are not officers of the civil government of Louisiana then the late election was a farce, for martial law does not provide that the people, or any part of the people, over whom it is operating, shall, themselves, select the officers to administer and exercise it.

I undertake to say, that if these recently elected State officers are installed into office and recognized by Congress, such recognition will legally re-establish the old State constitution and slave code of Louisiana. In addition to this the State government, thus established and recognized by Congress, may legally refuse to submit to or recognize the validity of any new State constitution adopted by the convention ordered by General Banks to be elected in April, after the State officers elected under the old constitution are inaugurated and invested with the civil government of the State. They undoubtedly will refuse to recognize the action of that convention, unless it be in conformity with their wishes, because they can properly claim that the old State constitution having been revived and recognized by their election and inauguration, it provides the MANNER in which it may be amended. In order to obtain an early recognition of the assumed State organization under martial law, the newly elected governor may, if he sees fit, order an election for members of the State Legislature and Congress instanter, and I shall not be surprised if we have Senators and Representatives applying here for admission from the government thus organized by the military power, before we adjourn. If such should be the case and they are admitted before the action of the constitutional convention is submitted to the loyal people for their approval, and the present State officers accept and recognize that constitution if adopted by the people as the constitution of the State, these officers may, if

they choose, legally disregard the action of that convention, and remain under the old constitution. If they should do this, what remedy would be left to us? If Congress should recognize this assumed State government, before the constitutional convention now ordered by General Banks to be elected should assemble, or before it had adopted and submitted a constitution to the loyal electors of the State for their approval, its whole power under the newly elected officers **COULD** and **MIGHT** be used to defeat the wishes of the free State men, and if desired by the present State officers this would be a better way of accomplishing their purposes than by refusing to accept the constitution formed by the convention and adopted by the people. I have no doubt that the officers of this assumed State government could, if they were recognized by Congress, defeat the adoption of a free State constitution of Louisiana if they desired to do so. I do not say that they will attempt it, should Congress recognize them, for I do not know them. I only say that they could easily do so, if they preferred the old constitution to the new one.

Gentlemen will readily see the necessity of avoiding such complications—and all must agree that the safer and better way is to have new State constitutions adopted and approved by the loyal people and Congress before elections for State officers are ordered by any one, and before we admit either Senators or Representatives in Congress from any of the rebel States.

I hope we will have no such difficulty in Louisiana as I have suggested. I have always had such a high appreciation of the character and ability of General Banks, that I regret very much that I have felt it to be my duty to say what I have of his acts touching the reorganization of the State. I cannot, however, shut my eyes to the fact that the policy adopted by General Banks affords every inducement for the secret enemies of the government, by uniting with the conservative faction opposed to a free State, to bring about just the condition of things I have described. I trust we are not to have in Louisiana a repetition of the Missouri troubles.

If General Banks, instead of ordering an election for State officers under the old constitution of Louisiana, had listened to the free State men and ordered an election of delegates to a convention to amend the old constitution of Louisiana, or to make a new one for the State, the loyal men of the nation might have tolerated such an unauthorized assumption of power on his part. As it is, loyal men are compelled to protest against it, not only because of his exercise of power for which there is no law, and his disregard of the wishes of the free State men, but because of the difficulties and complications which a repetition of such acts in other States may bring upon us. Here is what the free State men of Louisiana say on this point:

“RESOLVED, that this Free State General Committee, not relinquishing its judgment that the only true path to reconstruction is a convention to form a new constitution before any election for State officers; and not renouncing its lawful claim to have slavery abolished immediately, without the dangers of any futile scheme of gradual emancipation; and not yielding its assent to the idea that the election of seven executive officers can, by proper use of terms, be styled the civil government of Louisiana; but, nevertheless, recognizing the patriotic duty of endeavoring to place in office men whose opinions are in harmony with the wants of Louisiana and the spirit of the age, will take part in the elections.”

The farce of an election was gone through with, and of course the men representing an organization whose loyalty never was questioned, were defeated, and the candidate of General Banks was elected. It could not well have been otherwise. A military commander who announces that “MARTIAL LAW IS THE FUNDAMENTAL LAW OF THE STATE,” and that all must vote, would not find it very difficult to elect any one he might designate, especially when the aggregate vote did not exceed TEN OR ELEVEN thousand, with three candidates in the field. Hahn’s whole vote in the State, as claimed by his friends, is only 6,171, less than one-fourth of the vote of my congressional district.

There are fifty-four parishes in the State, only twelve of which are under our control.

Of the number who voted for Hahn, I have been credibly informed that over 1,000 were employed in the quarter-

master's department; about 550 are policemen in the city of New Orleans; city laborers 1,100, and other city officers 100; some 1,600 were soldiers claiming to be citizens of Louisiana. The acting mayor of New Orleans was removed by General Banks, and one appointed who could and would control the votes and influence of the 550 policemen, city laborers and city officers. With all the military power of the department to support Hahn; with the votes of all the government employees, the Louisiana soldiers and policemen, his entire vote in the twelve parishes is but 6,171, and yet this insignificant vote is paraded before the country, and unblushingly called the voice of the entire State of Louisiana, which, in 1860, gave a vote of over 50,000. Hahn had hardly as many votes in the entire State as Mrs. General Beauregard had sympathizing rebel mourners in attendance upon her funeral in the city of New Orleans, in a day or two after this election.

I have said nothing of General Banks's orders and treatment of the freedmen of Louisiana. God knows I have no desire to say a word that I ought not to say, but I cannot remain silent when such irregularities are being committed. I am heartsick of this pandering to rebels and slaveholders. When General Butler was in command at New Orleans, no recognized free State man complained of his masterly administration. The rebels and slaveholders, however, made day and night hideous with their howling. And General Butler was removed. Since General Banks has been in command, there has not been a rebel or pro-slavery complaint, but frank and manly protests come to us from well-known Union men, who have been tried as by fire and whose loyalty was never tainted by taking an oath to support the rebel government or by voluntarily defending and justifying it. This simple fact tells its own story, and I need not add another word.

Mr. Speaker, let us see to it that there is no repetition of these acts by any other general in an attempt to organize a civil government for a rebel State, without the EXPRESS authority of Congress. Enact this bill as a law, and you insure the liberation, regeneration and restoration of the South. Refuse to pass it, and the loyal men of the South are left to the mercy and caprice of military rulers. Professed

loyalists and open-throated rebels, who have been guilty of every crime, will conspire together to crush the free State men as they did in Missouri. The amnesty oath will be taken by thousands who will at once strike hands with perjurers, robbers, and murderers to destroy the men who have, from the first, been faithful to the Constitution and the Union.

Mr. Speaker, the war ended, I feel confident that the wily enemy will attempt to regain by diplomacy much that he has lost by an appeal to arms. Therein, sir, as I apprehend, lies our danger. The nation, anxious for peace, will eagerly listen to the voice of the returning prodigal, until like the song of the syren, it will, as of yore, lull many loyal but too confiding men into a plausible but delusive security. Cunningly devised schemes of adjustment, declared by their authors to be "honorable to all parties," will be thrust upon us, and every form of sophistry employed to conceal their deformities, and extol their merits.

Let us meet these issues now, and meet them like men. Let us define clearly and unmistakably the policy of the government on all questions touching the reconstruction and restoration of the rebel States to the Union, and thus render forever impossible, all humiliating compromises.

The truly loyal men of the North and the South will expect and demand this of us. They will demand that their heroic sacrifices and sufferings shall not have been all in vain. And, sir, such a people have the right to make such a demand. Their will must be consulted — must be obeyed. I know that obedience to it will make freedom and justice the prominent elements of every newly organized State.

Mr. Speaker, I believe I may safely say, that never in the history of any nation has there been grander exhibitions of patriotism and heroism, than have illustrated every battlefield of this terrible rebellion. Why, sir, when I go through my own district and hear the simple and touching story told in almost every household, about fathers and sons, husbands and brothers, who have gone into the army that the republic might live, I am proud of my country, and thank God that I belong to such a heroic race.

Mr. Speaker, I have witnessed, when aiding to fill our armies, many beautiful and imposing, though touching and



heartrending scenes. It is the same story of devotion and valor everywhere. The scene which I have in my mind's eye has its counterpart everywhere throughout the North. The picture is daguerreotyped upon the mind and soul of every man whose heart has been in this struggle. In one of the agricultural counties of my district, around the domestic hearth, before a blazing fire, is gathered a family group. They have just returned from a war meeting, and are engaged in serious and thoughtful discussion. The question is, how many can be spared from home—how many can volunteer to go and fight for their country? At length, amid the contending struggles of patriotism, duty and affection, it is settled. Two brothers make the stern resolve. Quietly and methodically they prepare for their uncertain absence. When that is done, they enter their names as volunteers, and await, and that not long, the orders which summon them to the field. The day of parting comes. At the railroad station are gathered fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, and friends to bid these and other brave spirits farewell. The approaching train is crowded with other volunteers who rend the air with shouts as they catch a glimpse of the new recruits—shouts which modify, perhaps, but cannot entirely repress the tears and sobs of those who are now about to part, and, possibly, forever. The last shake of the hand is given, the last kiss imprinted upon manly brows, the last farewell uttered, the train moves swiftly away, and this patriotic family, who have given up their sons, turn to wend their steps to their now less cheerful home. Let us accompany them, and strive to realize their condition. Listen, as they gather around the evening altar, to the prayer which from heart and lip ascends to the God of nations and of men—a prayer that the country may be saved, and that the precious lives of the beloved ones who have gone to fight for it may be spared, and they, in due time, restored to their family and home.

One phase in the scene we are contemplating is over. Time has healed the poignancy of the sorrow which attended the parting, and the household moves on in accustomed routine. Weeks have elapsed. A flash along the wires announces a battle in which the absent ones have partici-

pated: but, alas, it is too meagre to allay their anxiety. Away for miles, over a bad and frozen road, haste a company on horseback to get fuller details from the papers. Behold with what trembling anxiety the father glances along the column of killed and wounded to see if the name of either of his sons is there. And when the dread intelligence is found, go now to that bereaved family circle, and witness the more than Roman fortitude with which it is accepted, and tell me, in what former period of human history, the world has afforded a more exalted exhibition of valor and patriotism. Sir, these are common scenes.

Thousands of homes thus bereft have uttered no complaint, but have sent forth other sons to bleed and die, perhaps, or perish by disease, in some future campaign of this dreadful struggle. Nor has the voice of complaint yet reached us from the battlefield—from the hospital, or from the horrible dens of Libby Prison or Belle Island, tenfold worse than either. Our fellow-citizens have only asked that the war might be prosecuted with vigor, until the rebellion was effectually broken, and a triumphant peace was achieved.

At such a time, amid such scenes, and in the presence of such a people, how indefensible, how criminal, is all personal and partisan strife. Sir, when I witness, as I must, wherever I go, such scenes as I have so poorly delineated, my heart is filled with the deepest sympathy and sorrow, and I involuntarily ask myself what there is, that can ever compensate for all this affliction, this endurance and this self-sacrifice. There is but a single answer. Nothing, absolutely nothing, but the entire regeneration of the Republic, by making "Liberty and Union one and inseparable." That the earnest men of this great nation will accomplish this work, I have never doubted. To me it is the simple logic of the contest. I have believed from the first that it must come, because I have believed that Providence would bring to naught the councils of the wicked and the crafty. Indeed I contemplate the future of this struggle with rapture. The clouds which to the eyes of many have darkened our political horizon, for three years have all had their silver linings for me. No hour has been dark enough to cause me to feel one

throb or to utter one wail of despair. My hope has been that justice would at last triumph, and the progress we are making assures me that it will. I advocated from the first the emancipation of all slaves, because I believed ideas were more formidable than armies, justice more powerful than prejudice, and truth a weapon mightier than the sword. Thank God, that as a nation and people, after three years of war and mourning we are beginning to comprehend our duty, and to feel in this life-struggle for national existence, that

“The laws of changeless justice bind  
Oppressor and oppressed,  
And close as sin and suffering joined  
We march to Fate — abreast!”

I have believed that as a nation we should grow stronger and gain victories only as we become manly and just, and that at last liberty would emerge triumphant from the conflict, changing constitutions, customs, and laws, to meet the requirements of a higher and better civilization, and that thus emerging, she would vivify by her magic touch every desolate waste, and cause to bloom every spot consecrated by the blood of her fallen sons. Anything short of this would be hollow mockery; with it accomplished,

“Who will mourn that in these dark days  
His lot is cast?  
God’s hand within the shadow lays,  
The stones whereon His gates of praise  
Shall rise at last.

. . . . .

Turn and o’return, O, outstretched Hand,  
Nor stint, nor stay;  
The years have never dropped their sand  
On mortal issues vast and grand,  
As ours to-day.”

HON. J. M. ASHLEY

RENOMINATED BY ACCLAMATION FOR CONGRESS

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BY THE REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL CONVENTION AT TOLEDO,  
MAY 24TH, 1864.

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Hon. William Sheffield, of Henry County, was president. S. B. Price and J. C. Swan were secretaries.

The platform reported by the committee on resolutions was unanimously adopted.

The resolution endorsing Mr. Ashley reads thus :

RESOLVED, That we cordially approve and endorse the course pursued in Congress by our able and fearless Representative, Hon. James M. Ashley, whose zeal, fidelity and patriotism entitle him to the profound respect and admiration of a constituency he has so ably and faithfully represented.

The committee appeared with Mr. Ashley, and after the applause had subsided he was introduced to the convention by the president, and spoke as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: In the storm of personal and political conflict, I have a will of iron. Surrounded as I am to-day, and in the midst of such a scene, I am as a child whose heart is overflowing to its benefactor with thankfulness and gratitude. Unyielding as you know I am when confronting the wrong, and confident in my strength when defending the unpopular cause of the poor and the lowly against the oppressions of the rich and the powerful, I somehow feel UNMANNED, as the world has it, in appearing before you now. Though welcomed as I am by cheers and these unmistakable manifestations of your approval and respect, my lips are tremulous with the emotions

of my heart and the thoughts which crowd upon me cannot find fitting utterance in words. I wish I could command language that would truly daguerreotype upon your hearts the emotions of my own, so that I might suitably acknowledge the honor of this nomination, and thank you for the compliment of this generous and enthusiastic reception.

Gentlemen, if any one of you stood where I stand to-day, and remembered as I MUST remember the terrible ORDEAL through which I have passed, and then contemplate the events of this hour, and look forward as I do with hope to the coming verdict of the loyal people of this District in October, you would feel, I am sure, an unutterable satisfaction in such a triumph.

I accept, gentlemen, with a gratitude which I shall carry with me through life, the nomination you have just tendered me, and thank you with a full heart for this most cordial welcome. To me it is an earnest of your individual esteem and confidence, and is the best assurance I can have that my course in Congress is fully approved by the free Union men of this District whom you represent.

I have just read the platform you have unanimously adopted, and approve it fully, and without qualification.

Though not necessary, I repeat what I expressed in my recently published letter to my honorable friend from Wood, that, if this convention had nominated any other citizen than myself, he should have received my cordial support both on the stump and at the ballot-box. Indeed, I would have permitted no man to have given more time and labor to secure his triumphant election than I would have given.

I hope every loyal man in the District is sufficiently impressed with the importance and necessity of united action in the impending contest, National, State and District, and that upon this point I need not add another word.

Gentlemen: You who have known me longest and best, you who know something of my inner life, and with what devotion I have consecrated the best years of that life to the advocacy of emancipation, a principle which to-day makes the salvation of the nation possible, and binds all loyal men together in its support; you, who have known how, with

unflinching faith, I have maintained the great democratic idea of man's equality before the law, and who know how I have urged with a diligence which has never tired, and a perseverance which has never faltered, the adoption of these principles by the present administration, you, I say, who know all this, and have faithfully stood by me, can sympathize with and appreciate something of the exultation and joy I feel at the approaching triumph of such a cause.

Thank God, the long weary night of three years is almost gone; the morning light is breaking; the North is at last in earnest, and in the inspiring and beautiful words of our Quaker poet, we can all shout with exultant hearts:

“Now joy and thanks for evermore,  
The weary night has well nigh passed;  
The slumbers of the North are o'er—  
The giant stands erect at last!”

[Loud applause.]

Mr. President, it is now ten years since a little band of anti-slavery men in Northern Ohio met at Maumee City in response to a call drawn up by me, for a general conference. The theme of my speech then, was the same as now. I then said, “that justice demanded the emancipation of every slave within the limits of the republic, and that the true democratic idea recognized liberty as the birthright of the human race.” This theme has constituted the major part of nearly all my speeches from that day to this. With what fidelity I have followed these democratic ideas you all know. In whatever path they have logically led me, I have devoutly gone, never hesitating, never faltering, never doubting. No motive of personal or political ambition has swayed me for a moment to the right or to the left. Refusing to resort to the tricks of the mere politician, or to assume the non-committal position of the demagogue, as I might have done, either by remaining silent or professing to have no opinions on this subject, I have never for an instant yielded to the dastardly and intolerant pro-slavery spirit which pervaded the whole nation at the outbreak of the war, but became firmer

and more defiant as the attacks of the enemy became more malignant and unscrupulous. I have clung to these ideas because I believe principles should be followed before men, and that truth was stronger than any party. From the first these ideas have been the cardinal points of my political faith, and they shall remain the main plank in my platform until this great battle is ended in the complete triumph of freedom by the liberation of the last slave in the United States.

Mr. President, it is said, and I believe it to be true, that all sacrifices made either by individuals or nations in maintaining great principles, bring with them their own compensations; and surely as good and bad acts have their rewards, both here and hereafter, so surely shall the defender of the right be compensated for all his trials. I have not been unmindful of this great truth while battling for the anti-slavery cause, and I have not forgotten that which history has taught the world for more than two thousand years, that wherever a man came pleading for an unpopular reform, even though the cause he pleaded was admitted to be just, he has always been treated and stoned as a prophet. I have accepted the slanderous scourging to which I have been subjected, philosophically, because, confident that if true to the great cause I have espoused, the very stones cast at me would one day be made into my monument, and that my slanderers would vilify me into a better fame.

In 1861, when I demanded emancipation in the name of justice, because believing as a nation we could not call upon a just God to aid us in this great struggle unless we did justly, how many men were there in this District who were eager to condemn, and did condemn me unsparingly, and yet how many of these men are ready to applaud me now?

It has ever been thus the world over. Providence compels all men sooner or later, to testify to the "almighty power and force of truth." Because grounded in this faith I have never faltered. Without it, no man can withstand the fury of his fellows. With it, no earthly power can shake him from his purpose.

I do not believe any man can ever be truly great, or become a successful leader in any moral movement or noble enterprise who does not recognize the creative agency and directing power of an all-wise Providence. In my opinion, if our soldiers and statesmen had not been blessed with this simple and sublime faith, in the dark days through which as a nation we have passed, they could never have overcome the difficulties and dangers which have beset us at almost every step in the Cabinet and in Congress, and on the tented field. However unworthy some may think me, and unworthy though I may be, I nevertheless have believed, and now believe, that under God, I have had my allotted duty to perform in this great struggle for national life, and I have attempted to do that duty as faithfully and devotedly as ever pilgrim who sought the sacred shrine.

But for the men who maintained in the council chambers of the nation and on the battlefield, the great principles to which I have referred, this nation would have been lost. The time had come in our history when RIGHT made MIGHT, and when freedom could take no step backwards without sealing the doom of the republic. Believing this with all my heart, I have fought in the ranks with thousands of others this great battle of freedom as I would fight for my life, and thank God we have triumphed—triumphed, despite hesitating cabinets, grave-digging generals, timid politicians and time-serving editors—triumphed because the anti-slavery men of this nation, with the rank and file of our heroic and brave army, comprehending the logic of the contest, have after a desperate struggle made this, as it should have been from the first, a war for liberty instead of a war for slavery. All our efforts would have been vain and worse than vain if our gallant soldiers had not espoused our principles, and thus caused our army to become the liberating army of the republic, fighting in the name of God of Justice for the establishment of universal liberty. At last the hour has come when as a nation we may truthfully and reverently say—



“ God of nations, Sovereign Lord,  
In Thy dread name we draw the sword;  
We lift the starry flag on high,  
That fills with light our stormy sky.

“ No more its flaming emblems wave  
To bar from hope the trembling slave;  
No more its radiant glories shine  
To blast with woe one child of Thine.”

[Applause.]

All honor to the noble men of our victorious armies, who bear aloft and defend that glorious banner! The nation can never compensate them for their trials and sufferings, but history shall weave for them a more unfading garland than ever encircled the diadem of the Cæsars. If we are but faithful to ourselves and sustain the soldier by our united action in the councils of the nation and at the ballot-box in support of the REGULAR Union nominations, National, State, District and County, the soldier will maintain our country's cause on the battlefield and crown his victories with a lasting and honorable peace, a peace that shall re-unite the republic in homogeneous unity with a free Constitution and make it the freest, the mightiest and most glorious of all the nations of earth. When that golden hour shall come and freedom and justice shall be established within all our borders, then may the liberal statesmen of the new era of the republic appeal to impartial history for a vindication of their acts, and wait for

“ Time to test  
Of the free soul'd and the slavish,  
Which fulfills life's mission best.”

In this hope and with this faith, strengthened by your generous endorsement of to-day, I consecrate anew all my powers for the great work which the future has in store for the TRUE American statesman.

in order that they too might vote, while hundreds who were sick, maimed and weary in hospitals did not forget the day with its opportunities and responsibilities, but watched anxiously for the hour to come in which they also should be permitted to unite with their more fortunate brothers who were in the field, in voting to maintain the cause for which they were suffering and sacrificing so much. Thus, on the second Tuesday of October, from the banks of the James, the Appomattox and the Potomac, from Vicksburg up the Tennessee, and over the mountains of Georgia to Atlanta, from Kentucky to South Carolina, and in hospitals thousands of miles apart, the Union soldiers of Ohio from the Tenth Congressional District made up a verdict which cannot be forgotten. You have thus proven to the world your constancy and devotion to the Union, that you know how to fight the enemy at home with ballots as well as fight the enemy in front with bullets. The verdict which you then made up in favor of the Union cause, and its recognized representatives, like your heroic deeds on many a well-fought battlefield, will be recorded by the iron pen of history, on monuments which will endure forever.

I count it a greater honor to be elected by the votes of the brave men who have faced, as you have, the enemy, and vindicated their devotion to the Union, than to receive the support of **PROFESSED** Union men, who under any pretext, or for any cause, would form open or secret combinations with the leaders of a party known to be hostile to the best interests of the country, and at war with the leading political ideas which bind the Union party together, from Maine to California.

The day after our State election I went to Michigan, and then to the State of New York, to labor for the success of our cause and its chosen representatives. While in the western part of the latter State, a telegram was put into my hand, just as I was going on the stand to speak, advising me of the vote of the regiments in front of and near Atlanta, and, although the result was not wholly unexpected—indeed, I may say, was confidently anticipated by me—I cannot with pen convey to you the deep emotions I felt when the

announcement came thus authoritatively, and my expectations were more than realized. I would that I could clothe in language the thoughts which then came over me, and welled up from my heart to my lips in blessings on the head of every soldier in hospital or on picket, on the march or in camp, in battle or in prison.

Many of you supported me before you went into the army. You have again entrusted me at a most important crisis in our history, and I am all the more thankful for this manifestation of your confidence, because I desire to complete the congressional record which I have begun, on the great questions that are yet to be passed upon by the nation. In addition to this, I regard myself as charged by your recent vote with your special interests. For your generous support I can only promise FIDELITY to our cause, and in the future, as in the past, continued devotion to your interests. Never since the war broke out has an officer or soldier, or a soldier's family, called on me in vain, if in my power to secure what they asked. Whether in hospitals, in the field or in prison; whether for promotion, and a recognition of meritorious services, or to be relieved from trouble, I have ever been ready and but too glad, when an opportunity offered which would enable me to serve either officers or men, as hundreds at home and in the army can testify. My highest ambition has been and shall be to serve you and aid you in saving the country. If I have, or shall contribute anything to that end, either by my counsels or my votes, I will be amply rewarded. But, whatever may betide, I must ever co-operate with, and, if need be, fall with the heroic defenders of my country.

Whatever my future, be it prosperous or adverse, I shall ever remember with pride and gratitude, the vote given me by the Union soldiers from the Tenth Congressional District of Ohio, during the great national struggle of 1864.

Unable to answer by private letter the numerous communications which I have received from officers and men, in reference to my election, I adopt this mode of answering and thanking you for the deep interest manifested, and to assure you that I shall ever cherish, as among the most pleasing recollections of my life, the fidelity with which you stood by

me, and the very flattering manner in which many of you have been pleased to refer to my congressional record, and in which all have conveyed to me the renewed assurance of their esteem and regard.

As the nation and the liberty-loving men of the world cannot forget the wondrous deeds of heroism and daring which have marked the triumph of the Union soldiers from every State on every battlefield, in defense of the nation's life, so shall all loyal men cherish their memories in grateful remembrance for the additional victory they have enabled us to achieve at the ballot-box in the re-election of Abraham Lincoln and all Union candidates, whether for governors, Congress or minor officers whom their votes have saved from defeat by the opponents of the government at home.

May God bless all Union soldiers, and

“ While our martyrs fall, our heroes bleed,  
Keep us to every sweet remembrance true;  
Till from this blood-red sunset springs, new born,  
Our nation's second morn.”

Truly your friend,

J. M. ASHLEY.

Toledo, Nov. 14, 1864.

**THE ASHLEY BANQUET AT THE OLIVER  
HOUSE, NOVEMBER. 1864.**

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**FROM THE TOLEDO COMMERCIAL**

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After the repast, Honorable William Sheffield, of Napoleon, president of the evening, called the assemblage to order, when congratulatory and complimentary letters were read from Honorable Charles Sumner, Salmon P. Chase, Governor Austin Blair of Michigan, Honorable Daniel S. Dickinson of New York, and others.

The following are the letters from Governor Chase and Senator Sumner:

**FROM HON. SALMON P. CHASE.**

CINCINNATI, November 14, 1864.

**DEAR SIR:** It is with real regret that I find myself unable to accept the invitation of the Union men of the Tenth Congressional District, to meet them at the entertainment to be given to their able and faithful Representative, General Ashley.

It has been my privilege for many years to rank him among my true and faithful friends; but it is not alone, or chiefly as a friend, that I rejoice in his re-election.

During his whole service in Congress, he has never wavered or halted in his devotion to Union and Freedom. His vote has never been separated from his duty. To him, as chairman of the important Committee on Territories, more than to any other man, do we owe the consecration of all the new States to Liberty by irrepealable provisions of fundamental law.

These, and such as these, are his titles to the confidence and to the esteem and affection of his constituents. Let them be assured that the loyal people of the country partake their sentiments.

Very truly yours,  
GEORGE R. HAYNES, Esq.

S. P. CHASE.

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FROM HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

BOSTON, November 8, 1864.

DEAR SIR: It will not be in my power to unite in the banquet which you propose in honor of the re-election of your most faithful Representative.

I know Mr. Ashley well and honor him much. He has been firm when others have hesitated, and from an early day saw the secret of war, and I may add also, the secret of victory.

In questions of statesmanship, which will soon supersede all military questions, he has already given assurance of practical wisdom. His various indefatigable labors and his elaborate speech on "Reconstruction," shows that he sees well what is to be done in order to place peace and liberty under irresistible safeguards.

For myself, I have no hesitation in saying that, next to the rebellion itself, I most deprecate premature State governments in rebel States. Such governments will be a source of sorrow and weakness incalculable. But I am sure that your Representative will fail in no effort to prevent such a calamity.

There is also the amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting slavery throughout the United States. Nobody has done more for it, practically, than your Representative.

Accept my thanks for the invitation with which you have honored me, and believe me, dear sir,

Faithfully yours,  
GEORGE R. HAYNES, Esq.

CHARLES SUMNER.

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Rounds of enthusiastic applause frequently interrupted the reading of these and the other letters.

After the reading of the letters was concluded, the following sentiment, proposed by Honorable Daniel S. Dickinson in his letter, was again read:

“Honorable James M. Ashley, the soldier’s honored and favored Representative. New York unites with Ohio and the District he so ably represents, in paying tribute to his fidelity and firmness in the cause of resisting rebellion.”

In response to calls from all parts of the hall, Mr. Ashley spoke as follows:

**LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:** We meet to-night to exchange congratulations and rejoice over the triumphant re-election of Abraham Lincoln, and all true representatives of the Union cause.

I am deeply indebted to the kind friends who have prepared this agreeable entertainment, and made it possible for me to meet at this social banquet to-night, so many of the true Union men and women of my District. My friends, I never was more at a loss than now for words with which to express the joy I feel at our wonderful national triumph.

In the midst of this terrible civil war, a great moral battle has been fought at the ballot-box, such as the world has never witnessed. A victory has been achieved, the importance of which no man can over-estimate. On our part the issues were fairly presented, ably discussed, and heroically fought out. Never did men fight better than the men who fought under our banner, and defended the ideas for which we battled. Good men were everywhere in earnest; bad men everywhere desperate. The stake for which we fought was national existence and the liberty of the human race. In this sign we conquered. [Applause.]

Experience has taught us, since the rebellion, that a well-organized party, with Truth for its weapon and Union ballots for its bullets, is as necessary for the ultimate triumph of the nation’s cause, as a well-disciplined army in the field, equipped with all the death-dealing implements of war. Without the triumph of the Union party at home, the Union army could not exist in the field. Therefore, let every loyal man unite to maintain the only party which is true to free-

dom, and pledged to maintain the army and preserve the Union. [Applause.]

It is right and proper that we should rejoice over the great victory which, as a nation, we have achieved by the joint efforts of the Union soldiers in the liberating army and the faithful Union men at home. We can to-night truthfully congratulate each other, on a victory which means something; a victory which the world can understand; a victory which proclaims with trumpet tongue "LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND UNTO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF"; a victory which sends forth the glad tidings which shall give great joy to every slave in the United States, and to the lovers of freedom in every land; a victory which declares to the rebels and their Northern allies that the integrity of the Union, the acknowledged supremacy of the national Constitution, and the abandonment of slavery, are our only conditions of peace. [Applause.]

As every one present responds with heart and lip to the words which I now utter, so let their spirit and the inspiration which fires our hearts be caught up and sounded throughout the land, until they re-echo through every valley and over mountain, and cause the whole people, soldiers and citizens alike, to join in the grand anthem "GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST, ON EARTH PEACE TO GOOD-WILLING MEN." I say "peace to good-willing men" because I believe they are the only men who can have, or who ought to have "peace on earth," and because I believe that is the correct rendering of the passage quoted. [Applause.]

Though I am, and from the first have been, for the war, and war in earnest, I am for peace also; I long for peace; not a peace which comes through knavish schemes, not a peace made over the grave of Liberty, nor yet a peace such as we can at any moment secure by a cowardly surrender to the demands of traitors and rebels; but

**"For the peace which rings out from the cannon's throat,  
And the suasion of shot and shell,  
Till rebellion's spirit is trampled down,  
To the depths of its kindred hell.**



“For the peace which shall wash out the leprous stain  
Of our slavery, foul and grim,  
And shall sunder the fetters which creak and clank  
On the downtrodden black man’s limb.”

[Applause.]

I do not rejoice, fellow-citizens, merely because we have obtained a victory over our political opponents, or because, despite trickery and fraud and base insensibility, I have been individually successful in my late congressional canvass. I rejoice rather because our triumph dates a new epoch in our history as a nation, and perpetuates the liberties and nationality of a great people. [Applause.]

I know, that as the world goes, success is the god of to-day, but as all thoughtful men know, “Truth is the god of eternity.” I would not give a fig for our success, and would not rejoice over our victory, if I did not know it was obtained by the triumph of Truth and Justice; for as it ever hath been, so shall it ever be,

“Truth’s enemy wins a defeat with victory.”

[Applause.]

In the triumph of the Republican Union party, Truth, Justice, Liberty, Nationality, triumphed. The fiat has gone forth; the verdict of the Union soldiers and Union electors at the ballot-box is, that the nation shall live, and that slavery shall die. [Applause.]

Who shall estimate the importance of this victory? What thoughts or words shall I employ to impress its grandeur upon you? By what standard shall we measure it, so as to estimate its worth to us, and its value to the human race? [Applause.]

A victory of such moral worth as this, Providence grants to mankind but once in a century. What a grand, heroic age in which to live. What a cause to battle for, and if need be, to die for. Who does not thank God that he can be an actor in such scenes?

As the force of no great truth is lost in traveling down the centuries, so shall the moral power of this great victory vibrate through all coming time, and amid "the music of falling chains" which rings in the ravished ears of the world to-night, downtrodden humanity shall take fresh courage, and the true democratic idea take more firmly hold of the hearts of men.

"When a deed is done for Freedom, through the broad  
earth's aching breast  
Runs a thrill of joy prophetic, trembling on from East to  
West,  
And the slave, where'er he cowers, feels the soul within him  
climb  
To the awful verge of manhood, as the energy sublime  
Of a century bursts full-blossomed on the thorny stem of  
Time."

[Applause.]

## ADDRESS

OF MR. ASHLEY AT NAPOLEON, NOV. 24th, 1864.

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FROM THE TOLEDO COMMERCIAL.

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We lay before our readers the masterly address delivered by Hon. J. M. Ashley, at Napoleon, on Friday last. We ask for it an attentive perusal. It is a clear, able and manly avowal, or rather—we might say—re-avowal of the principles by which he has ever been guided. His position on the great issues of the day—as it ever has been—is clearly and unmistakably defined. There is no hesitation, no faltering, no equivocation. No man in the District, we care not to what party he belongs, has ever been in doubt as to the position of our honorable Representative. The words defining the stand he takes on any of the great questions of the day are as plain and sharp-cut as the English language can furnish, and they are employed with an earnestness that none can doubt, and “the wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err therein.” He is the same now that he ever has been—the fearless, uncompromising foe to every form of oppression—the undaunted advocate of freedom to all men. It is not to be supposed that a man of his position, who has steadily and fearlessly pursued a course, not according to the dictates of cold, calculating policy, but in accordance with his convictions of right and duty, should find his pathway clear of obstacles. He who fearlessly pursues the path which duty points out will be assailed. The path is not lined with flowers, and those who suppose it to be will only meet with sore disappointment. Our Representative has not been without his share of opposition to contend with. Calumny, detraction, falsehood and slander have assailed him with sleepless activity. His

persecutors have seemed to vie with each other in the relentless vindictiveness with which they have pursued him. Abashed by his candor in the declaration of the principles he entertains, and unable to pick a flaw in his congressional record, either in speech, or vote, or act, they have resorted to that easier, but more detestable method of attack — that of wholesale calumny and falsehood.

A series of falsehoods have been persistently indulged in, and circulated by his enemies through the District for more than two years past. In the speech we present to-day, he meets these base charges, and with the weapon of truth, he exposes their utter absurdity, and administers to their authors the scathing they so justly deserve.

We desire that every citizen in the District carefully and impartially peruse this speech. His high reputation as a man, and his public record as a statesman, are evidence sufficient to warrant the confidence of his constituents. The malicious detractions of a few personal enemies, on account of some real or fancied grievances, cannot for one moment be weighed in the balance against the high commendations bestowed upon him by some of the best and most distinguished men in the nation. The series of letters we published yesterday should silence the voice of detraction, still muttered o'er by those who claim to belong to the Republican Union party. The most prominent men of the country regard him as an able and faithful Representative, one who has never wavered nor hesitated in his devotion to the Union, one who has ever been the earnest, determined champion of freedom, and the inveterate, uncompromising foe to every form of slavery and rebellion.

Hon. Salmon P. Chase says "his vote has never been separated from his duty." Hon. Columbus Delano, intimately acquainted with the local issues in this district, says that Mr. Ashley "has under all circumstances, been true to the cause of justice, humanity and liberty," and "has never faltered in devotion and loyalty to the government." Hon. Charles Sumner says, "he has been firm when others have hesitated, and from an early day saw the secret of this war, and I may add, also, the secret of victory." Hon. Daniel S.

Dickinson, of New York, likewise pays a tribute to his "fidelity and firmness in the cause of resisting rebellion." Is the testimony of these distinguished champions of Union and freedom, these able statesmen and loyal men of the country, to be set aside, and the vituperation and calumnies of a few petty factionists to be received and countenanced? Let the people decide.

REUNION AND SUPPER AT NAPOLEON, FRIDAY, NOV. 25, 1864.

The Union men of Napoleon and vicinity had a very pleasant interchange of congratulations over the recent political victories, on Friday afternoon and evening.

The meeting at the Court House was a grand success, both as it regards the numbers and the deep interest of the audience, and the effective and eloquent speeches which were delivered.

The meeting was called to order, and, on motion, William Sheffield, Esq., was appointed to preside. In a short but forcible speech, the chairman tendered his acknowledgments for the honor conferred, and stated the object for which they had assembled, to be in honor of the triumph of liberty, and of the friends of freedom, at the ballot-box.

He affirmed that in this epoch of our country's history, principles had been developed which were of the highest moment to the well-being and happiness of every citizen. It was, therefore, important and highly proper, that all true men should thus meet to celebrate the triumphs of principle and of the rights of humanity, and to concert plans of action by which their highest blessings may be realized. Although the full tide of success had attended the efforts of our brave soldiers on the battlefield, and also the political conflict at the ballot-box, yet he deemed the important issues still at stake as demanding the calm deliberation and united action of all true patriots. He considered it important that every man should possess, at heart, the highest motive to action — the love of country. Thus influenced, the partisan would merge in the patriot, and his regard for human rights would cause him to triumph over individual selfishness.

The President concluded by introducing the Hon. J. M. Ashley, who, on arising, was received with great applause, and addressed the audience as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: We have met to-day to celebrate a great national triumph—a triumph unparalleled in the history of the republic. I do not count it a political or partisan triumph, but a triumph of the country. No poor words of mine can add to the joy you all feel. I will not attempt this afternoon to tell you what I understand this victory to mean, or to detain you with a speech on its causes and consequences. I prefer to leave that theme for the speeches this evening.

I did not expect when I stepped off the cars half an hour ago to be called upon for a speech this afternoon. It is but a few minutes since I was advised that the Court House was filling up and that I must go over; that many who were in town could not remain for the meeting to-night, and that it was your wish to see and hear me.

Ladies and gentlemen, I know by your kindly greeting that I am in the midst of friends, and I need not add, tried and true friends. I have no prepared speech for you. I wish I had.

My invitation said you were to have a supper to-night, and toasts and short responses at the table by those who were called out. So I am rather taken by surprise; but when I look over this audience and see the faces of the old men, the solid men of Henry County, who have stood by me through evil as well as good report for so many years, I feel thankful that I am able to speak to you, and take so many of you by the hand this afternoon.

As I will meet many of you again to-night around the festal board, where we shall exchange congratulations on the great triumph achieved by Union soldiers and citizens in the election of Abraham Lincoln, and the success of the Union cause, I may without impropriety, I trust, talk of some matters which would hardly be in place at a mere dinner-table speech. I embrace the opportunity, all the more readily, because a friend is present who can report me, and do what I have not time to do, write out and have published what I say, so that

my friends throughout the District may read around their own firesides what I say to you to-day. I can thus talk almost face to face with thousands of as warm and earnest friends as I now have before me. [Applause.] Honored by a repetition of your confidence oftener than any man who has preceded me in Congress from this District, I am deeply sensible of the obligations I am under to its true Union electors, and especially to the Union soldiers in the field, and I am glad of this opportunity to express to you and to them the gratitude I feel for the generous indorsement given me at the recent election. [Applause.]

#### THE STATE CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION.

Remembering the condition of affairs in this District two years ago, and considering all the circumstances attending our recent congressional canvass, the unnatural combinations formed, the unexpected defection of some upon whose support we confidently relied, and the extraordinary means resorted to on the eve of the election to divide, defraud and defeat the Republican Union party in the District, I feel complimented by the large home vote which was given me. Under the circumstances my home vote was as large in proportion to the vote polled as I had a right to expect. [Applause.]

Nominated by acclamation at the hands of the regular Republican Union convention for the District, a convention the most imposing in point of numbers and by far the most respectable for character and ability, of any congressional convention which has ever assembled in the District, since I have been a resident among you, I felt pained that any respectable number of gentlemen calling themselves Union men, should, after the nomination was made, have consented to co-operate with the leaders of a party admitted to be opposed to the prosecution of the war and hostile to the administration of Abraham Lincoln in its CIVIL and MILITARY policy, and above all, that any professed Union men should have consented to resort to the trickery, fraud and demagogism which characterized the opposition to me in the late congressional canvass.

HIS ANTI-SLAVERY POSITION.

I may be pardoned if here among friends I refer to some matters of a local and personal character, matters which are intimately connected with our past contests in this District.

When first a candidate to represent you in Congress, I laid down the proposition in all speeches which I made "that under a democratic form of government man could not legally or rightly be made property." [Applause.]

I dissented from and denounced the declaration made by Henry Clay, when he said "that which the usage of two hundred years had sanctioned and sanctified as property, was property." I declared that slavery was the crime of all crimes, and "the sum of villainies;" that a government could as rightfully legalize murder, robbery and piracy as to legalize the ownership and sale of men, and I uniformly added that I did not want a single elector to vote for me who could not indorse this proposition. [Applause.] I was very desirous of an election, as I always am when a candidate, but I preferred defeat rather than to obtain a single vote, either by withholding my opinions or professing all things to all men. [Applause.] You know the result; I was elected in the CLOSEST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT IN THE STATE BY A LARGER VOTE THAN WAS GIVEN FOR THE REGULAR REPUBLICAN STATE ticket. [Applause.]

In 1860, I was again elected by an increased majority, after a very spirited canvass with General Steedman, in which I repeated the same proposition, that man could not legally be made property by any government. [Applause.]

At the outset of the war I declared "THAT AS SLAVERY WAS THE CAUSE OF THE REBELLION, SLAVERY SHOULD DIE." [Applause.] Having taken this position at a time when the reaction was everywhere against anti-slavery men, as you remember it was, for the first year or eighteen months after the war broke out, many Union men in the District were unwilling to sustain me. That position, and the repudiation by me of part of the platform adopted by the Union State convention of that year, greatly strengthened the conservative Union candidate for Congress in the triangular contest which unfortunately we then had, and I was only elected by



a plurality of eleven hundred and eighty-two votes. [Applause.] The main part of the Union State platform that year, all will recollect, was made up of an extract from a letter or speech of Honorable Joseph Holt, of Kentucky, and the Crittenden resolution, which resolution all now understand was a cheat and a sham. This platform I said then and repeat now, was most cowardly, and unworthy the Republican Union party of the great State of Ohio, and I am sure its adoption, together with some of the candidates nominated, caused our defeat in the State that year. [That's so.]

The Republican Union State convention in 1863 not only gladly buried the disgusting platform of '62 out of sight, but I trust put it beyond the hope of resuscitation. [Applause.] I was a delegate in that convention, and a member of the committee on resolutions for this District, and aided in putting it into its grave, as I told the people of this District it would be, and, although the platform then adopted was not all that I desired or all that it ought to have been, it was not, as the platform in 1862 was, positively offensive to the true anti-slavery men of the State. [Applause.]

The Republican Union State platform, and the National Republican platform of 1864, were all that any friend of freedom and republican government could ask. They declare that "as slavery was the cause of the rebellion, slavery should die." [Applause.] Thus, after a terrible struggle have the positions taken by me on the slavery question at the outbreak of the rebellion, been fully indorsed by the great party of which I am an humble member, and ratified by an overwhelming majority of the American people at the ballot-box. [Applause.]

Though assailed, in 1861-62, by men in our own party, with a fury and mendacity which always go hand in hand with ignorance and intolerance, for demanding the liberation of every slave, and the employment of slaves as soldiers in the army, no man claiming to be a Union man, can now be found to condemn me, because time has demonstrated its necessity and the Republican Union party approves, and the nation decrees, emancipation. [Applause.] To be so repeat-

edly elected in a District so close and conservative as ours, while everywhere avowing and defending my radical anti-slavery opinions, is an honor of which I am, indeed, very proud. [Applause.] As the workingmen and starving operatives of Manchester, England, said in their address to the President, thanking him for his Emancipation Proclamation, "DESPOTISM HAS NOT MONEY ENOUGH TO MAKE US BETRAY LIBERTY," so I, a workingman, have said that "I would not abandon the sacred cause of liberty for the sake of place and power," and the workingmen, and the liberty-loving men of our District, at home and in the army, have most generously sustained me. [Applause.]

#### DENUNCIATION OF THE PRACTICE OF DEFRAUDING ELECTORS.

If I have one peculiarity which stands out more prominently than another, it is, that I define clearly and sharply my positions, and make my fight openly and squarely. I glory in making an open, manly fight, and I have the highest respect for an open and manly opponent. No elector has ever been deceived as to where I stood on any of the great questions of the day, and I have never even allowed my name to be printed in an opposition ticket, without giving the elector notice, by having the ticket printed "Democratic ticket, except for Congress," and then having my name printed from a cut on which was engraved a fac-simile of my handwriting. So particular have I been in order to avoid even the appearance of attempting to deceive any elector into voting for me. [Applause.] Some of my friends find fault with me because, in speaking, I uniformly say that I do not want the vote of a single elector unless he indorses the principles I advocate; and because I sometimes say half-jocosely that I can be elected without the votes of men who are hostile to such principles, many seem to think or fear that others may think that I will be understood as saying "that I cannot be defeated." This is a mistake. I expect to be defeated, and prefer to be defeated, if a majority do not approve my principles. [Applause.] If they approve them, I expect to be elected, not because of any power I may have,

or because I am the candidate, but because for the time being I am representing these ideas, that is all. [Applause.]

Any unscrupulous man can play the demagogue with ease. The smallest or meanest of men are the only ones who do it. In my opinion no man can be more infamous than he who by fraud or falsehood deceives an honest elector. [Applause.] You know the men who, during our late congressional canvass, have deliberately and with cool calculation and premeditation deceived many honest voters in this District. Let every one, whether as principals or accessories, guilty of this great crime, receive from every honorable man that condemnation which his baseness deserves. [Applause.]

A ballot once cast cannot be recalled, and no man can over-estimate in advance the importance and moral power of a single vote. Yet men who know this, permit themselves to be deceived so often that I sometimes think electors offer a premium to demagogues. [Applause.] So alarmingly successful have demagogues become, that men claiming to be Christian gentlemen, not only laugh at frauds committed at caucuses and on electors, but permit themselves to become parties to these frauds. [Applause.]

But I am charged with making bad and unpopular appointments. Well, gentlemen, it may be true that, in some localities, I have not made the best selections. I am rather inclined to think that it is so, but I have in every instance done what I thought at the time for the best. Could any honest Union man, in such a crisis as this, justify himself for voting against Abraham Lincoln, because he persisted in the face of the opposition of almost every Union man in Congress, and in the country, in keeping McClellan, Fitz-John Porter, Buel and others in the army, and men in some of the departments of the government, who have turned out traitors, defaulters and supporters of the Chicago platform? Certainly not. [Applause.] Yet a number of men voted against me, because of some of my appointments, who were very earnest for Mr. Lincoln, yet I have never appointed a traitor or rebel sympathizer, or a supporter of the Chicago platform and its nominees. [Applause.] That I have made mistakes, I admit, but in every instance I have done what the

leading Republicans of each locality recommended and what I thought for the best. If I had never had an appointment to make in this District or from it, I am sure it would have been better for me. [Applause.]

In the future, as in the past, I intend to be governed in the appointments which I shall make by the advice of the men who elect me, and not by personal or political opponents. [Applause.]

In distributing patronage my motto has ever been and ever shall be, "JUSTICE TO ALL, SPECIAL FAVORS FRIENDS ALONE." [Applause.] As your Representative I have tried to do my duty, and my whole duty. How well I have succeeded you and posterity are to judge. That I have served you in a most trying period in our history is true, and while many men who, when I first entered Congress, stood high before the country have fallen short of the requirements of the hour, and been weighed in the balance and found wanting, thanks to the constancy and firmness of such men as are before me, I have been most generously sustained, and my reputation as a citizen and Representative fully vindicated. [Applause.]

No man claiming to be a loyal man has dared to assail my congressional record, and whatever may be the verdict of history on that record, I know and you know, that by no vote, or act, or word of mine have the rebels or their Northern allies been strengthened, or the arm of Abraham Lincoln or of any loyal man been weakened. [Applause.]

No speech or vote, or word of mine has breathed a single word of discouragement to soldier or citizen; but everywhere, in season and out of season, my words and acts and votes have been to encourage, strengthen and consolidate into one invincible army the truly loyal men of the nation. [Applause.] And in view of these well-known facts, I feel that I have been unjustly treated by many members of the Union party. I go into our party caucuses and conventions pledged, as I think every honorable man ought to regard himself, to the support of the nominee of the convention. Many men who opposed me two years ago and again this year, went into our caucuses and conventions determined to support their candi-

date if they could get him nominated, and demand that I and my friends should do so also; but the moment they found themselves in the minority, they bolted and formed secret or open alliances with the opposition. [That is true.]

I think that I and my friends have a right to complain of such unfairness. If the convention which nominated me had selected any other Union man, you all know that I would have given him my earnest support, as would also my friends. In addition to this, the editor of a professed Union paper in our city, declared to his readers a few weeks ago that "I was not the candidate of the Union party for this District." Now, gentlemen, you know who nominated me. I know, as you do, that every man who was a member of that large and respectable convention was a true Union man. You know also that there was no other Union Congressional convention held in this District; that that convention nominated our District candidate for presidential elector, and selected the two delegates who represented the Republican Union men of this District in the Baltimore convention which renominated Abraham Lincoln, and yet this statement is unblushingly published. This same paper charged me two years ago, and again this fall, with being a disunionist, and classed me with such men as George H. Pendleton. I ask any man before me if I have ever given a vote in Congress or out of it, or written or spoken a single word, which would induce him to suspect that I was an enemy of the government, or in sympathy with the political opinions of George H. Pendleton. The man who could, with the unanimous action of the regular Republican Union Congressional convention for this District before him, and with my congressional record within his reach, publish such declarations, would hesitate at no statement to accomplish his purposes. I appeal to the Union men of this District, and to my congressional and public record, to answer and condemn this slanderer. [Applause.]

And I here take leave of this subject. In the midst of the general thanksgiving and rejoicing which surrounds us, and which fills the hearts of all true Union men everywhere, let us forget the acts and forgive the real or fancied wrongs done us, by any who have aided us in electing Abraham

Lincoln. I want to forgive and forget the unjust things which have been said of me by some who are now Union men and are laboring with me to save the republic. [Applause.]

I have only referred to these matters to set myself right before the loyal men of the District, and especially with my personal friends. [Applause.]

I am ready, willing and anxious to forgive any Union man who has wronged me, and to ask the forgiveness of any man whom in the excitement of a political contest I may unintentionally have wronged. I have never intentionally wronged any man. I have never purposely planted a thorn in any man's pathway, or knowingly said an unjust word of a political or personal opponent. [Applause.] You, and the people of this Congressional District, have heard me on the stump every year for ten years, and yet amid the excitement incident to the personal conflicts through which I have gone, no man has ever heard me traduce the character of an opponent or slander any man, nor have I ever said a single word of a personal or political rival, that I would not have said of him, had he been present. [Applause.]

As I would that others should do unto me, even so I would do unto them. [Applause.]

#### A GREAT WORK YET BEFORE US.

Fellow-citizens, a great work is yet before us. There is ample scope for the exercise of all our faculties. A generous rivalry in support of the government and in maintaining its armies, presents a field broad enough for the ambition of all. Let us try to forget and forgive the errors of the past, and remember only that our bleeding country demands the united efforts of all her true sons. [Applause.] We all want peace. Every home which this war has made desolate and draped in mourning, is crying for peace. The wives and the mothers of a million men are to-day praying for peace; not the peace asked for by the coward and the traitor, but the peace which comes through victory; the only peace which can be honorable and enduring. We cannot have such a peace while we are divided. [Applause.]

Oh, my countrymen, let me, I beseech you, as you love your country, and have glorious hopes for its future, subordinate all personalities and all party strife to the higher, holier and sublimer aspirations of patriotism and love of justice.

If we do not stand together we shall fall. If we are united we shall be invincible. Then

“One more sublime endeavor,  
And behold the dawn of peace;  
One more endeavor, and war forever  
Throughout the land shall cease;  
Forever and ever the vanquished power  
Of slavery shall be slain,  
And Freedom’s STAINED and TRAMPLED flower  
Shall blossom WHITE again.”

[The honorable gentleman concluded his eloquent speech amidst the enthusiastic applause of the audience.]

## IMPORTANT CORRESPONDENCE.

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NOVEMBER 14th, 1892.

HON. J. M. ASHLEY, TOLEDO, OHIO.

DEAR SIR: In looking over the pamphlets and papers which you sent us, we are disappointed not to find the text of the 13th amendment, and the first draft of the bill for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, as originally proposed in Congress by you.

James G. Blaine, in his "Twenty Years of Congress," states that you introduced the first proposition for the entire abolition of slavery in this country by amending the Constitution, but does not give the text.

We desire an exact copy of the original of both these bills, if we can get them, so that we may point out wherein

Letter from Bishop Benjamin W. Arnett, D. D., Wilberforce, O.

On the next half dozen pages will be found a condensed history of greater importance to the negro, and to the human race, than can elsewhere be found in any book we have ever read. The story as presented is all the more fascinating because of the direct and simple manner in which it is told. But for our letter, making a special request for this history, it probably would never have been written. In answering our letter on this page, and the letter of inquiry on page 359, we have learned that the first reconstruction bill reported to the House was prepared by Mr. Ashley, and the bill for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, and also that the first proposition made in Congress for amending the Constitution, prohibiting slavery in the United States, was introduced by him. The public records show that no man in our history made a grander, or more successful battle, than did Mr. Ashley, for the liberation and practical uplifting of the negro.

B. W. ARNETT.



the amendment which is now a part of the national Constitution, differs in the text, as we understand it does, from the proposition as you originally made it. We know that the law for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, as it finally passed, was radically different from your original bill. I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully yours, for God and the race,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Benjamin Arnett". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above a horizontal line.

Chairman.

TOLEDO, OHIO, DECEMBER 22, 1892.

MY DEAR SIR: The text of the original bill introduced by me in Congress, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, was as follows:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

"That from and after the passage of this act, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist in the District of Columbia; and thereafter it shall not be lawful for any person in said District to own or to hold a human being as a slave."

On my motion this short but comprehensive bill was referred to the District of Columbia Committee, of which I was a member, and of which Roscoe Conkling, of New York, was chairman.

The excitement and unpleasantness which the introduction of this simple bill caused in the District of Columbia Committee, amuses me now, but at that time the opposition was offensive enough, and the conduct of some of the pro-slavery members, fanatical almost to madness.

Evidently, my purpose could not be misunderstood. I did not propose to recognize the right of man to property in man.

It did not take long to discover that no such bill as I had proposed could be gotten through the District of Columbia Committee, as it was then organized.

I had quietly determined that Congress should not adjourn, if I could prevent it, until after we had—as Mr. Lincoln expressed it—“initiated emancipation at the national capital.”

On the threshold, I was confronted with the certainty of defeat, unless I consented to a radical modification of my bill, which I reluctantly did, at the urgent request of Mr. Lincoln, Secretary Chase, Senator Wade and others.

Finally a bill for the “ransom” of all slaves held in the District was prepared by Senator Morrell, of Maine, and myself, with the co-operation of President Lincoln, Governor Chase and others, and passed substantially as reported. An appropriation of one million dollars was agreed upon to pay loyal slave-owners, provided the amount paid should not exceed three hundred dollars for each slave so emancipated.

In my address before the “Ohio Society of New York,” you will learn why I consented to “ransom” the slaves by compensating the slave-owners, as provided in the bill agreed upon by the Senate and House Committees, which became a law. I spoke in favor of and voted both in the Committee and in the House, for the bill as reported, and as it passed. My speech in the House may be found in the “Appendix to Congressional Globe for the Second Session of the Thirty-seventh Congress,” pages 101-2.

The text of the Thirteenth Amendment, as it finally passed Congress and became part of our national Constitution, reads as follows:

ARTICLE 13.

“SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist in the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

“SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this ARTICLE by appropriate legislation.”

The language of the original, as prepared and introduced by me on the 14th day of December, 1863, was the same as the

above, except five words. On my motion, the amendment which I proposed was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, of which I was not a member.

The phraseology of section one, at the end, was changed in one word, and the words "their jurisdiction" used, instead of "its jurisdiction," as I had it.

The granting clause in my original proposition read:

"SECTION 2. THE Congress shall have power to enforce this ARTICLE, by LAW DULY ENACTED."

As it finally passed, it reads as follows:

"SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this ARTICLE by APPROPRIATE LEGISLATION."

It will be observed, that the first section had one word substituted for another, and that section two was materially improved by striking out the four words in small capitals in my proposition, and substituting two better words in their place, at the end of the section.

The five words designated were the only changes made in my original draft of the Thirteenth Amendment, as it now appears in the constitution. In preparing my amendment, I simply followed the suggestions contained in the Ordinance of 1787. I did so, because that Ordinance was familiar to the public, and the language had received a judicial interpretation.

I used substantially the same language a year before, in my original bill for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

There were some thirty such constitutional amendments, proposing the abolition of slavery in the United States, offered in the Senate and the House, by as many different members, and so far as I remember, all of them, except Mr. Sumner's, were substantially copies (as mine was) of the language of the Ordinance of 1787. Each and all of said proposed amendments, so introduced, either in the Senate or House, were appropriately referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Neither by speech, nor in writing, have I ever said a word for publication, touching the inside history of the passage by Congress either of the bill to "ransom" the slaves in the Dis-

trict of Columbia, or the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery throughout the republic, except what I said in an address before the "Ohio Society of New York," a copy of which I sent your committee. And I must be excused from saying more now. So many noble men were associated with me in the passage of both these important measures, and each did so much to secure their enactment into law, that I have scrupulously refrained from claiming any credit for myself, or designating any member as especially entitled to more credit than another, for their passage by that Congress, fearing I might fail to accord the full credit to which each were entitled.

Every friend of the right, will, I am sure, agree with me, that each man who did his duty in that eventful hour, and voted for these great national measures, is entitled in history to generous recognition and equal commendation, without questioning whether he came to their support first or last.

If any of the Representatives in that Congress, who voted for the Thirteenth Amendment to the national Constitution abolishing slavery, are entitled to more credit than another, it seems to me that the thirteen men in the House, from the then border slave States of Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri, are entitled to that honor. As I now look back at their manly acts and votes in favor of the constitutional abolition and prohibition of slavery everywhere beneath our flag, their self-sacrificing heroism rises into the sublime.

Truly yours,

J. M. ASHLEY.

REV. BENJAMIN W. ARNETT, D. D.,  
Chairman Publication Committee.

## SPEECH

OF HON. J. M. ASHLEY, OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JANUARY 6, 1865.

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ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT FOR THE ABOLITION  
OF SLAVERY.

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AMEND THE CONSTITUTION—IT IS THE WAY TO UNITY AND  
PEACE.

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MR. ASHLEY said: I desire to call up this morning, pursuant to notice previously given, the motion to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution proposing an amendment of the Constitution in reference to slavery was rejected.

MR. HOLMAN: Does the gentleman call it up for action to-day?

MR. ASHLEY: No, sir; but for discussion, intending to let that discussion run on until the House sees fit to order the main question to be put.

THE SPEAKER: This being private bill day, it requires a majority vote to set aside the consideration of private bills.

The consideration of private bills was set aside by a majority vote, and the motion to reconsider was taken up.

MR. ASHLEY: Mr. Speaker, "IF SLAVERY IS NOT WRONG, NOTHING IS WRONG." Thus simply and truthfully hath spoken our worthy Chief Magistrate.

The proposition before us is, whether this universally acknowledged wrong shall be continued or abolished. Shall it receive the sanction of the American Congress by the rejection of this proposition, or shall it be condemned as an intolerable wrong by its adoption?

If slavery had never been known in the United States, and the proposition should be made in Congress to-day to authorize the people of the several States to enslave any portion of our own people or the people of any other country, it would be universally denounced as an infamous and criminal proposition, and its author would be execrated, and justly, by all right-thinking men, and held to be an enemy of the human race.

I do not believe such a proposition could secure a single vote in this House; and yet we all know that a number of gentlemen who could not be induced to enslave a single free man, will nevertheless vote to keep millions of men in slavery, who are by nature and the laws of God as much entitled to their freedom as we are. I will not attempt to explain this strange inconsistency, or make an argument to show its fallacy. I content myself with simply stating the fact.

It would seem as if no man favorable to peace, concord, and a restored Union, could hesitate for a moment as to how he should vote on this proposition. Certainly, whatever of strife, sectional bitterness, and personal animosity these halls have witnessed since my appearance in Congress, or, indeed, I may say, since the organization of parties in 1836, slavery has usually been the sole cause. No observer of our history, or of the political parties which have been organized and disbanded, now hesitates to declare that slavery is the cause of this terrible civil war. All who understand anything of our troubles, either in this country or Europe, now know that but for slavery there would have been no rebellion in this country to-day.

In the very nature of things it was impossible for a government organized as ours to endure half slave and half free; and nothing can be clearer to the reader of history than that the men who made our Constitution never expected nor desired the nation to remain half slave and half free. Our fathers were men of ideas, and they believed that with the adoption of the Constitution slavery would cease to exist. Sir, while demanding liberty for themselves, and proclaiming to the world the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, they

were not guilty of the infamy of making a Constitution which, by any fair rules of construction, can be interpreted into a denial of liberty, happiness and justice to an entire race.

**THE NATION CAN NOT ENDURE HALF SLAVE AND HALF FREE.**

That the founders of the Republic were sadly disappointed in their expectations that slavery would cease on the adoption of the national Constitution is undoubtedly true. Instead of disappearing, as they confidently expected, circumstances unforeseen by them so strengthened slavery that in less than eighty years it became the dominant interest in the nation, and in 1860 openly demanded the entire control of the National Government. Because this demand was refused by the free laboring men of the North, the slave barons of the South organized this the most wicked of all rebellions, and for nearly four long years have waged this terrible war with the avowed purpose of destroying the best form of government ever vouchsafed to man, in order to establish in its stead a government whose corner-stone should be human slavery. This is the logic of the contest. It has at last so fully developed itself that all the world, INCLUDING ITS MOST STUPID EDITORS, now understand it. The government of our fathers must either be maintained, and slavery die, or slavery must live and the government be destroyed. The conflict is "irrepressible," and beyond compromise. The nation cannot longer endure half slave and half free.

Had statesmen administered this government for the past twenty years, instead of the trading politicians who have disgraced it, first by apologizing for, then justifying, and at last openly defending slavery as a right guaranteed by the national Constitution, we should have had no such desolating war as we have in this country to-day.

If the national Constitution had been rightfully interpreted, and the government organized under it properly administered, slavery could not have LEGALLY EXISTED IN THIS COUNTRY FOR A SINGLE HOUR, and practically but a few years after the adoption of the Constitution. Only because

the fundamental principles of the government have been persistently violated in its administration, and the Constitution grossly perverted by the courts, is it necessary to-day to pass the amendment now under consideration. I say this much in vindication of the memory of the great and good men who, when establishing this government, made a Constitution which, to-day, is the best known among men.

#### DENUNCIATION OF SLAVERY.

As for myself, I do not believe any constitution can legalize the enslavement of men. I DO NOT BELIEVE ANY GOVERNMENT, DEMOCRATIC OR DESPOTIC, CAN RIGHTFULLY MAKE A SINGLE SLAVE; and that which a government cannot rightfully do, it cannot rightfully or legally authorize or even permit, its subject to do. I do not believe that there can be, legally, such a thing as property in man. A majority in a republic cannot rightfully enslave the minority, nor can the accumulated decrees of courts or the musty precedents of governments make oppression just. I do not, however, wish to go into a discussion of the question of slavery as an abstract question. It is a system so at war with human nature, so revolting and brutal, and is, withal, so at variance with the precepts of Christianity and every idea of justice, so absolutely indefensible in itself, that I will not uncover its hideous blackness and thus harrow up my own and the feelings of others by a description of its disgusting horrors, or an attempted recital of its terrible barbarism and indescribable villainy.

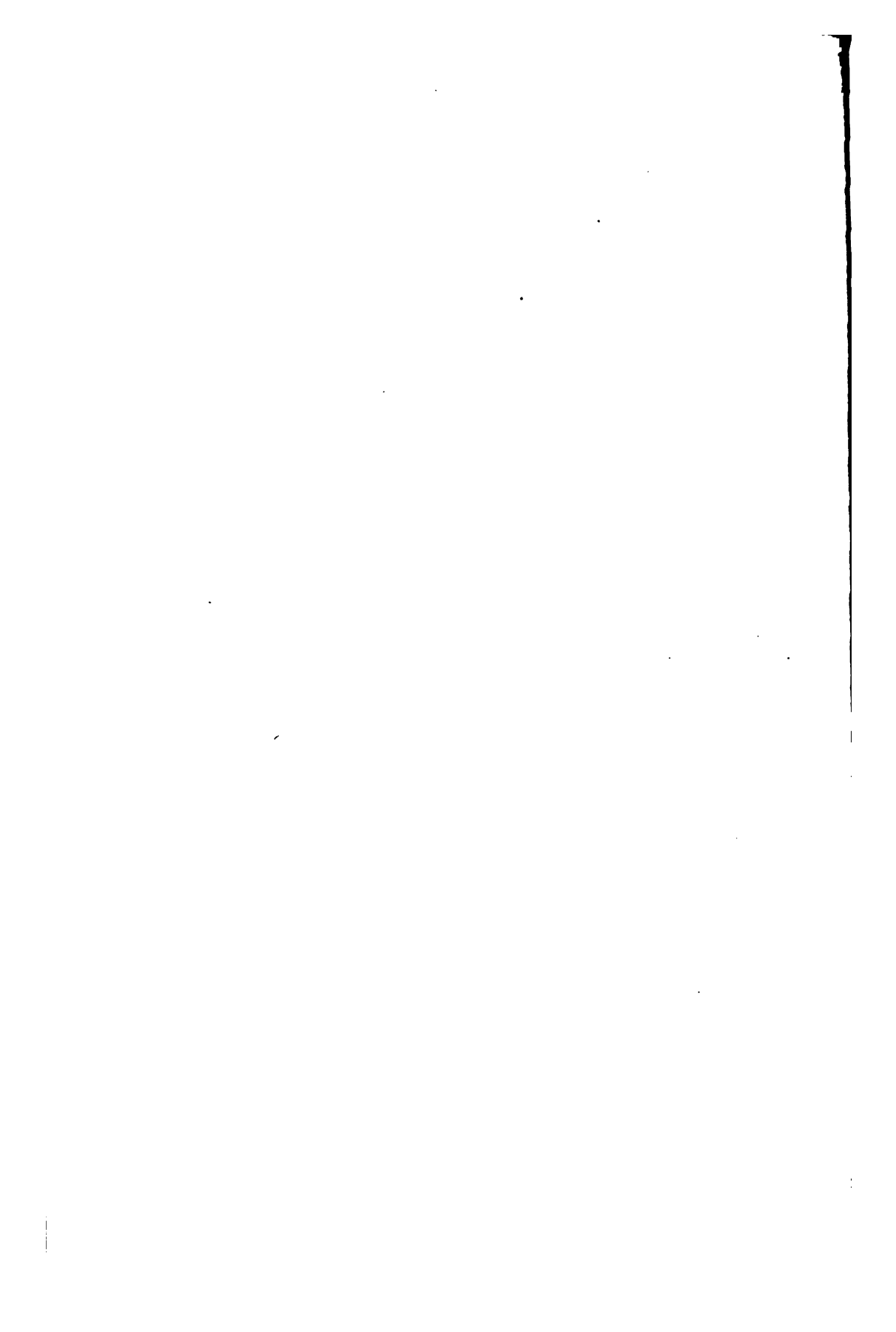
It is enough for me to know that slavery has forced this terrible civil war upon us—a war which we could not have avoided, if we would, without an unconditional surrender to its degrading demands. It has thus attempted to strike a death-blow at the national life. It has shrouded the land in mourning and filled it with widows and orphans. It has publicly proclaimed itself the enemy of the Union and our unity as a free people. Its barbarities have no parallel in the world's history. The enormities committed by it upon cur





*Hon. James M. Ashley,*

*As he Appeared when the Thirteenth Amendment was Passed.*



Union prisoners of war were never equaled in atrocity since the creation of man.

For more than thirty years past there is no crime known among men which it has not committed under the sanction of law. It has bound men and women in chains, even the children of the slave-masters, and sold them in the public shambles like beasts. Under the plea of Christianizing them, it has enslaved, beaten, maimed, and robbed millions of men for whose salvation the Man of Sorrows died. It so constituted its courts that the complaints and appeals of these people could not be heard, by reason of the decision "that black men had no rights which white men were bound to respect." It has for many years defied the government and trampled upon the national Constitution by kidnapping, imprisoning, mobbing and murdering white citizens of the United States guilty of no offense except protesting against its terrible crimes. It has silenced every free pulpit within its control, and debauched thousands which ought to have been independent. It has denied the masses of poor white children within its power the privilege of free schools, and made free speech and a free press impossible within its domain; while ignorance, poverty, and vice are almost universal wherever it dominates. Such is slavery, our mortal enemy, and these are but a tithe of its crimes. No nation could adopt a code of laws which would sanction such enormities, and live. No man deserves the name of statesman who would consent that such a monster should live in the republic for a single hour.

CAN SLAVERY BE ABOLISHED IN STATES BY CONSTITUTIONAL  
AMENDMENT?

Mr. Speaker, if slavery is wrong and criminal, as the great body of enlightened and Christian men admit, it is certainly our duty to abolish it, if we have the power. Have we the power? The fifth article of the Constitution of the United States reads as follows:

“The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by convention in three-fourths thereof, as one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year 1808 shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.”

The question which first presents itself in examining this provision of the Constitution is, what constitutes two-thirds of both Houses? or, what, in the eye of the Constitution, is two-thirds of the House of Representatives? Is it two-thirds of the entire number of members to which all the States, including the States in rebellion, would be entitled, if they were all now represented, or is it two-thirds of the members who have been elected and qualified?

This question would have entered largely into the discussion of the subject now under consideration, had not your predecessor, Mr. Speaker, decided, and this House sustained him in declaring, that a MAJORITY of the members ELECTED and RECOGNIZED by the House made a constitutional quorum.

It has, so far as the action of this body can dispose of the question, been authoritatively settled, and settled, as I think it should have been, by declaring that a majority of the members ELECTED and QUALIFIED constitutes a quorum, and that two-thirds of a quorum can constitutionally pass this amendment. The question having been thus disposed of, I do not care to make an argument in support of a proposition thus authoritatively settled.

My colleague from the First District (Mr. Pendleton), in a speech which he made at the last session against the passage of this amendment, raised the question as to the constitutional power of Congress to propose, and three-fourths of the legislatures of the States to adopt, an amendment of the character of the one now under consideration. He

claimed that, though Congress passed the proposed amendment by the requisite two-thirds, and three-fourths of the legislatures of the several States adopted it, or, indeed all the States save one, it would not legally become a part of the national Constitution. These are his words:

“But neither three-fourths of the States, nor all the States save one, can abolish slavery in that dissenting State, because it lies within the domain reserved entirely to each State for itself, and upon it the other States cannot enter.”

Is this position defensible? If I read the Constitution aright, and understand the force of language, the section which I have just quoted is to-day free from all limitations and conditions save two, one of which provides that the suffrage of the several States in the Senate shall be equal, and that no State shall lose this equality by any amendment of the Constitution without its consent; the other relates to taxation. These are the only conditions and limitations.

In my judgment, Congress may propose, and three-fourths of the States may adopt, any amendment republican in its character and consistent with the continued existence of the nation, save in the two particulars just named.

If they cannot, then is the clause of the Constitution just quoted a dead letter, the States sovereign, the government a confederation, and the United States not a nation.

#### THE STATE SOVEREIGNTY HERESY EXPOSED.

The extent to which this question of State rights and State sovereignty has aided this terrible rebellion, and manacled and weakened the arm of the National Government can hardly be estimated. Certainly, doctrines so at war with the fundamental principles of the Constitution could not be accepted and acted upon by any considerable number of our citizens without eventually culminating in rebellion and civil war.

This fatal heresy doubtless carried many men of character and culture into the rebellion who were sincerely attached to the Union. If we may credit the recently published pri-

vate letters of General Lee, written in the spring of 1861, to his sister and friends, and never intended for publication, he was induced to unite his fortunes with the insurgents by the so-called secession of Virginia, under the belief that his first and highest allegiance was due to his State. Sir, I know how hard it is for loyal men to credit this. To thinking men, nothing seems more absurd than the political heresy called States rights, in the sense which makes each State sovereign and the National Government the mere agent and creature of the States. Why, sir, the unity of the people of the United States antedates the Revolution. The original thirteen colonies were never in fact DISUNITED. The man who had the right of citizenship in Virginia had the same right in New York. As one people they declared their independence, and as one people, after a seven years' war, conquered it. But the unity and citizenship of the people existed before the Revolution, and before the national Constitution. In fact, this unity gave birth to the Constitution. Without this unity and pre-existing nationality—if I may so express myself—the Constitution would never have been formed. The men who carried us through the revolutionary struggle never intended, when establishing this government, to destroy that unity or lose their national citizenship. Least of all did they intend that we should become aliens to each other and citizens of petty, independent, sovereign States. In order to make fruitful the blessings which they had promised themselves from independence, and to secure the unity and national citizenship for which they periled life, fortune and honor, they made the national Constitution. They had tried a confederation. It did not secure them such a Union as they had fought for, and they determined to “form a more perfect Union.” For this purpose they met in national convention, and formed a national constitution. They then submitted it to the electors of the States for their adoption or rejection. They did not submit it to the States as States, nor to the governments of the several States, but to the citizens of the United States residing in all the States. This was the only way in which they could have submitted it and been consistent with the declaration made in the preamble, which says

“that we, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, do ordain and establish this Constitution,” etc. The whole people were represented in this convention. Through their representatives they pledged each other that whenever the people of ~~NINE~~ States shall ratify and approve the Constitution submitted to them, it should be the Constitution of the nation.

In the light of these facts, to claim that our government is a confederation and the States sovereign, is an absurdity too transparent for serious argument. Not only is the letter of the Constitution against such a doctrine, but history also. Since the adoption of the national Constitution ~~TWENTY-TWO~~ States have been admitted into the Union, and clothed with part of the national sovereignty. The territory out of which twenty-one of these States were formed was the common territory of the nation. It has been acquired by cession, conquest or purchase. The sovereignty of the National Government over it was undisputed. The people who settled upon it were citizens of the United States. These twenty-one States were organized by the concurrent action of the citizens of the United States and the National Government. Without the consent of Congress they would have remained Territories. What an absurdity to claim that the citizens of the New England States, or of all the States, or of any section of the Union, may settle upon the territory of the United States, form State governments, with barely inhabitants enough to secure one Representative in the House under the apportionment, secure admission as a State, and then assume to be a sovereign and master of the National Government, with power to secede and unite with another and hostile government at pleasure, and to treat all citizens of the United States as alien enemies who do not think it their duty to unite with them. This is the doctrine which deluded many men into this rebellion, and which seems to delude some men here with the idea that the national Constitution cannot be amended so as to abolish slavery, even if all the States in the Union demanded it save Delaware. Under this theory of State sovereignty, States like Florida and Arkansas, erected on the national domain, may, as soon as they

secure admission into the Union, secede and embezzle all the property of the nation, including the public lands, and forts, and arsenals, declare all citizens of the United States who do not unite with them alien enemies, confiscate their property, rob them of their liberty by impressing them into their army to fight against their own country and government, and if they refuse, punish them by imprisonment and death. After doing this, if the authority to commit such wholesale robbery, impressments and murders is denied them by the National Government, they set up the claim that they are sovereign and independent, and are only defending their homes, their firesides and household gods, and we have men all over the North who to-day defend this monstrous assumption.

Mr. Speaker, I presume no man, not even my colleague, will deny that when the thirteen colonies or States assembled by their representatives in convention to make the present national Constitution, they might have abolished slavery at once. Or, if the theory of the old parties is true, that a republican government may authorize or permit the enslavement of men, which I deny, they could have provided for the emancipation of all slaves in twenty or fifty years, if they had seen fit; and if the people of nine States had voted to ratify such a constitution, slavery could not, after the period named, have existed by State law and in defiance of the national Constitution, either in one of the old thirteen States ratifying it, or in any one of the States admitted into the Union after its adoption. If it was competent for the men who made the national Constitution to prohibit slavery at the time, or to provide for its future prohibition, why is it not just as competent for us now? The framers of the Constitution provided for its amendment in the section which I have already quoted. They provided that when an amendment was proposed and adopted in the manner and form prescribed, it should become a part of the national Constitution, and be as valid and binding as though originally a part of that instrument.

Had the framers of the Constitution desired the protection and continuance of slavery, they could easily have pro-



vided against an amendment of the character of the one now before us by guarding this interest as they did the right of the States to an equal representation in the Senate. They did not do it, because, as the history of the convention abundantly proves, the great majority of the framers of the Constitution desired the speedy abolition of slavery, and I contend that, so far from the Constitution prohibiting such an amendment, it has expressly provided for it.

Mr. Speaker, there is not a single section or clause in the national Constitution which clothes the political organizations which we call States with any of the attributes of a sovereign power, but, on the other hand, prohibits in positive and unmistakable language any State from doing any act which a sovereign might do, without the consent of Congress.

The supreme power of the National Government is rigorously maintained throughout the Constitution, and it is most emphatically ordained in article six, clause two, of the Constitution, as follows:

“This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.”

Section eight, article one, enumerates SEVENTEEN distinct sovereign powers of a national character conferred on Congress by the Constitution, and, as if to leave no doubt on the minds of any, this extraordinary enumeration of powers is followed by this sweeping and significant provision:

“To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.”

If I understand this provision correctly, it means that the framers of the Constitution intended that the National Government should be intrusted with the interpretation of the Constitution, not only as to the construction of the powers delegated by it to Congress, but to all departments of the National Government. They never intended that any State,

or any number of States, nor the officials of State governments, should be competent in any capacity to judge of the infractions of the national Constitution by any department of the National Government, nor of the propriety of any law passed by Congress. Any citizen has the undoubted right to express his opinions, and criticise the action of the General Government or of any department thereof; but neither is a State, nor are the officials of a State, clothed with any authority to decide as to the constitutionality of any law passed by Congress, nor as to the propriety of any act done by any department of the National Government.

It is past comprehension how any man with the Constitution before him, and the history of the convention which formed the Constitution within his reach, together with the repeated decisions of the Supreme Court against the assumption of the States rights pretensions, can be found at this late day defending the State sovereignty dogmas, and claiming that the national Constitution cannot be so amended as to prohibit slavery, even though all the States in the Union save one give it their approval.

That provision of the national Constitution which imposes upon Congress the duty of guaranteeing to the several States of the Union a republican form of government, is one which impresses me as forcibly as any other with the idea of the utter indefensibility of the State sovereignty dogmas, and of the supreme power intended by the framers of the Constitution to be lodged in the National Government.

In this connection we ought not to overlook that provision of the Constitution which secures nationality of citizenship. The Constitution guarantees that the citizens of each State shall enjoy all the rights and privileges of citizens of the several States. It is a universal franchise which cannot be confined to States, but belongs to the citizens of the republic. We are fighting to maintain this national franchise, and prevent its passing under the control of a foreign power, where this great privilege would be denied us, or so changed as to destroy its value. The nationality of our citizenship makes our army a unit, although from distant States and makes them also invincible.

THREE-FOURTHS OF THE STATES NOW REPRESENTED MAY  
AMEND THE CONSTITUTION.

It is objected that if we pass this proposition the requisite number of States cannot now be secured for its adoption. In answer to this objection, I have to say that Congress has not, in submitting the proposed amendment, limited the time in which the States shall adopt it; nor has Congress attempted authoritatively to declare that it will require the ratification of twenty-seven States to adopt this amendment.

I hold that whenever three-fourths of the States now represented in Congress give their consent to this proposition it will legally become a part of the national Constitution, unless other States, now without civil governments known to the Constitution, establish governments such as Congress shall recognize, and such States, together with the new States, which may be admitted, shall be represented in Congress BEFORE three-fourths of the States now represented adopt the proposed amendment; in which event the States thus recognized or admitted must be added to the number of States now represented in Congress, and the ratification of three-fourths of the States thus recognized, and none others, is all that will be required to adopt this amendment.

I lay it down as a proposition which I do not believe can be successfully controverted, that neither the Constitution of the United States nor the constituted authorities under it can know of the existence of a State in this Union, unless it has a civil government organized in subordination to and working in harmony with the national Constitution. This principle has been fully recognized by all the co-ordinate branches of the government since the outbreak of the rebellion. In this house we have authoritatively declared that a majority of the members elected and qualified are a quorum competent to transact business. The Senate, at this session, have adopted this rule also. Two-thirds of this quorum, then, if this decision be correct, as I believe it is, may constitutionally pass the proposition before us. If we may constitutionally pass this amendment by a vote of two-thirds of a quorum of

this House and Senate as now constituted, three-fourths of the States now represented in Congress may constitutionally adopt it, PROVIDED they do so before any new States are admitted, or before a rebel State government is organized and recognized by the joint action of Congress and the Executive. I believe this is the true theory of the Constitution. Certainly it is the only theory consistent with the national existence. If we adopt the theory that a State once a State is always a State, we have no safety from factions and revolutions. Suppose that within the territorial jurisdiction known on the map of the United States as South Carolina, there should be no civil government organized in the next fifty years such as Congress will recognize, do gentlemen claim that at the expiration of that time the old State organization would be still in existence, and that in order to secure the adoption of a constitutional amendment, such a State ought to be included in the number from which the constitutional three-fourths of the States must be secured for the ratification of an amendment? If not, then, with what propriety can it be claimed as necessary to-day? The constitutional State government of South Carolina is as completely destroyed at this moment as though their Representatives had not been in these halls, or their local government recognized by Congress for the past fifty years. Certainly no thoughtful man who has carefully examined this subject will defend the absurdity of the constitutional existence of political communities, which we call States, after their constitutional State governments have been destroyed by the action of their own citizens.

Speeches were made at the last session, and indeed at every session of Congress since the rebellion, to prove that the several acts of secession of the rebel States, being illegal, were therefore void, and that the State constitution in those States not only remained, but that the government of such States could at any time be put in motion without the consent of Congress, whenever ten or more loyal men could be found to assume the governorship and a few of the subordinate offices therein. Loyal citizens of the rebel States are fast being cured of this fallacy. They have learned by expe-

rience that the government of the United States is supreme, and the local governments in rebel States cannot be put in motion without the consent of Congress. The mass of men did not at first seem to recognize the fact that while acts of secession were illegal and void as affecting the rights of the National Government, its jurisdiction and sovereignty, nevertheless it was such a crime that those committing it forfeited all rights guaranteed them by the national Constitution under their State organization.

Mr. Speaker, can there be such a thing known to our national Constitution as a State without a constitutional government? In my opinion, sir, a State government, to be constitutional, must be organized, and act in subordination to the national Constitution, and in obedience to the laws of Congress. The national Constitution requires the officers in each State to swear to support it while discharging the duties of any State office to which they may have been elected or appointed. If a State does not act in subordination to the national Constitution, and its officers do not take an oath to support it, and they send no Senators or Representatives to Congress, there can be no constitutional State government in such State. Add to this the crime of secession, rebellion, and levying war, and the taking of an oath by the officers of such State to support another, a hostile government, and I claim it terminates of necessity, and of right ought to terminate the existence of a constitutional government in every such State. In a constitutional point of view, if there is no loyal State government such as I have described, but in its stead a government unknown to the Constitution, established by the action of its citizens, then, in fact, there is no constitutional State government, and, of course, no State known to the Constitution. The States then in rebellion have no constitutional governments. They have civil organizations, however, hostile to the United States; organizations which are recognized as *DE FACTO* rebel governments. When the rebellion is suppressed there will be no constitutional State governments, *IN FACT*, in one of the rebel States, and certainly the rebel *DE FACTO* governments cannot remain or be recognized by us after the rebellion is put down. The peo-

ple residing within the limits of these so-called States will be under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress, because, in point of fact, they cannot be subject to the laws of a State which has no State government known to the national Constitution.

I may be answered that it is the duty of Congress to guarantee to each State a republican form of government, and that this provision of the Constitution implies the continued existence of the State, although its government may have been overthrown by violence or by the deliberate acts of a majority of its citizens. Grant it, for the sake of the argument; but what will be the legal condition of such State if the minority do not call upon Congress to secure them a republican government? What will be its condition if Congress, in the exercise of its constitutional power, attempts to secure such State a republican government, and loyal citizens cannot be found in sufficient numbers to maintain a State government? Is not the condition of such State for the time being that of a QUASI Territory? Certainly, during the time it remains in rebellion, and is unable to maintain a State government, it is not a State. If so, then, for PRACTICAL purposes, whether of national administration or for the adoption of this amendment, States in rebellion, and without civil governments which Congress can recognize, are not States within the meaning of the Constitution, and cannot act upon this amendment to the Constitution, or do any other act which a loyal State of the Union may lawfully do.

In pursuing this argument, we must keep steadily in view the fact that the United States are not a confederation, but a nation; that the national Constitution is the supreme law of the land; and that the government organized under it is clothed with the sovereignty of the whole people. The first and highest allegiance is due from the citizen to the National Government; he is also subject to the laws CONSTITUTIONALLY enacted by his own local State government. If there be no local State government in existence, the citizen is legally subject only to the laws of Congress. In the absence of a constitutional State government in any portion of the territory of the United States, where a State govern-

ment formerly existed, Congress has all the authority of a State government within such territory. If, then, in the rebellious States there are no constitutional civil governments, are they States within the contemplation of the Constitution? I again ask the question, can there be such a thing known to our national Constitution as a State without a constitutional government? If not, then the rebel States having no constitutionally organized civil governments, are not States within the meaning of the Constitution, and the territory and the citizens residing therein are subject to the jurisdiction of Congress, the same as citizens in any territory of the United States.

AN UNANSWERABLE PROPOSITION.

If the contrary theory is true, and a State once a State is always a State, nothing can be clearer to my mind than that the Constitution ought to be so amended at once as to make it impossible for a MINORITY of the States to destroy the government, as they might do every four years, if the Electoral College failed to elect a President and Vice-President of the United States.

In the event of the Electoral College failing to elect, the duty devolves on the House of Representatives, each State having one vote. Two-thirds of all the States must be present, and a majority of all the States is required to elect a President. The same rule applies when a Vice-President is to be elected by the Senate. These are the words of the Constitution:

“But, in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States.”

Now, suppose that from any cause two of the States represented here were not represented, and there were but TWENTY-THREE States represented in this House, and there had been no election in 1864 of a President by the Electoral College. The election for President in that event would have devolved on this House.

Would you, Mr. Speaker, have decided, when the question was raised, as it would have been, "Is there a constitutional quorum present?" that it required the presence of members in the House from two-thirds of the States, including the eleven rebel States; or, in other words, that twenty-four States must be represented here, and that it would require a majority of thirty-six States, or nineteen votes, to elect the President? If you would have so decided, and the House should have sustained that decision, and if but twenty-three States were present, there would have been an end of the government. If we could not proceed to elect a President with the Representatives of twenty-three out of the twenty-five loyal States, the government would have fallen to pieces for want of an Executive. If the duty of electing a President had devolved on this House at this session, and but twenty-three States were present, the question would not only have been raised as to what constituted a quorum, but the question also as to whether we should receive and count the electoral votes which, in the event of no election of President by the Electoral College, would probably have been sent here from several of the rebel States to embarrass, distract and divide us. Sir, no loyal man can contemplate a contingency such as I have suggested without a shudder. If the theory that a State once a State is always a State, is to obtain in the national administration, there is no safety or security for the government. I do not know, sir, how you would have decided such a question if it had been raised under circumstances such as I have suggested; but I have faith to believe that you would have decided as I would have decided, **THAT THIS HOUSE CANNOT KNOW OF THE EXISTENCE OF A STATE IN THIS UNION WHICH HAS NOT A CIVIL GOVERNMENT ORGANIZED IN SUBORDINATION TO, AND WORKING IN HARMONY WITH THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION.** Any other decision would have been fatal to our national existence. Let us not set a bad precedent now by declaring that it will require the ratification of **TWENTY-SEVEN STATES** to secure the adoption of this constitutional amendment.

Mr. Speaker, I find ample authority in the Constitution for the National Government to protect itself against any



action which a minority of the States might attempt by confederating against it. The Constitution clothes Congress with the power "to declare the punishment of treason." It clothes Congress with all power necessary to defend and preserve the government which it created. "Levying war against the United States" is declared by the Constitution to be treason. A State which, by its constituted authorities, supported by a majority of its citizens, enters into any "treaty, alliance or confederation," and makes war upon the National Government, commits the crime of treason, and it is competent for Congress to inflict any penalty it may deem expedient. I want the National Government to inflict punishment so terrible upon the authors of this rebellion that in all coming time there shall be no such rebellion again. I want no precedent established which shall pave the way for a minority of the States and a minority of the people to destroy this government. I want the precedent established that the States and people remaining loyal to the government, as distinguished from those who rebel against it, shall be clothed with the sovereignty of the Nation. In this way only can we come out of this contest safely, and "obtain indemnity for the past and security for the future."

But I have already detained the House much longer and said more on this point than I intended. I discussed this question at greater length at the last session, and experience has only confirmed me in the views then expressed. Gentlemen who have made speeches in this House, and editors who have charged me and those agreeing with me on this question, with being practical disunionists, and with recognizing the doctrines of secession, because holding that the lawful governments in the rebel States were destroyed by their acts of treason and rebellion, will not care, probably, after our experience, to repeat such speeches and opinions, nor to have them republished to enlighten their readers or their constituents.

#### THE FINANCIAL ASPECT OF THIS QUESTION.

There is another consideration which ought not to be overlooked when weighing the practicability and expediency

of this measure, and that is its financial aspect. Doubtless many gentlemen think this question has less connection with our finances and the credit of the country than any other before us. Not so. In my opinion, and I know I but utter the opinions of many practical business men, the passage of this amendment will give the government a credit, both at home and abroad, which no victory of our arms, important and invaluable as many of them have been, has yet given us. Its passage will give a guarantee for peace, unity, stability, prosperity, power. It will be a pledge that the labor of the country shall hereafter be unfettered and free, and I need not say that under the inspiration of free labor the productions of the country will be tripled and quadrupled. It will be a pledge to the industrious German, and to all the free laboring men of Europe who are seeking homes among us, that they shall no longer be excluded, as they have been practically, from a country whose climate is softer and fertility greater than any on the continent.

I need not detain the House with an array of facts and figures to demonstrate the great advantage of free over slave labor. All thinking men have examined and comprehend the priceless value of free labor. Pass this amendment, and the free laboring men of the North and of Europe will flock to the South, so that, in twenty-five years or less, there will be four or five PRODUCING men in the rebel States where there was one before the rebellion; add to this vast number the four million emancipated slaves, and you have a free labor force which, under the security thus given to capital, and the inspiration thus given to labor, will make the land to blossom like the rose, and by their energy, enterprise, and power, the free laboring men of the South will obliterate, in a few years, all trace of this terrible and desolating war, and make it a country which for prosperity and wealth shall acknowledge no superior, and a government which for stability shall have no equal.

Suppose your Secretary of the Treasury goes into the market to-morrow to borrow \$500,000,000, payable in thirty or forty years, what will be the first question asked by the capitalist? Will it be as to the rate of interest you are will-

ing to give, or will it be rather as to your ability to pay the principal? I take it that that would be the first inquiry. He would ask you, "What will be the condition of your country and government thirty or forty years hence?" If you could answer him, as you might truthfully answer him were this amendment adopted, "Sir, in thirty or forty years we shall not be indebted, at home or abroad, a single dollar, and then will we be the most powerful and populous, the most enterprising and wealthy nation in the world." If you could tell him this, and add, as you may, that in thirty or forty years we will show the world a government whose sovereignty on the North American continent will not be questioned from ocean to ocean, and from the Isthmus of Panama to the ice-bound regions of the North; and tell him, also, that our system of free labor, guaranteed by the national Constitution to all generations of men, with free schools and colleges, and a free press, with churches no longer fettered with the manacles of the slave-master, with manufactures and commerce exceeding in vastness anything which had ever been known, and a nation of men unrivaled in culture, enterprise and wealth, and more devotedly attached to their country than the people of any other nation, because of the constitutional guarantee of the government to protect the rights of all and secure the liberty and equality of its people; if you could tell him this, and that such a race of free men would make the South and the entire nation what New England is to-day, your Secretary could have all the money he wanted, and on his own terms.

WHAT SAY THE UNION SOLDIERS ?

Mr. Speaker, what say the soldiers of the Union army to the proposition before us? Shall not their voices be heard and their wishes be respected by their representatives in the American Congress? Sir, there are no men in the republic to whose wishes and judgment I would more willingly defer on this question than to the brave men who are periling life and all for country; to the men who have vanquished the enemy wher-

ever they have met them, saved the nation, and by their heroism on the battlefield, and their fidelity to principle at the ballot-box, made the passage of this amendment possible. Almost every letter I receive from the brave men who are in the army from my District contains the anxious inquiry, "what of the constitutional amendment; will it pass?" And I doubt not that the same question has been asked by the constituents at home and soldiers in the field of four-fifths of the Representatives upon this floor. What shall be our official answer? Shall the glad news go forth to cheer alike the soldier and the citizen and the friends of the government everywhere, that the deliberately expressed will of the people is to be respected and enacted into law; that on this great question there are no longer party divisions, but that practically the representatives are as united as the people, in demanding the passage of this constitutional amendment? If this shall be our answer, a shout will go up from our brave men in front of Richmond, at Savannah, and all along the Union lines, and throughout the entire country, such as never before arose from the hearts and lips of men on the passage of any act by the American Congress.

#### A MEMORABLE YEAR.

Mr. Speaker, the year which has just closed has been a year of anxiety and also a year of joy. The ordeal through which as a nation we have passed, has been a terrible one. I speak of the ordeal on the battlefield and at the ballot-box. We have presented to the world a sublime spectacle. We have tested our strength, and know the constancy and courage of our men. Such disinterestedness, such heroism and devotion to country, the world has never witnessed. Consecrated by a dispensation of fire and blood, the children of the republic have grown to the full stature of manhood. Standing here, in the nation's council halls, in the beginning of a new year, on the threshold of a new era, and in the presence of such events, let us comprehend the duty of true statesmen, and while legislating for the present, legislate also for the generations of men which are to succeed us. The eyes of the

wise and good in all civilized nations are upon us. The men who embrace and defend the democratic idea in Europe are patiently and anxiously waiting to have us authoritatively proclaim to the world that liberty is the sign in which we conquer; that henceforth freedom is to be the animating principle of our government and the life of our Constitution.

DUTY OF THE STATESMAN.

Mr. Speaker, while the Union soldier fights to vanquish the enemies of the government, the duty of the true statesman is to provide that the enemy, once vanquished, shall never again be permitted for the same cause to reorganize and make war upon the nation. Pass this joint resolution, submitting to the people for their ratification or rejection this proposed amendment to the national Constitution, and I am sure the nation will adopt it with shouts of acclamation, and when once adopted, you know, sir, and I know, and the enemies of this government know, that we shall have peace, and that no such rebellion will ever be possible again. Pass this amendment, and the gloomy shadow of slavery will never again darken the fair fame of our country or tarnish the glory of democratic institutions in the land of Washington. Pass this amendment, and the brightest page in the history of the Thirty-eighth Congress, now so near its close, will be the one on which is recorded the names of the requisite number of members voting in its favor. Refuse to pass it, and the saddest page in the history of the Thirty-eighth Congress will be the one on which is recorded its defeat. Sir, I feel as if no member of this House will ever live to witness an hour more memorable in our history than the one in which each for himself shall make a record on the question now before us. I implore gentlemen to forget party, and remember that we are making a record, not only for ourselves individually, but for the nation and the cause of free government throughout the world. While members of the Thirty-eighth Congress we cannot change the record which each must now make, and those who do not return to the next Congress can never reverse their votes of to-day, but

must forever stand recorded, if voting against the amendment, among those voting to justify the rebellion and perpetuate its cause.

The genius of history, with iron pen, is waiting to record our verdict where it will remain forever for all the coming generations of men to approve or condemn. God grant that the verdict may be one over which the friends of liberty, impartial and universal, in this country and Europe, and in every land beneath the sun, may rejoice; a verdict which shall declare that America is free; a verdict which shall add another day of jubilee, and the brightest of all to our national calendar. If this verdict is not given by the present Congress, I know, and you all know, it will be given by the next Congress, and that, too, with alacrity. The decree has gone forth; the people have pronounced it; and now is the golden hour in which we may all unite, if we will, and inaugurate a new era in our history. Let no man put forth his puny hand to stay the certain approach of the hour in which this act shall pass, or of the grand jubilee which shall follow its enactment into law. Let no member of this House attempt to postpone this great measure, with the hope of being able to circumvent, by some petty scheme of compromise, the plainly written decree of Omnipotence. Let no loyal man, in such an hour as this, record his vote against this just proposition, and thus vote to prolong the rebellion and perpetuate the despotism of American slavery in this Republic.

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The following resolutions explain themselves. They show how thoroughly Mr. Sumner and Mr. Ashley were in accord on the great questions of that day.

UNITED STATES SENATE. }  
Saturday, February 4, 1865. }

Mr. Sumner introduced the following resolutions:

THE THREE FOURTHS' VOTE OF RATIFICATION.

MR. SUMNER: I send to the Chair resolutions which I ask to have read and printed. I shall call them up at a future day.

The resolutions were read, as follows.

Concurrent resolutions declaring the rule in ascertaining the three-fourths of the several States required in the ratification of a constitutional amendment:

Whereas Congress, by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses, has proposed an amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting slavery throughout the United States, which, according to the existing requirement of the Constitution, will be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of the Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States; and whereas, in the present condition of the country, with certain States in arms against the National Government, it becomes necessary to determine what number of States constitutes the three-fourths required by the Constitution: Therefore,

RESOLVED BY THE SENATE (the House of Representatives concurring), That the rule followed in ascertaining the two-thirds of both Houses proposing the amendment to the Constitution should be followed in ascertaining the three-fourths of the several States ratifying the amendment; that, as in the first case, the two-thirds are founded on the simple fact of representation in the two Houses, so in the second case, the three-fourths must be founded on the simple fact of representation in the government of the country and the support thereof; and that any other rule establishes one basis for the proposition of the amendment, and another for its ratification, placing one on a simple fact, and the other on a claim of right, while it also recognizes the power of rebels in arms to interpose a veto upon the National Government in one of its highest functions.

RESOLVED, That all acts, executive and legislative, in pursuance of the Constitution, and all treaties made under the authority of the United States, are valid, to all intents and purposes throughout the United States, although certain States in rebellion fail to participate therein, and that the same rule is equally applicable to an amendment of the Constitution.

RESOLVED, That the amendment of the Constitution, prohibiting slavery throughout the United States, will be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of the Constitution, whenever ratified by three-fourths of the States, DE FACTO, exercising the powers and prerogatives of the United States under the Constitution thereof.

RESOLVED, That any other rule requiring the participation of the rebel States, while illogical and unreasonable, is dangerous in its consequences, inasmuch as all recent presi-

dential proclamations, including that of emancipation, also all the recent acts of Congress, including those creating the national debt and establishing a national currency, and also all recent treaties, including the treaty with Great Britain for the extinction of the slave trade, have been made, enacted, or ratified, respectively, without any participation of the rebel States.

**RESOLVED**, That any other rule must tend to postpone the great day when the prohibition of slavery will be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of the Constitution of the United States; but the rule herewith declared will assure the immediate ratification of the prohibition, and the consummation of the national desires.

The resolutions were ordered to be printed.



Letter from W. S. Scarborough, A. M., LL. D., Ph. D.,  
Wilberforce, O.

In an interview which we find reported in the **TOLEDO BLADE**, Mr. Ashley says "that from my first meeting with Whittier in 1850, no one of all the great anti-slavery leaders exercised a stronger or healthier influence on my life." Every reader of this volume will recognize how thoroughly Whittier's philosophy and gentleness took firm hold of Mr. Ashley's head and heart. Of all his early anti-slavery speeches before us, running

back to 1854, a majority are strengthened and embellished by striking quotations from Whittier. During the darkest hours of our country's history, when many faltered and deserted our standard, Mr. Ashley stood erect and firm, never failing, never faltering, and "like a prophet sent to free this world from every bond and stain," he unfurled the true republican banner on which was writ: "**FREEDOM, THE BIRTHRIGHT OF THE HUMAN RACE.**" "**THE NATION OF PEOPLE WHO DO NOT RULE IN RIGHTEOUSNESS SHALL PERISH FROM THE EARTH.**" Were there no other reason for stamping the speeches in this book with moral power and intellectual force, the quotations made from Whittier, and the proclaiming of those maxims of freedom, would be enough.

W. S. SCARBOROUGH.



COPY OF THE FIRST RECONSTRUCTION BILL,

INTRODUCED IN CONGRESS BY MR. ASHLEY.

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A LETTER OF HISTORIC VALUE.

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The Publication Committee obtained from Mr. Ashley a copy of his first reconstruction bill, and by special request, the following brief statement of the inside history of its preparation.

The subjoined correspondence, with copy of the original reconstruction bill, together with the recorded ye and nay vote by which his first reconstruction bill was laid on the table, will be of historic interest to the reader.

NOVEMBER 22, 1892.

HON. J. M. ASHLEY, Toledo, Ohio.

DEAR SIR: It appears to us, that your speeches in Congress and in California, on the subject of reconstruction, ought to be accompanied with a copy of at least one of the bills introduced by you, for the reorganization of the Southern States. If you can furnish us with a copy of one of the reconstruction bills prepared by you, with the history of such bill, so as to make the record more complete than we now have it, we will be under renewed obligations.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully yours, for God and the race,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Benjamin Arnett". The signature is written in dark ink and is underlined with a horizontal line. There are small marks resembling "H" or "11" on either side of the underline.

Chairman.

DEAR SIR: My first bill for the government of the States and districts in rebellion, was prepared in June, 1861, before leaving home, to attend the extra session of Congress, convened by President Lincoln, July 4th of that year. This fact tells its own story. It will tell you, that I then had no doubt of our ability to crush the rebellion at an early day. I need not add, that it took us longer than I, at that time, supposed.

In one of my reconstruction speeches in Congress which I sent you, I give in brief the history of the first reconstruction bill and its fate.

Immediately after the House was organized, in July, 1861, I invited the Republican members of the Committee on Territories to meet me at my rooms in Washington, for consultation.

At that meeting I laid before them my bill for the re-organization and government of the rebel States.

I soon learned that not one of my Republican colleagues on the committee were then prepared to say that they would vote for my bill. Thereupon, I resolved to submit my proposed bill to Governor Chase (Secretary of the Treasury), and to Senator Sumner, Henry Winter Davis, and other personal friends, for their opinions. After securing their general approval to the central proposition embodied in the bill, viz.: "That Congress had power under the Constitution, to legislate for the government of States and districts in rebellion," I went to work to convert one by one, the Republican members of my committee.

On the 23d of December, 1861, at the regular session, I caused a resolution to be introduced in the House, which passed, "instructing the Committee on Territories [of which I was chairman] to inquire into the legality and expediency of establishing territorial governments within the limits of disloyal States or districts in rebellion, and to report by bill or otherwise."

Not long after this, all the Republican members of my committee save one (Mr. Wheeler of New York, Vice-President under Hayes), came to my support, and united with me in reporting the bill, as it appears in the printed copy enclosed.

No such bill had ever before been presented to the Congress of the United States. No occasion had ever before arisen for such a bill. In undertaking to legislate for new and unknown conditions, we had to blaze our way through a wilderness of legal and political complications. Timid men hesitated, and men who never move, or who when they do move, walk only in beaten paths, were frightened. So when by direction of a majority of the Committee on Territories, my bill was reported to the House, on the twelfth of March, 1862, it was on motion of Mr. Pendleton, of Ohio, laid on the table, some twenty Republicans voting against me, and with the Democrats, to table it.

The MINORITY of the Territorial Committee denounced this bill in terms that, in the light of history, seem weak and superficial.

The only statement made by them in their minority reports, which contained the shadow of what proved to be the truth, was the declaration, "that the bill was intended to emancipate at once, and forever, all slaves, and to seize all public lands belonging to the rebel States, and lease or give such lands, and forfeited or confiscated estates, to slaves so emancipated." That was undoubtedly my purpose, and there are to-day, thousands of thinking men, who now believe that Congress was criminally guilty, because it failed to do this act of prudence and justice.

Even here at home, I was charged by men who called themselves Republicans, with recognizing and confirming by my reconstruction bill, the secession of all the rebel States, and much more of the same sort of shallow sophistry and amazing logic.

In a day or two after my bill had been laid on the table, Senator Colomore, of Vermont (who was opposed to my plan of reconstruction), came to my seat in the House, and said, "Ashley, where do you find a precedent for your bill, to establish such governments as you propose, for the States in rebellion?" I answered him sharply and with some feeling, by saying: "Sir, we make precedents here," and added, "before we get through with this rebellion, we will compel all loyal men in Congress to vote for measures far more radical than my bill;" and so we did.

But experience has taught us, that the reconstruction measures finally enacted by Congress, were not as safe, nor as desirable, as my original bill, which provided for putting the rebel States in territorial condition, until Congress should provide by law for their reorganization, a copy of which I now send you, so that you may publish it if you like.

I was a member of the select Committee on "Reconstruction," of which Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland, was chairman, and voted in that committee and in the House, for the reconstruction bill as it finally passed. It was the best, and in fact all the bill we could get that Committee to report. But I thought then, and think now, that we fell short of our duty to the black man.

Yours truly,

J. M. ASHLEY.

REV. BENJAMIN W. ARNETT, D. D.,  
Chairman Publication Committee.

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UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
WASHINGTON, D. C. }  
COMMITTEE ROOM ON TERRITORIES, March 8, 1862. }

The Committee on Territories, to whom was referred a resolution passed by the House on the 23d of December, 1861, instructing them "to inquire into the legality and expediency of establishing territorial governments within the limits of disloyal States or districts in rebellion, and report by bill or otherwise," have had the same under careful consideration, and submit the following bill providing for temporary civil governments over the districts of country now in rebellion against the United States, with the recommendation that it do pass.

J. M. ASHLEY.  
F. C. BEAMAN.  
A. SCOTT SLOAN.  
OWEN LOVEJOY.  
G. F. BAILEY.

**A BILL TO ESTABLISH TEMPORARY PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENTS  
OVER THE DISTRICTS OF COUNTRY IN REBELLION AGAINST  
THE UNITED STATES.**

**MARCH 12, 1862.—Read twice and laid on the table.**

Whereas a conspiracy has been for many years in progress and has resulted in insurrection and rebellion in that part of the United States heretofore known and designated as the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Eastern Virginia; and whereas, by the act of rebellion against the United States, as well as by an attempted alliance with foreign powers to wage war against said government, and granting letters of marque and reprisal, the said States violated the national Constitution, which is the supreme law of the land, and which declares that no State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and shall not without the consent of Congress lay any duty on tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State or with a foreign power; and whereas said acts of nullification, rebellion, and levying war against the United States, and their alliance under a confederated government have terminated, and of right ought to terminate, the legal existence of said State governments; and whereas the loyal citizens residing in the aforesaid rebellious districts, on account of the overthrow of the State governments and the tribunals of justice, both State and Federal, therein, as well as the loyal citizens of other parts of the United States, are deprived of all adequate redress for injuries to their persons and property, and of all civil remedies for the redress of grievances; and whereas the sovereignty of the United States over the district of country now in rebellion is supreme by the express terms of the Constitution; and whereas the establishment of a hostile despotic government within any part of the territory of the United States is incompatible with the stability, safety, and dignity of the Government of the United States and also with the principles of constitutional liberty: Therefore,

BE IT ENACTED BY THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED, That the President be, and he is hereby authorized and required to take possession of and to occupy the insurrectionary States named, and to institute, establish, and protect with the military and naval forces of the United States, a temporary civil government, with such names, and within such geographical boundaries as he may by proclamation designate; that said civil government shall be maintained and continued in each of the districts thus named and designated until such time as the loyal people residing therein shall form new State governments, republican in form, as prescribed by the Constitution of the United States, and apply for and obtain admission into the Union as States.

SEC. 2. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, That the temporary governments hereby authorized for each of said districts shall consist of an executive, a legislative, and judicial department. The executive power shall be vested in a governor, whose powers and duties shall be the same as those conferred by act of Congress upon the governor of the Territory of Washington; and in addition he shall, during the continuance of the rebellion, have power to do such acts as may be necessary to secure the due enforcement of the laws and decrees of the United States or of the provisional government. The legislative power shall be vested in a council of not less than seven, nor more than thirteen, as the President may determine. The judicial power shall be vested in a superior court, and such inferior courts as the council may establish. The superior court shall consist of three judges, a majority of whom shall constitute the provisional court of each district; and Congress shall have power at any time to remove any one or all officers created by this act; and the term of office of the governor and all other officers whose creation and appointment are hereby authorized, shall continue until otherwise directed by Congress; and each of the officers designated by this act shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

SEC. 3. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, That the legislative authority of said districts shall be vested in the governor

and legislative council, whose powers and duties shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislation, not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of the United States and the provisions of this act; but no act shall be passed by said council establishing, protecting, or recognizing the existence of slavery, nor shall said temporary government, or any department thereof, give, sanction, or declare the right of one man to property in another in either of said districts; and no law or act of said governor or legislative council shall be valid which is disapproved by Congress. The legislative council shall assemble, after their first appointment, at such time and place as the President may designate, and afterwards at such time and place as the governor and legislative council may fix by law; they shall select from one of their own number a speaker, who shall be their presiding officer, and they may elect a clerk and sergeant-at-arms, who shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the council, and the clerk and sergeant-at-arms so appointed may be allowed such assistants as in the opinion of the legislative council may be necessary, and the compensation of said clerk and sergeant-at-arms and their assistants, shall be such as the legislative council may by law prescribe, not to exceed four dollars per day. If, from any cause, a vacancy occurs in any of the offices hereby authorized to be appointed by the President, the governor or acting governor of the district shall forthwith notify the President, and an appointment shall be made by him to fill such vacancy immediately.

SEC. 4. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, that the governor and legislative council are hereby authorized to take possession, of all abandoned, forfeited, or confiscated estates within the limits of said districts, in the name and on behalf of the President and the Congress of the United States, and to lease the realty thereof, on such terms and for such time, not to exceed five years, as the governor and legislative council may by law prescribe: PROVIDED, that all leases shall be to actual occupants, who are loyal, and have not been in rebellion against the government of the United States: AND PROVIDED FURTHER, that all leases shall be for limited quantities, not to exceed one hundred and sixty acres to any

person, it being the intent and purpose of this act to establish justice and promote the peace, safety and welfare of the inhabitants by securing all in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the fruits of their own labor.

SEC. 5. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, that it shall be the duty of the governor and legislative council of each district to establish schools for the moral and intellectual culture of all the inhabitants, to provide by law for the attendance of all children over seven and under fourteen years of age, not less than three months in each year; and to prescribe and fix the number of hours, not to exceed twelve, which shall constitute a day's work for field hands and laborers.

SEC. 6. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, that all public lands in each of said districts, held by said recent States at the time of their act of secession, shall be seized, occupied, and held by the governor of the districts in which they may be located, in the name of the President of the United States, until otherwise disposed of by Congress. That all public lands thus acquired and which may become vested in the United States by confiscation or forfeiture by the provisions of any law now in force, or which may hereafter be passed, shall be held for the use of the soldiers, sailors, and marines, regular and volunteer, who have been or may be called into the service of the United States to crush the existing rebellion, and who shall be honorably discharged at the close of the war, and the widows and minor children of such as may be killed in battle or die in the service, or die of wounds received, or by diseases contracted in the service, and for the purpose of compensating such loyal citizens of said recent States as may sustain damages or losses by reason of the said revolt, or by the provisions of this act, to be distributed and apportioned as Congress may hereafter provide.

SEC. 7. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, that the superior court hereby authorized shall hold such terms and at such times and places as a majority of the judges may from time to time determine, and they may appoint a clerk and establish and modify rules of practice within each district, and shall exercise such jurisdiction, and hear and determine all such causes and matters within their respective districts as are by



law cognizable by the circuit and district courts of the United States or the territorial courts and also such as may by act of Congress or the provisional legislature of the district be made cognizable by the said court, and the final judgments or decrees of said courts shall be subject to reversals, affirmation, or revision on appeals or writs of error by the Supreme Court of the United States, in like manner and under the same regulations as from the circuit court of the United States, where the value in controversy to be ascertained by the oath or affirmation of either party or other competent witnesses shall exceed one thousand dollars.

SEC. 8. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, that all loyal persons, and all who may be admitted by the legislative council to the privileges of electors in said districts, shall be qualified to serve as grand or petit jurors of the county in which they reside, and they shall, until the legislative council for each district otherwise direct, be selected in such manner as the judges of said superior court respectively shall prescribe: PROVIDED, that no person who has heretofore held office, or a commission, either civil or military, under the government of the United States, or any one of the States, or any lawyer or any person who has taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, or any professed minister of the gospel who has been, now is, or may hereafter be, in open rebellion against the National Government, or who, in any manner, has given or may give aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States, shall act as juror, or be entitled to the privileges of an elector, or be eligible to any office under the General Government, or in either of said districts.

SEC. 9. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, that there shall be appointed within each district organized as aforesaid, a secretary, a marshal, and a district attorney, who shall exercise the powers, discharge the duties, and receive the compensation for like offices created by act of Congress establishing the territorial government of Washington; and the governor of each of said districts shall receive for his services \$2,500 per annum, each member of the council \$1,000 and the judges \$2,000 each per annum.

SEC. 10. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, That the President may, by proclamation, until Congress shall otherwise direct, establish such ports of entry and delivery within the districts of any provisional government authorized by this act as he may deem necessary, and appoint collectors and all other needed officers now for other ports in like manner appointed; may also appoint or authorize the appointment of such other officers as are usual in such ports; and all such officers shall have the same powers and discharge such duties as like officers in other ports of the United States. The collector for each port shall receive \$1,500 per annum, but no additional officer shall receive more than \$1,000 per annum, and all provisions of law relating to other ports of entry in the United States shall be applied, so far as practicable, to the ports hereby authorized.

SEC. 11. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, That all acts and parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act be, and the same are hereby repealed.

MR. PENDLETON. I move to lay the bill upon the table.

MR. BINGHAM, of Ohio. I demand the yeas and nays upon that motion.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and it was decided in the affirmative—yeas 65, nays 56; as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Ancona, Joseph Bailey, Biddle, Francis P. Blair, Jacob B. Blair, George H. Browne, William G. Brown, Calvert, Casey, Clements, Cobb, Colfax, Corning, Cravens, Crisfield, Crittenden, Delano, Diven, Dunlap, Dunn, English, Fisher, Granger, Grider, Gurley, Haight, Harding, Harrison, William Kellog, Killinger, Law, Lazear, Leary, Lehman, McKnight, Mallory, May, Menzies, Morris, Nixon, Noble, Noell, Norton, Pendleton, Perry, Timothy G. Phelps, Porter, Alexander H. Rice, Richardson, Sheffield, Shellabarger, Shiel, John B. Steele, Stratton, Benjamin F. Thomas, Francis Thomas, Train, Wadsworth, Ward, Webster, Wheeler, Whaley, Clinton A. White, Wickliff, and Wood—65.

NAYS—Messrs. Aldrich, Arnold, Ashley, Baker, Baxter, Beaman, Bingham, Samuel S. Blair, Blake, Buffinton, Camp-

bell, Chamberlin, Clark, Frederick A. Conkling, Roscoe Conkling, Cutler, Davis, Duell, Edgerton, Edwards, Eliot, Fessenden, Franchot, Frank, Hale, Hooper, Horton, Hutchins, Julian, Kelley, Francis W. Kellogg, Lansing, Loomis, Lovejoy, McPherson, Mitchell, Moorhead, Anson P. Morrill, Justin S. Morrill, Pike, Pomeroy, John H. Rice, Riddle, Edward H. Rollins, Sargent, Sedgwick, Sloan, Stevens, Trowbridge, Van Valkenburgh, Wall, Charles W. Walton, E. P. Walton, Wilson, Windom, and Worcester—56.

So the bill was laid upon the table.

## GENERAL ASHLEY'S SPEECH

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, SEPTEMBER 17TH, 1865.

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FROM THE SAN FRANCISCO BULLETIN.

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"We give in our columns to-day, the speech made by General Ashley at Platt's Hall, last night. In speaking of this terse, sound, practical common sense production of Mr. Ashley's, we cannot do better than to give the language of the ALTA CALIFORNIAN, the most conservative newspaper of the West:

"The speech of General Ashley last evening, at Platt's Hall, was a great oration, splendid in its ability, and powerful in its effect. The auditory were charmed with the eloquence, and impressed with the nobleness of the man before them. There was no tinsel, no trickery of speech, no flimsiness or tawdriness of rhetoric. The applause was frequent, prolonged and enthusiastic, and it represented no doubt the general sentiment of the Union people of San Francisco—that is the sentiment of admiration for such a speech. His eminent position and his oratorical ability give attraction to everything he may say, and render his remarks worthy of attentive perusal."

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MR. ASHLEY ON RECONSTRUCTION.

In accordance with the announcement, the Hon. J. M. Ashley, Congressman from Ohio, and Chairman of the Committee on Territories in the House of Representatives, addressed the citizens of San Francisco in Platt's Hall last evening. A very large audience was present. Collector James

was appointed Chairman, and Louis R. Lull, Secretary. Mr. Ashley was introduced to the audience by Col. James with a few complimentary remarks, in which he was given the credit of having done more than any other man to carry through Congress the constitutional amendment forever prohibiting slavery in the United States. Among the many distinguished persons who have visited our State of late, none was more worthy of our regard and admiration than he. He would address us this evening upon questions of general and local interest, and whatever may be his views, we could be assured that they came from a clear head and a ripe experience, and would be deserving of our careful consideration.

On stepping to the desk, Mr. Ashley was received with prolonged cheers by the audience, and after quiet was restored, he spoke as follows:

SPEECH OF MR. ASHLEY.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF SAN FRANCISCO: I thank my friend for his very flattering introduction, and trust I shall not disappoint you. He has been pleased to refer in complimentary terms to my political record, to all of which I can only say that when the smoke of the battle has cleared off, and the prejudices and passions of the hour shall have passed, and the motives of men can be read in the clear light of history, I hope my record will be one of which neither my friends nor my children will have cause to feel ashamed.

If in our great anti-slavery struggle, or during the war for the preservation of the nation, it shall be found that I contributed to the triumph of both, whether by clearing away the underbrush or by occasionally felling some of the larger timber, I shall be amply compensated for all such labor and for the unmeasured abuse of which I have been the recipient. But in this practical age it is not so much what a man HAS done, as what he CAN do which interests the public in him. On this point I think I may say with safety, that I am sure the States and Territories west of the Missouri will receive no detriment because of my visit.

Mr. President, one week ago yesterday afternoon, as I passed from the Pacific through the Golden Gate into your magnificent harbor, and beheld for the first time your beautiful city, I felt as if one of the earliest dreams of my boyhood had been realized, and that I had been fully compensated for the toil and hazard of an overland trip from the Missouri river by stage to Denver, Salt Lake and Montana, thence down the Snake through Idaho to the Columbia River many hundred miles on horseback and buckboard, thence down the Columbia to Portland, Oregon, and across to Olympia and Puget Sound, and from Victoria by steamer here.

When a boy I had read the account given by Lewis and Clark of their explorations, and I longed to see the great plains, the wonderful rivers and still more wonderful mountains, which I find they have so faithfully described. In my journey I passed over many points of interest made historic by them and by Fremont, Stevens, Mullen, Lander and others, but interesting and wonderful as many of these localities were to me, none have impressed me more favorably than your beautiful seven-hilled city of less than twenty years' growth.

If a man who had never heard of San Francisco should enter your harbor as I did, and see shipping from all parts of the world so numerous as to make a perfect forest of masts, and witness the bustle and activity of business, and be told that your population exceeded 125,000 he would naturally conclude that he was entering one of the oldest and most wealthy cities on the continent. I cannot tell you how this sight stirred my heart with national pride as I beheld in all that I saw the results of American genius and American enterprise.

When the great railroad of the continent, forty miles of which I am told is now ironed and which with such commendable zeal you are pushing forward so rapidly, shall have been completed, and our eastern cities of the Atlantic are united with your metropolis by iron bands, one of the dreams of my early manhood will be realized. Thanks to the energy with which you are pushing forward the Pacific division, soon the shrill whistle of the iron horse will awaken echoes through the canons and gorges of the mountains, as it passes over and descends to the plains on the eastern slope

of the Sierra Nevadas. When this is accomplished it will be a proud day for California, because to you will be due the credit of having demonstrated to the world the practicability of this great enterprise, around which so many hopes, present and prospective, cling.

Next in importance to this coast is the mining interests of California, and of the States and Territories west of the Rocky Mountains. I have visited most of the mining districts, and my observations have confirmed my judgment that no policy could be more suicidal than to sell the mines. [Applause.]

The speaker dwelt at some length upon the subject, and repeated his conviction after a thorough examination of the mining districts and frequent conversations with the miners—many of whom had spent 16 years in developing this coast—that no greater blunder and no greater wrong could be committed by the government than to deprive them of the mines by general sale. It would put a stop to prospecting, retard the development of the mines, and he was satisfied would not add \$20,000,000 to the coffers of the government. The income tax accruing from the present system of mining would bring a larger amount to the treasury in 10 years than the entire proceeds of the sale of the mines. Capitalists would combine, and both the miner and the government would be defrauded. The result of the sale of our mines would be to reduce them to the condition of the Mexican mines, which certainly no one desired to see. [Applause.]

Taking leave of this subject the speaker proceeded as follows:

And now, fellow-citizens, permit me to pass to the consideration of a subject which ought to interest every loyal man in the nation.

The last rebel army has been defeated and disbanded. The Union army has returned home in triumph beneath its torn and blood-stained banners. In its march, the seared and weather-beaten veterans shook the very earth beneath their tread. I saw them, as they passed in their two days' review through the National Capital, and you know that in every city and hamlet they were greeted with shouts and tears, and

received the homage and benediction of the nation. [Applause.]

At their country's call more than a million men voluntarily left their quiet and peaceful homes to peril, and, if need be, to yield up their lives to save the nation's life. Today the remnant of this patriotic and heroic army are returning to their homes to assume again the peaceful and responsible duties of American citizens. This is a spectacle the glory and grandeur of which dazzles the world with its splendor, and is worthy to be written in the Book of Life by the recording angel. [Applause.]

With the return of this army ends the struggle to maintain our national existence by force of arms, and a struggle unlike any in our history as to take its place. Who shall be authorized to reorganize loyal State governments in the late rebel States? Shall it be loyal men or disloyal men? Shall educated treason be clothed with the power or uneducated loyalty? Shall the men who for the past four years have labored with might and main to destroy the government, and whose hands are red with the blood of my loyal countrymen, be entrusted with full power to govern not only themselves and the loyal men of the South, but, by uniting with their late Northern allies, govern us also?

These are practical questions, it seems to me—and questions of transcendent importance to us as a free people. If the loyal men of the nation would answer them as the returned Union soldiers have answered them, I should have no anxiety for the future. If one question could be satisfactorily answered, there would be no serious disagreement among loyal men. That question is this—What, during the war, has been, and what is now the legal status of the late rebel States?

I hold, that, when the people of the thirteen colonies adopted our present national Constitution, the old confederation was abolished, and the United States became a nation; that the national "Constitution is the supreme law of the land, anything in the constitutions, laws or judicial decisions of the States to the contrary notwithstanding;" that the National Government thus created is clothed with full powers for its self-preservation; that the Government of the United States



is a government of the people and not a government of thirty-six sovereign States; but a government of the people residing in territorial subdivisions which we call States, and which have State governments, organized in subordination to, and in conformity with the national Constitution; that the people who maintain such State governments, and they alone, are constitutionally clothed with the power of governing the nation. [Applause.]

I hold that when the people of the States recently in rebellion confederated together in violation of the national Constitution, and organized and maintained by force of arms a DE FACTO hostile government, and the rebellion assumed proportions formidable enough to claim and to have conceded to it by the United States and by the great powers of Europe, belligerent rights, from that hour constitutional State governments in each of the States so confederated together ceased to exist, and until State governments are organized in each of said States in subordination to the national Constitution, and are recognized by Congress, there can be no constitutional State governments in such States. [Applause.]

I hold that whenever the people residing in any one or more States neglect or refuse to maintain constitutional State governments, whether it be by abolishing their State constitutions and refusing to ordain new ones, or by confederating together with other States, or with foreign powers, to make war upon the nation, from that moment the governing power, whether for national or State purposes, which was lodged by the national Constitution and laws of the United States in the people of such State or States, terminates, and remains in the people residing in the States which maintain constitutional governments. In other words, that the sovereignty of the nation cannot be destroyed or impaired within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States, by the action, or the refusal to act of any one or more States. [Applause.]

I hold that the people of any State may alter or abolish their State constitutions and governments whenever they see fit to do so, and they may refuse to establish others, and that there is no power in the National Government to compel the majority of the people in any State to maintain a State

government or to elect Senators or Representatives to Congress, or to vote for Presidential electors. Nevertheless, the sovereignty of the United States over the territory and people within such State or States remains unimpaired; the laws of the United States are legally in full force, and the allegiance of every citizen residing within the territorial limits of the nation, whether in organized or unorganized States, is due to the United States, whatever may be the action of a majority of the people in any State. [Applause.]

Those who can see in these propositions a recognition of the right of secession are remarkable logicians.

The speaker then spoke for nearly half an hour in defense of these propositions, and continued as follows:

If, in our efforts to reorganize loyal State governments in the late rebel States, we permit the question of loyal suffrage to remain an open question, widespread agitation is inevitable, and I fear disaster and defeat, not only to the Union cause in most of the rebel States, but in some of the loyal States also. If however, all loyal men, without distinction of race or color, are invited and permitted to vote for delegates to the proposed constitutional conventions, which are to be or ought to be held in each of the late rebel States, and for the acceptance or rejection of any constitution which may be framed by such conventions, whatever the result, there can be no violent agitation or formidable division of the Union party. [Applause.]

If the loyal whites and loyal blacks of the South, in reorganizing loyal State governments, see fit to limit the right of the elective franchise to the blacks who can read and write the English language and to all "who have been in the military or naval service of the United States," whether they can read and write or not, I think a majority of the Union party would acquiesce--certainly much of the excitement which will follow if the colored soldiers are excluded would be avoided. But if the loyal blacks, including all the black soldiers, are to be excluded, and none but the loyal whites and those professedly loyal, together with all the pardoned and unrepentant rebels in these States, are to vote for delegates to conventions to reorganize loyal State governments, there will be dissatisfaction among the loyal

men of the nation, and justly; and for one I fear the consequences. [Applause.] If President Johnson should tomorrow issue instructions to his recently appointed provisional governors in the rebel States requiring them to invite and see that all loyal black men were not only permitted, but protected, in voting for delegates, and for or against accepting any State constitution which might be framed by such conventions, nineteen-twentieths of all the professed Union men in the North now opposing negro suffrage would give in their adhesion to the plan, while all the hangers-on of the party would at once become vociferous in its favor. [Applause.]

Every party, as every army, has its camp-followers. The Republican and Union party, since it came into power, has had its full share of them. We have thousands of men in the Union party, who, on this negro suffrage question, are skirmishing along, near enough to the main column of our advancing army to rush in and claim the benefit of a victory if we obtain one, and yet close enough to the rear to beat a hasty retreat if we should be defeated, to enable them to join the enemy without any perceptible change of base. This is political strategy. [Laughter and applause.]

I once asked a man in Washington how it came that he was retained in office for so many years, under so many different administrations. "By Heavens!" he exclaimed with an air of triumph, and much apparent satisfaction, "I would like to see the people elect a President oftener than I can change." Do you suppose any man ever will be elected President who can issue proclamations faster than the flunkies and camp-followers of his party will approve them? If you do, I do not. [Laughter.]

You all remember how many editors and politicians were indifferent to, or opposed the demand of the anti-slavery men for an emancipation policy, before it was adopted by Mr. Lincoln. As soon, however, as the proclamation was issued, there was a sudden and general conversion, and these very men were the first to appear at every public meeting to give in their adhesion, and to rush into every nominating convention and take the front seats without a scruple, and demand the best offices without a blush. [Laughter and applause.]

If Mr. Johnson should, to-day, issue such a proclamation as the loyal suffrage men of the nation have asked him to issue, and such a proclamation as I hope he will yet issue—for I hold he is not committed against it—I do not believe ten men occupying respectable positions in the Union party, either as editors, or Senators and Representatives in Congress, could be found to oppose him in such a movement.

Mr. Lincoln once said to me, that he had more to fear from a class of men who crawled in the back door, approved whatever they supposed to be his policy while denouncing and slandering the anti-slavery men, whom he knew and admitted to be the most steadfast Union men, as well as his most reliable friends. This same class of camp followers were the first to rush in person to the presidential mansion, and fawningly approve the new policy, the moment the Emancipation Proclamation was issued. They flooded the mails with their letters of commendation, and filled five columns of their papers in laudation of the new policy, for every one used by anti-slavery papers. So it would be now, if the President would issue a proclamation to-morrow in favor of loyal suffrage without regard to the race or color of the voter. The opposition in the Union party would not have force or courage enough to make a ripple on the face of the smoothest water. [Applause.]

All I demand in the reorganization of State governments in the rebel States, is justice—justice alike to loyal white and loyal black—justice to the late rebels also—justice tempered with mercy, if you will, but, nevertheless, justice—that justice which secures the personal rights of all, by placing in their hands the ballot—the only sure weapon, in a republic, of protection and defense to the poor man, whether white or black. To me the ballot is the political stone “cut out of the mountain without hands, which shall fill the whole earth, break every yoke and let the oppressed go free.” “Whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken, but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder.” [Applause.]

And here I may be pardoned if I digress a few moments and refer to some unfriendly criticisms which have been made by Eastern papers upon extracts which purport to have been

copied from a speech made by me on the evening before I left Ohio.

I have never seen the paper from home containing the speech referred to, and only since I reached your city have I read what purported to be extracts from it, and the criticisms made upon them. Perhaps I ought also to say that I did not expect the few remarks which I made on that night, at a private business meeting, to appear in any publication, as a speech. I supposed a notice of the meeting would probably appear, and that some reference, in general terms, might perhaps be made editorially to what was said—nothing more. If I had known that what I said about my interviews with the President on the loyal suffrage question was to appear as a speech, I would have asked the privilege of reading and correcting the manuscript or proof, if it needed correcting—as speeches not unfrequently do, even when spoken with studied deliberation and reduced to writing by the best reporters, to say nothing of the occasional necessity of correcting typographical blunders in the best regulated printing establishments.

Part of what I have seen quoted is substantially correct. I did say that “the President assured me that he was anxious to secure to all men their rights, without regard to color.” I also said, and on this point I hope I may never have cause to change my impressions, “that from all the conversations I had with the President, I was satisfied that he desired so to administer the government as to reflect the wishes and sentiments of the Union men of the nation.”

What I said when speaking of the future action of the anti-slavery men and danger of division, and the eventual defeat of the Union party if the loyal suffrage policy was not adopted, I believe to be true and so repeat it now.

I said substantially, “that the anti-slavery men of the United States had destroyed the old Whig and Democratic parties; that all along the political coast the wrecks of Northern statesmen were lying thicker than the blockade runners from England; that, true to the principles of freedom and philanthropy thoroughly implanted in their characters, they would remember the terrible ordeal through which they passed for more than thirty years, and be ever faithful to

their convictions; that as they had, during many long, weary years of discouragements and apparent defeats, labored with a fidelity that never tired, and a determination which never faltered, to impress their anti-slavery ideas upon the mind and heart of the nation, so for the next third of a century, or longer, if necessary, they would consecrate themselves to the great work of securing the complete enfranchisement of the men whom their labors had liberated from the thralldom of slavery; [applause] that if statesmen and parties stood in the way of success, such statesmen would be destroyed and such parties perish, and go into common graves, as the pro-slavery statesmen of the North and the old Whig and Democratic parties had gone before them, because false to freedom." [Applause.]

I did not say this in a violent or threatening manner, as I am reported to have done, but with sadness and apprehension, rather.

I believe that by the adoption of the policy which I have indicated, a division and conflict such as then appeared, and now seems inevitable, might be avoided, and the political homogeneity of the nation, and the oneness in principle and purpose of the Republican party, be secured. [Applause.]

I knew that the adoption of this policy would make, as the emancipation policy had made, the Republican party a unit; and I believed, if it was not adopted, that the old war-worn veterans of the anti-slavery army would blow a blast upon their bugles which would call around them a million of men, who never followed presidents or parties for position or plunder; that they would camp on the battlefield, as they did during their thirty years of anti-slavery warfare, and with the banner of impartial suffrage to all loyal men, white and black, flying over their heads, that they would, sooner or later, vanquish all opposition, by destroying men and parties, and come off, as they had in their conflict with the rebels, conquerors and more than conquerors. [Applause.]

I believed then, and believe now, that divisions among Union men would bring certain defeat, and I am sure the loyal men of this nation cannot be defeated without my going down with them. In my anxiety to avoid this, I pointed to the disasters of the past and warned as a friend, rather than

threatened as an enemy. The good book says, "Faithful are the reproofs of a friend, but the kisses of enemies are deceitful." I do not disguise the fact that I am anxious for the future of the Republican party. I have labored too long and earnestly to secure its triumph to be indifferent to its future now. It is only the camp-followers and plunderers who are indifferent to political revolutions. Any change is better for such men than stability. Divisions and sudden political changes may throw such men to the surface—without these, they remain mere camp-followers and the blind partisans of power.

It would not be necessary, if the persistent repetition of a falsehood did not sometimes cause it to be accepted as true, unless contradicted, for me to refer to a remark reported to have been made by the President in reply to what I said, when urging him to adopt in his reconstruction policy, "universal loyal suffrage," or, in other words, negro suffrage. It is said that he bade me, or those with me, "good morning," with an intimation that he did not desire to have anything more from us on the question of negro suffrage. I do not know how the story obtained currency, nor do I care, for that matter. Certainly neither to me, nor to any gentlemen with me, did the President, either by word or act ever express displeasure at anything said during any of my interviews with him on the question of negro suffrage. My relations with the President are of the most friendly character, and I expect them to remain of that character while he continues to represent the loyal men of the nation. I know him and his Cabinet well. His Cabinet is made up of able, tried and true men. [Applause.] A majority of them have held responsible public positions during the past four years, and all have rendered important services in aiding to carry the nation safely through the terrible war just closed. They are entitled to the nation's confidence and the nation's gratitude. [Applause.] Their experience ought to render their services invaluable. If the loyal men of the nation cannot trust the President, with such a Cabinet co-operating with him, I do not know whom they can trust. At all events, until Mr. Johnson proves false to the party which elected him, I shall support his administration. It does not seem to me possible, in view of the fact that the slave barons always hated and

feared him—in view of the splendid record he has made since the war, and the pledges he has made in public and private, that he can now hesitate to follow the logic of events. When I remember all that he has said, and the pledge which he voluntarily made to the black men at Nashville, when he promised them to be their Moses, to lead them out of the house of bondage, I cannot believe that he will now turn back to the worship of the Golden Calf, or that he will ever again fall down before the Moloch of slavery.

That I shall differ, and that many of you will differ with the President, his Cabinet and with Congress, on some of the new questions which must necessarily arise, is more than probable. I am not a believer in the infallibility of Presidents or parties, and I expect to do some thinking for myself, as these new questions arise. After a full and free discussion of them, and when they shall have been passed upon by Congress and the co-ordinate departments of the government, it will be time enough to talk of proscribing men in a party sense, for opinion's sake, if they refuse to acquiesce. In the meantime I propose, without impugning the motives of any Union man, or disparaging those who differ with me, to do all I can to have my views adopted by the administration. [Applause.] I am free to say, however, that I am committed to no theory or policy which I will not gladly abandon for a better one; no preconceived notions on matters of expediency that I will not yield with alacrity to accomplish that which I have most at heart, the unity of the republic and the domination in the government of the men who saved the nation's life.

In party matters I have enough to do to fight the common enemy, without making war upon Union men because they may differ with me on some of the new and perplexing questions which the war has forced upon us. WHILE A MEMBER OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, I SHALL DEFEND ITS SETTLED POLICY, SUPPORT ITS REGULARLY NOMINATED CANDIDATES AND ACQUIESCE IN THE FAIRLY EXPRESSED WILL OF THE MAJORITY OF THE PARTY ON ALL POLITICAL QUESTIONS, IF I CAN DO SO CONSCIENTIOUSLY. IF I CANNOT, I SHALL OPENLY WITHDRAW FROM THE ORGANIZATION. I have always labored for the triumph of ideas rather than for the triumph of men, and I



hope that during the residue of my public life, whether it be long or short, I may continue as I began. In any event, my friends may rest assured that I will never join the bush-whackers or camp-followers for the sake of place and power. Whatever other faults I may have, fawning at the foot of power for place and plunder has never been, and I trust never will be, one of them.

The speaker here reverted to the past and spoke of the terrible conflict of the last four years, the panorama of which often passed before his eyes; and when he thought of all the delays, mistakes and blunders that had been made by the government, the awful disasters to our armies, the keeping in power of incompetent or traitorous generals; and notwithstanding all these discouragements, he heard the cry of a consecrated people still coming up, rising and swelling over the tumult and carnage, "We are coming, Father Abraham, six hundred thousand more;" when he reflected upon those untold sacrifices of a brave and loyal people, he did not wish to see anything left undone to gain the object for which they had suffered. [Applause.]

I trust, said he, we all realize the fact that in reorganizing civil society in the late rebel States, a broad, liberal and wise statesmanship is needed. I am for the most liberal policy consistent with the safety and stability of the nation. In laying the foundations of republican commonwealths, great prudence ought to mark our every step. We should see to it that every State is so organized as to secure the equality before the law of every American citizen, so that the political communities thus organized shall be a source of strength to the nation instead of a source of weakness. [Applause.]

I know that the brightest jewel in the diadem of the conqueror is mercy; yet mercy without justice, mercy without discrimination, history and revelation alike teach us gives no security to governments. [Applause.] I would pardon many—perhaps too many. I would rather err on the side of mercy, than err on the other side. I am so anxious for a nation of men homogeneous in aim and purpose, that I would go far to win back an erring brother to his former love of the Union and Constitution of our fathers; to the love of that old flag which is to-day the emblem of our national

power and national glory; that flag which is to become the flag of an ocean-bound republic—the flag of destiny and of empire, before which all nations shall stand with uncovered heads. Thanks to the God of nations and of men, in speaking to-night of that flag, as it floats on the land and on the sea we can truthfully say :

“No more its flaming emblems wave  
To bar from hope the trembling slave ;  
No more its radiant glories shine  
To blast with woe one child of Thine.”

[Applause.]

Recognizing the new and responsible duties which the war has imposed upon us as American citizens, let us go forward to the discharge of those duties in a forgiving spirit and with thankful hearts; let us go again to the old altars, and take with us our children and our erring and repentant brothers also, and swear before Him who liveth forever and forever that come what may, divisions, dissensions, rebellions, interventions and foreign wars—that living or dying, no other flag shall ever float above our homes or graves. [Prolonged applause.]\*

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\*Col. James, who presided at this meeting, was at the time collector of the Port of San Francisco, to which position he had been appointed by President Lincoln. In a short time President Johnson removed Col. James for the offense of presiding.

# SPEECH

OF HON. J. M. ASHLEY, OF OHIO,

DELIVERED AT SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA, FRIDAY EVENING,  
SEPTEMBER 29, 1865.

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Governor Low, who had served in Congress with Mr. Ashley, introduced him in a few well-chosen complimentary remarks, after which Mr. Ashley spoke as follows:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF SACRAMENTO: I am greatly obliged to my friend, the governor, for his very flattering introduction and for his generous indorsement of my course in Congress. To-morrow I set my face homeward. On the map it looks like a distant journey, yet Ohio, you know, is in the very heart of the republic. I cannot speak of that great State without feeling emotions of patriotic pride. When I remember all that Ohio has done on the battlefield, in the Cabinet and in the nation's council halls, to make her name ever memorable in history, and to crown with glory the struggle of the past four years, I feel that to be one of her Representatives in Congress is an honor of which any man should be proud, and I only wish I were a more worthy representative of such a noble commonwealth. [Applause.]

I am told by some of your leading citizens that I am to go over the main trunk of the Pacific Railroad as far as the rails are laid, some forty miles. I trust when I again visit California, as I hope to do, that I may find all your brightest anticipations in connection with this great enterprise fully realized. Wherever I have gone in your State my visit has been made so pleasant that I regret it could not be prolonged for ten days or two weeks more. But time and tide waiteth for no man, and the snows on mountains and plains will not wait for me while wife and children are waiting and

anxiously waiting. I go home to tell our people that all the stories told of California are true, and that all have not been told. From your "Big Trees," which are more wonderful than the cedars of Lebanon, to your golden gateway of the Pacific, a crimson-hued russet-tinted halo everywhere gilds mountain, plain and tree, and I am charmed with a climate which is softer, and landscapes more beautiful than any which have greeted me in all my journeyings over half the continent. With a commerce at San Francisco which now rivals and bids fair to exceed all the great cities of the Atlantic except New York and Philadelphia, and with an inexhaustible supply of iron, copper, quicksilver and gold, and agricultural wealth far exceeding my expectations, I am confident that with all these, and completion of the Pacific Railroad, the future of California cannot be doubtful. [Applause.]

Mr. Ashley then proceeded to the consideration of the question of reconstruction, on which he had been invited to speak. He said:

On reflection, I am prepared to repeat and to reaffirm the propositions which I made in my speech at San Francisco. Let me read from the Bulletin of the 18th, which I hold in my hand. [The reader will find these propositions on pages 374-5.]

After reading with deliberation the propositions which he made in San Francisco, he said:

Mr. President, I desire also to add another proposition in order, if possible, to prevent any misrepresentation of my position.

I hold that no State can, either by legislative act, or by a convention of the people, CONSTITUTIONALLY pass an ordinance of secession, or ordain a new State constitution and government hostile to the United States; that if such acts of secession are passed and hostile State governments organized they are illegal, and the citizens of the United States residing within the limits of such State do not owe allegiance to such government; but if a majority of the qualified electors of a State unite with its constituted authorities, and pass an ordinance of secession, or ordain a new State government by abolishing their old State constitution

and adopting a new one unknown to the national Constitution, and attempt to maintain such unconstitutional government by force, they do in FACT destroy their constitutional State government. [Applause.]

To me, these propositions are fundamentally right; they embody, as I interpret the national Constitution, the foundation principles upon which the corner-stones of our national political edifice were laid, and upon which it was built and must stand. During the past four eventful years, had we recognized, as true, the doctrine that our national superstructure rested upon the Calhoun assumption of State sovereignty with the right of nullification and secession, we should have learned to our sorrow that we had builded upon the sand, and that "when the rains descended, the floods came, and the winds of the rebellion blew and beat upon it," that it must fall, as it would have fallen, if the nation had hesitated to strike the hydra-headed monster of secession and rebellion with shot and shell to its death, and thus bury as they did in one common grave, the great rebellion with this fallacious and false political heresy. [Applause.]

To the impartial consideration of these propositions, said Mr. Ashley, I invite your careful attention and invoke your considerate judgment.

[He then made an argument in favor of these propositions, which we would like to see some able man of the opposition answer.]

In closing this part of his speech he said, that President Lincoln and all the departments of the National Government, including Congress and the Supreme Court, have fully recognized and acted upon this theory. In fact the whole policy of the government during the war, has been but a recognition of the ideas which I have submitted in these propositions.

Mr. Johnson, by appointing provisional governors for each of the late rebel States, has admitted the FACT that the constitutional State governments of these States are destroyed, and that new constitutional State governments must be organized and recognized by Congress, before the people of such States can again be constitutionally clothed as political organiza-

tions with local self-government or with part of the governing power of the nation. [Applause.]

If constitutional State governments still exist in the late rebel States, by what authority does the President appoint provisional governors in such States, DIRECT the holding of State conventions to ordain new State constitutions and governments, and PRESCRIBE who shall VOTE and be voted for, and that in the new governments thus to be organized, they MUST recognize the FACT that slavery is abolished? [Applause.]

If constitutional State governments HAVE existed during the war in the late rebel States, AND NOW EXIST, can the President appoint provisional governors and ORDER constitutional conventions to assemble in such States for the establishment of NEW State governments such as he may think proper, without regard to the provisions of their old State constitutions which prescribe the mode and manner of calling conventions to alter or amend their constitutions? If he can, why can he not do the same thing in Ohio or California? [Applause.]

The truth is, that in the late rebel States there are no constitutional State governments which Congress can recognize, while in California and Ohio there are constitutional State governments which Congress does recognize. [Applause.]

I repeat what I said at San Francisco—"that any one who can see in these propositions and the argument which I have made a recognition of the RIGHT of secession is a remarkable logician."

It is illegal to commit MURDER, but if murder is committed, do I recognize the RIGHT, because I concede the FACT? [Applause.]

If the people of one or more States destroy their constitutional State governments and establish others unknown to the national Constitution, and enter into alliances with other States and foreign powers—and make war upon the National Government, do I recognize their RIGHT to do so, because I concede that they have done so in FACT? I deny the right—all loyal men deny the right, but can I or can you deny the FACT?

[From the consideration of the above propositions, Mr. A. passed to the discussion of a question new and interesting to the loyal men of the nation; he urged that great care should be used in guarding against any assumption of rebel debt by the States lately in rebellion, and insisted that something like the following proposition should be incorporated in the several constitutions of the reorganized States:]

"All debts contracted, whether State, city or municipal, by the constituted authorities prior to the Act of Secession, shall be valid against this State under this constitution; but no engagement entered into or debt contracted by the late rebel, confederate or State authorities, or by any city, county or municipality, within this State, in aid of the rebellion or to maintain State or local civil governments hostile to the United States, shall ever be paid by this State, or by any city, county or municipality within this State." [Applause.]

Mr. A. said that many might think this precaution unnecessary, but for his part, next to securing impartial suffrage for the loyal men of the South, white and black, he regarded the adoption of this proposition as most important, to prevent the possibility of political combinations being made for the purpose of forcing the repudiation of our war debt or the assumption of the rebel debt, State and confederate, by the United States. [Applause.]

In my judgment, Congress, with whom this whole question of reconstruction constitutionally rests, should require as a condition to the admission of Senators and Representatives from the reorganized States the adoption in their new constitutions of some proposition of this kind, and I am not sure that it ought not to be put in the form of a covenant between each State and the National Government, and made forever irrevocable without the consent of the Congress of the United States.

The nation ought to demand, and I believe will demand, some such security for the future.

Nine-tenths of the rebel debt, State and confederate, is probably held by the people of the late rebel States and in Europe. Undoubtedly the late confederates would prefer to have their debt paid, rather than help pay ours. In my opinion if Congress does not provide against the possibility of

this question being raised, the Southern politicians will make a combination with their late Northern allies, who are now almost to a man committed, either directly or indirectly, to the scheme of repudiation, and insist upon the incorporation of their war debt with ours or the repudiation of our war debt also.

When the proposition is made, as it will be, unless we now positively prohibit it, to assume the confederate debt, and if not, to repudiate our own, the simple discussion of the question will impair our national credit to the amount of millions. I need not argue this point. It is self evident. [Applause.]

Three-fourths of the LEGAL indebtedness of the late rebel States is probably held by Northern capitalists. I mean the bonds issued prior to the rebellion.

Congress ought to see to it, that in the reorganization of the late rebel States, they ASSUME BY POSITIVE CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISION the debt of the State prior to the rebellion, and by a provision equally positive, that they forever prohibit the payment of the rebel debt or any part thereof. This is due to the Northern men who are the holders of the bonds issued by these States before the rebellion. It is due likewise to the loyal people of the South, that they be not taxed to pay any part of the rebel debt. It is due also to the nation as the only indemnity for the past which it can now obtain. [Applause.]

If you own a thousand-dollar bond of the State of South Carolina, issued before the rebellion, you may have some hope, after her reorganization, of receiving the interest due on that bond, and perhaps at its maturity, the principal, PROVIDED the State of South Carolina, after her reorganization and recognition by Congress, does not assume her proportion of the rebel confederate debt, and the debt contracted after secession by her as a State, in aid of the rebellion or to maintain her local and rebel State governments.

If she is permitted to assume her proportion of the confederate debt, and the debt contracted by her rebel State authorities, your bond for one thousand dollars would not be worth the paper on which it is written, and so with all the States recently in rebellion.



The assumption of any part of the confederate debt by the late rebel States would not only lessen their ability to pay their legal indebtedness, but lessen also the ability of their people to aid in the payment of the national debt, which cannot be repudiated without national dishonor. [Applause.]

Before I left Washington I heard more than one scheme talked over for the incorporation of part of the confederate debt with ours. This is the stepping-stone to repudiation, and I warn the loyal men of the nation to be prepared for the efforts which will be made to consummate this dangerous scheme.

Many think there is no danger in this direction, but I tell you that there is danger. In AUDACITY anything may be expected of the men who plunged this nation into the recent terrible war. Their late Northern allies are equally DESPERATE, and there would be no security for national fidelity and national honor, if these two factions unite and obtain control of the National Government. [Applause, long continued.]

## SPEECH

OF HON. JAMES M. ASHLEY, OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MAY 29, 1866.

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**IMPARTIAL SUFFRAGE THE ONLY SAFE BASIS OF RECONSTRUCTION.**

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The House having under consideration the bill to restore to the States lately in insurrection their full political rights—

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio, said :

MR. SPEAKER. Unless the members of this Congress who represent the loyal people of this country approach the proposition before us, providing for the restoration of the late rebel States, in a proper spirit and with mutual concessions, I fear we shall fail to accomplish the great work committed to our hands. I desire to approach its consideration with charity for all and malice toward none. I know that I approach it in a forgiving spirit and with a thankful heart. With thankfulness, because the din of war has been hushed and the national conflagration extinguished. In a forgiving spirit, because I know how much there is to be forgiven if we would reunite dis severed and broken ties, secure the perpetual unity of the nation, and bind up its millions of bleeding and broken hearts.

In all the votes which I have given or may give on the propositions for reconstruction, in all I have said or may say, I shall keep steadily in view the one great desire of my heart, which outweighs and overshadows all others, and before which the petty schemes of parties and of men dwindle into insignificance and appear to me criminal. That desire is to see the States recently in rebellion restored to all the rights, privileges and dignities of States of the American Union at the earliest day consistent with the national safety, and

upon such terms as shall secure the power, unity, and glory of the republic.

How can this most desirable result best be accomplished? In answering this interrogatory the first question which presents itself to every reflecting mind is this: Has the government of the United States as at present organized the constitutional power to demand or exact from the people in the late rebel States any conditions prior to the recognition of their recently reorganized State governments and the admission of their Senators and Representatives in Congress? If so, is it expedient to exact of them the terms or conditions proposed by the committee of fifteen, or such conditions of a like character as may finally be agreed upon by the two Houses of Congress, as conditions precedent to their resumption, as States, of all constitutional relations to the National Government which were severed by their acts of rebellion and war?

I claim that we have the power, and that it is not only our right but our duty to demand such conditions as the majority of the loyal representatives of this Congress may deem requisite for the safety and security of the nation. I believe we have the constitutional power, because I believe the States represented in this Hall during the war and now are the government. If I did not believe this I could not vote for any of the propositions before the House or any proposition of a like character.

From the first I have held that when the people of the late rebel States abolished their constitutional State governments and confederated together in violation of the national Constitution and organized hostile State governments and a national confederate government, and maintained those governments by force of arms until the rebellion became so formidable as to claim the prerogatives of a national *DE FACTO* government, and to have had conceded to it by the United States and the great powers of Europe belligerent rights, that from that hour constitutional State governments ceased in each of the States so confederated together, and until governments are reorganized in each of them in subordination to the national Constitution, and recognized by this

Congress, there can be no constitutional State governments in such States.

MR. RANDALL, of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him who he intends shall form the State governments — the people of the States, or who?

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. I propose that the loyal people of each of the late rebel States shall reorganize their own State governments and administer them under such rules and restrictions as the Congress of the United States, representing the loyal people of the nation, shall require.

MR. RANDALL, of Pennsylvania. Then I understand the gentleman to say that he is willing that the loyal people shall form State governments, or shall continue their State governments and protect and elect Congressmen as part of their duty. Do I understand him aright?

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. Under such rules and restrictions as this Congress shall require.

MR. RANDALL, of Pennsylvania. That is an after-clap.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. Now, Mr. Speaker, I hope I can go on without any more of these interruptions. From the outbreak of the rebellion I have sought to have all the departments of the government adopt and act upon this idea. I have held that the sovereignty of the nation was in the people who reside in the States which maintained constitutional State governments, recognizing the national Constitution as the supreme law of the land, and the government which it created as the one to which all citizens owed a paramount allegiance. I have held that the sovereignty of the nation could not be impaired or destroyed within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States by the action, or the refusal to act, of any one or more States. In other words, that the people in the States which maintained their constitutional relations to the National Government were the only depositaries of the national sovereignty and the only constitutional governing power in the nation.

Holding these views, I insist that the people who maintained constitutional State governments, who, during the entire war, were represented here, and who are now represented here, the people who maintained this National Government and put down the rebellion, have a right under the

laws of war as conquerors to prescribe such conditions as in the judgment of the majority of this Congress are necessary for the national safety and the national security. This is the right of the conqueror under every law, human and divine. If this be not the true theory, then, indeed, is our National Government a rope of sand.

Entertaining these ideas, at the extra session of Congress in July, 1861, I prepared a bill embodying them, but by the advice of friends I did not present it until the regular session in December. On the 12th of March following, by the direction of the Committee on Territories, I reported to this House "a bill to provide temporary provisional governments for the districts of country in rebellion against the United States." That bill, on the motion of my then colleague (Mr. Pendleton) was laid upon the table by a vote of 65 to 56, a number of Republicans voting with the opposition and a still larger number not voting at all.

At the first session of the Thirty-eighth Congress, upon consultation, it was thought best to have a committee on the rebellious States, and the late Henry Winter Davis offered a resolution for the appointment of such a committee. The committee was raised, and he was appointed its chairman.

After the committee was appointed, of which I was a member, I again introduced the old bill, with such modifications and additions as time had suggested. That bill which was reported passed both Houses of Congress, but did not receive the sanction of President Lincoln, and therefore failed to become a law.

At the second session of the Thirty-eighth Congress I again introduced the same bill with some modifications, and by direction of the committee I reported it to this House. After a number of efforts to modify it so as to secure a majority vote, it was lost, and we were left at sea on this great question of reconstruction. And to-day we are reaping the fruits of our stupidity and folly. I allude to these facts to show how steadily the national mind has been marching up to this idea, that the men who remained loyal to this government, who maintained constitutional State governments, and who during the war administered this government, are the government.

MR. WRIGHT. Will the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Ashley) allow me to ask him a question?

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. I would rather the gentleman would ask me his questions after I get through my argument.

MR. WRIGHT. I wish simply to ask the gentleman to give us his definition of a loyal man.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. If the gentleman will ask me after I get through I will answer his question.

MR. WRIGHT. Very well; I will ask the gentleman then.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. I was saying that I allude to these facts for the purpose of showing how steadily the national mind has been approaching this idea. And when this joint committee on reconstruction, composed of the ablest men in the nation, made their report the other day, they recognized the same idea, to wit, that the constitutional governments in all the rebel States were abolished; that during the war and now said States were not in constitutional relations with the National Government. And the man, whoever he may be, who stands up and says they are now in constitutional relations to the National Government utters that which he knows to be untrue. The man that stands up and says that during the entire war the rebel States were entitled to be represented here in Congress, lays down a proposition which would undermine and sap the very foundations of the government. If these rebel States had the right to be represented in Congress, and had been represented here during this war, the nation would have been bound hand and foot, and incapable of resistance.

This, then, being the idea adopted by the committee of fifteen, I can support this bill. I know that the proposition submitted by that committee falls far short of what I expected, far short of what the loyal men in the South had a right to expect, far short of what the men who sacrificed so much to preserve this nation had a right to expect. But if I can get nothing better I shall vote for their proposition, as I have already voted for the proposed constitutional amendment which was sent to the Senate the other day, . . . and I understand the Senate has practically agreed to sustain the proposition on representation which was sent them from this House a short time since. It will be noticed

that in prescribing the qualifications of electors, in one of the amendments suggested by me, I omit the word "male" and use the words "all citizens of the United States above the age of twenty-one years." I did this purposely, as I am unwilling to prohibit any State from enfranchising its women if they desire to do so.

But, Mr. Speaker, I have an amendment which I desire to offer to this bill—an amendment upon which I shall ask a vote, and to which I desire the attention of the House. House bill No. 543, as reported by the committee, requires the adoption of the constitutional amendment proposed before any State, no matter when it may be ratified, shall be admitted here, thus putting it in the power of the Northern States, if they desire to do so, to exclude States which in good faith ratified this constitutional amendment and amended their State constitutions and laws so as to comply with all the conditions we make. I desire, then, to have the bill reported by the committee so amended that whenever any State lately in insurrection and rebellion shall have ratified this amendment in good faith, and shall have modified its constitution and laws in conformity therewith, that its Senators and Representatives shall be admitted into Congress; that is, that the loyal men of Tennessee and Arkansas now elected shall be admitted; but that as to the other States, they shall, before being represented in Congress, after the adoption of this amendment and the modification of their constitution and laws, elect, or re-elect, if you will, governors and all other State officers, members of the legislature, Senators of the United States, and members of this House.

Why do I ask for this provision? Because these governments, set up by President Johnson, set up over the heads of loyal men, have every one of them elected traitors to official positions in those States, have elected traitors to this House, have elected traitors to the Senate. I insist that this provision shall be applied to them, so that when their constitutions and their laws are modified in accordance with the proposition which we lay down, the loyal men of those States shall, under the amended constitution and laws, vote for the officers which are to be recognized by the government of the

United States. I ask the clerk to read the amendment which I propose to offer.

The clerk read as follows:

“That whenever any State lately in insurrection shall have ratified, in good faith and irrevocably, the above recited amendment, and shall have modified its constitution and laws in conformity therewith, and after such ratification and modification of its constitution and laws shall have elected a governor and the State officers provided for in the constitution of such State, including the State legislature and Senators and Representatives to the Congress of the United States, under such limitations and restrictions as may be imposed by the constitution and laws of such State when amended as herein prescribed, the Senators and Representatives from such State, if thus elected and qualified, may, after having taken the oaths of office required by law, be admitted into Congress as such: PROVIDED, That neither the State of Tennessee nor Arkansas shall be required to re-elect a governor and State officers or a State legislature or Senators or Representatives to the Congress of the United States; but whenever either of said States shall have ratified the above recited amendment, and shall have modified their constitutions and laws in conformity therewith, their Senators and Representatives now duly elected and qualified may be admitted into Congress on taking the oaths of office required by law.”

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. It will be observed, Mr. Speaker, that, by the adoption of this amendment, every State which ratifies in good faith the proposed amendment to the Constitution and modifies its constitution and laws in conformity therewith, and after such modification elects a governor and members of the legislature and Senators and members of this House, it shall have its Representatives admitted here. An exception, however, is made in the case of Tennessee and Arkansas, which now have loyal governors and other State officers and loyal legislatures. Those States would not be required, under this amendment, to re-elect their officers, but the Senators and Representatives already elected, if they can take the oath, would be admitted to seats in Congress, and



their State officers would be allowed to continue in their present positions.

I think this modification a very necessary one. Let gentlemen look over the South and see the character of the men who have been elected as Senators. In almost every instance, where they are not out and out open-throated rebels, who ought to be incarcerated in prisons or exiled from the country instead of approaching this temple of liberty; in almost every instance, I say, where there have been any concessions made to loyal men, the legislatures have elected moderate men for the short term and the most malignant rebels for the long term. In view of the fact that the loyal men have had no voice in those reconstructed governments, have had no voice in their legislation, have been dumb and silent under the sway of these traitors who were placed in power over them by the acting President, Andrew Johnson, the loyal men of those States should have a fair opportunity to select men who will truly represent them under the Constitution and laws when modified in accordance with the constitutional amendment proposed by Congress.

I also have an amendment which I intend to offer when the other bill comes up, but will not take up time by reading it now. . . .

Let us look, Mr. Speaker, at the condition in which we find the country. I hold in my hand the propositions reported by the committee of fifteen. I need not read them. They have been carefully examined by every member. All over the land, North and South, a cry is raised against the report of that committee. I ask gentlemen if they can put their hands on a single page of human history where, after a rebellion has been put down of the character of the one we had to deal with, they can find the conquerors making propositions so mild, so conciliatory, and so merciful as these made by the committee of fifteen—propositions as applicable to the conquerors as the conquered. Yet we find men in this Hall, men all over the South, men holding high positions in the government before the rebellion, and high positions in the rebel government, who have the effrontery to tell the people of this country that they will not accept such conditions. If they will not and we permit them to dictate their

own terms, is not this a practical surrender on the part of the conqueror to the conquered? Suppose our position had been reversed; suppose the anti-slavery men of this country had gone into a rebellion as the South did, without a pretext, without cause, when they had a majority in this and the other branch of Congress, simply because a pro-slavery man had been elected President. Suppose this to have been the case, that State after State had seceded, had captured the forts of the United States, and had made war on the Union for four years, destroying half a million of lives, as well as running up a debt of over \$3,000,000,000 for posterity to pay. I say suppose this to have been the case, do you believe any such propositions would have been made by those men when they had conquered as have been made by this government, nay, proposed by this very House? Do you suppose that leading anti-slavery men, like Garrison, Phillips, Beecher, Greeley, and Gerrit Smith, would have been sent for by a pro-slavery executive to be counseled with and sent home as provisional governors to organize States over the heads of the only loyal men in those States? Do you think there would have been any such stupid performance if the North had been in rebellion? No, sir, we would have been stripped naked, as was said by Henry A. Wise the other evening at Alexandria.

My friend from Iowa in front of me (Mr. Price) hands me the paper containing the extract I am quoting from memory, and I will read it:

“If I had triumphed,” said Governor Wise, “I should have favored stripping them naked. [Laughter.] Pardon! They might have appealed for pardon, but I would have seen them damned before I would have granted it. For myself, the boot being on the other leg, I take no oaths; I ask no pardons! [Prolonged cheers.] I give you that brigade—the old, the lasting, the enduring Wise brigade. [Cheers and applause.]”

Do you suppose if the rebellion in the North to which I have referred had been put down, any traitor would have been permitted to walk in Boston and utter such treason against the government? No, sir; and yet we are denounced in this Congress as a rump Congress, as Jacobins, as sangui-

nary men. Why? Because we ask, in restoring the governments of the Southern States, that our friends shall have a fair share in the administration of their State governments, and that the leading traitors shall be punished.

Sir, under the administration, as matters are now going, not a single, solitary traitor will be punished. Rebel soldiers that were in prison have all been liberated, while the soldiers of the grand Union Army who are in prison for the slightest offenses remain, and you cannot get them pardoned out. These are unpleasant facts, but I could not pass them and do my duty without referring to them.

What do we ask? The loyal men of the nation ask that in the restoration of the rebel States the men who were our friends and allies during the rebellion—the loyal men—shall be clothed with the power of the local and State governments of the South. Is this asking too much? If this is not accorded to us, if these men are to come back here, the loyal oath to be repealed as is recommended, and no conditions to be exacted; if these men are to come back here next year and take possession of the government, so far from treason being punished and made odious it will only prove to have been a passport to favor and to power.

Sir, has it come to this? Can the unselfish heroism and bravery, the devotion and sacrifices of our soldiers and the loyal men and women of the nation so soon be forgotten? Are the men who conducted this nation safely through the most terrible war recorded in history to admit, now that the rebellion is over, that they are incapable of administering the government in time of peace? Are the men who fought the opponents of this government on the battlefield and at the ballot-box for the last four years, and everywhere vanquished them, now to stack their arms and surrender themselves without condition to their prisoners? That will be the state of affairs if the present reconstruction policy of the administration succeeds. If in our work of reconstruction we do not secure the rights of loyal men who were our friends and allies in the late rebel States, we shall come short of our duty and be guilty of a blunder which, in such an hour as this, is worse than a crime. Sir, I want the loyal

men of the nation, who saved it in its hour of peril, not only to administer the National and State Governments, South as well as North, but to say who shall vote for their law-makers in those States consecrated by the blood of half a million men.

Our friends are mistaken, honestly mistaken I grant you, but nevertheless mistaken, when they say there are no loyal men in the South. Sir, I know the South better than that, and I stand here to say that I do not believe at the time the ordinances were passed in the eleven rebel States that more than two States—South Carolina and Mississippi—and possibly not more than one, would have voted by ballot at any fairly conducted election for secession and rebellion. I grant that after the rebellion was inaugurated a majority were carried into it, and that a majority in all those States, unless it be in Tennessee and Arkansas, and perhaps even these, are hostile at the present time to this government. But there are large numbers of men in those States who are loyal to the government, and I desire to strengthen their hands by giving the black man the ballot. In that way only can we strengthen these men and preserve the local State governments. The unfortunate reconstruction “experiment” of the administration has put the loyal men, black and white, under the foot of the traitor in nearly all the late rebel States, and they are powerless and compelled to submit, because the government has bound them hand and foot and turned them over to the tender mercies of their enemies and ours. Sir, it is the cause of the loyal white and black men of the South which I plead; it is their cause which this Congress is fighting. What I demand, and what this Congress demands, is that the loyal men of the South shall administer the local and State governments of the South; that none shall hold the offices, national and State, but loyal men. We have the right to demand this.

Sir, if we would have loyal representatives here, we must first secure a loyal constituency at their backs. It is idle to talk of loyal representatives and disloyal constituents. It is not worth while to deceive ourselves on this point, or attempt to deceive others. The solution of this great question of restoration is the work of statesmen, not of demagogues. All over the land demagogues are clamorous, and

denounce Congress because they do not at once declare the late rebel States restored to all their constitutional relations to the National Government and at once admit their disloyal representatives, who have the unblushing hardihood to approach and demand admission to this temple. Everywhere demagogues and traitors unite in denouncing the Congress of the United States because they have given six months to the consideration of this new and difficult problem of reorganizing constitutional State governments in eleven rebel States. Why, sir, we have spent six months on the tax bill, a subject with which we are familiar, and which has been in the hands of one of the ablest and most experienced committees of this House, yet with all the aid of the Treasury Department and the special commission authorized by the last Congress we could not get through with the tax bill until last evening. This question of taxation is an old and familiar one, and if we commit a blunder time will develop it and legislation can correct it. But this question of reconstruction is a new and perplexing question; a question which ought to command the best ability of the nation, because we are to walk in new and unknown paths, paths which have never been illuminated by the footprint of the statesmen who have preceded us. If we commit a blunder it may be fatal, at least for a generation. This Congress is honestly laboring to secure an early restoration of these States, and while I do not believe the propositions reported by the committee are all the loyal men of the South had the right to expect and demand at our hands, I shall vote for them if I can get nothing better.

But it is said that there are no loyal men in the South; that all were swept into this rebellion, and we are coolly and refreshingly told that the oath must be modified in order that rebels may be appointed to office. Sir, this claim that there are no loyal men in the South is a fallacy. I have lived in the South for years, and I know that there is not a State in which loyal men cannot be found to fill all the offices of the State and National Government. If they have not, then I would import them. I would do as I advised Mr. Lincoln to do in 1861, when he had up the question of appointing a postmaster at Louisville. He happened one morning when I

was in his room, and the case was up, to do me the honor to ask me what I would do. There was a loyal man who had been always faithful to our ideas an applicant for the place, and also a new convert. I said, "If I had the appointing power, and there were but one man in the State who had voted for me or voted to maintain our ideas, I would appoint him to the best office in the State in the gift of the Executive, and if he could not write his name I would appoint and pay a clerk out of the secret service fund to sign his name for him." You need not talk to me about there not being loyal men enough in the South to discharge the duties of all the offices there. It is a fallacy. Many honest men of my own personal acquaintance went into the rebellion believing it to be right; and before the close of the war and since the close of the war, have come out of it just as honest, and are satisfied that it was wrong.

Sir, I do not believe, with all the political heresy which has been taught at the South for the past thirty years, with all the political iniquity which has been taught in the name of religion and in the name of Christ in the South by men professing to teach the gospel; I do not believe that all this, with the war and all the terrible consequences which have followed in its train, has been enough to obliterate from the South an entire love for the old flag and the old Union.

I know that there are men in the South everywhere capable of filling all the offices. My judgment has been strengthened on this point by many letters which I have received during the war and since the war. A private soldier in the Union Army wrote me a letter after Sherman had passed through Georgia, in which the following beautiful and touching incident was related: "At one of our military posts where thousands came to receive rations from the government which they were madly fighting to destroy, there came one morning a tall, elderly lady of commanding appearance, and of evident culture and refinement, asking for bread. When it was handed to her by a brave boy in blue who stood proudly beneath the stars and stripes, she betrayed emotions which she could not suppress, and the tears stole down her cheeks as she said, 'Little did I think three years ago, when decking my three sons for the war, that I would

ever come to this; then I had husband, sons, home, and all that heart could wish; now I am homeless, childless, a widow, and a beggar, asking alms of the government which we sought to destroy. But it is all right. It is the punishment meted out by Providence for our sins, and I submit.’”

Sir, there are thousands of just such mothers as this in every State in the South to-day, and there is not a loyal man or woman in this nation who would not do all in their power to alleviate their wants and bind up their bleeding and broken hearts.

There is another beautiful incident which I must not omit. Last summer, when the convention met in North Carolina, in response to the acting President's proclamation, to reorganize a constitutional State government, Mr. Reade, the president of that convention, on taking the chair, uttered words which thrilled the continent. I have no language to tell you, Mr. Speaker, how they touched my heart as I read them on the shores of the Pacific. I know that every loyal man in this nation called down benedictions on his head. These are his golden words:

“Fellow-citizens, we are going home. Let painful recollections upon our late separation and pleasant memories of our early union quicken our footsteps toward the old mansion, that we may grasp hard again the hands of friendship, which stand at the door; and, sheltered by the old homestead which was built upon a rock, and has weathered the storm, enjoy together the long, bright future which awaits us.”

Sir, every loyal Representative in this Hall stands ready with open hand to-day to welcome all who thus speak from the heart; and, sir, whatever of local interest or of prejudice or of passion may have carried an erring brother into this rebellion, if he but set his face toward the old homestead, uttering such brave words as these, I will run to meet him afar off, and for him the fatted calf shall be slain. But I do not propose to start out laden down with pardons and with the fatted calf smoking hot from the oven and hunt up and thrust both pardons and feast upon unrepentant, malignant, and defiant rebels. Nor do I propose to stand before them, hat in hand, and ask them on what terms they propose to

return to the old mansion. Sir, every rebel shall resume his citizenship upon the terms and conditions prescribed by the loyal men of this nation, or, so far as I am concerned, he shall remain an alien forever.

Mr. Speaker, to me the only vital and living question growing out of this subject of reconstruction is whether the loyal men of the South, whether all citizens of the United States residing in the South, shall have the right of the ballot. And when I say all loyal citizens I mean all, black as well as white. I hold that every man born in the United States is a citizen of the United States, and that every citizen, native-born or naturalized, has the right to a voice in the Government under which he lives. It is a natural right, a divine right if you will, a right of which the government cannot justly deprive any citizen except as a punishment for crime. Sir, every American citizen of the age of twenty-one years, not convicted of an infamous offense, has the right to vote for or against those who are to make and administer the laws under which he lives. That is the high prerogative of every American citizen. Anything short of that is but a mockery.

I want this Congress, before it shall adjourn, to insist that every man who has been loyal to the government in the South, whatever his race or color, shall have the right to the ballot. We now have the golden opportunity. If you do not guaranty these precious rights of the citizen now, you leave the great work before us unfinished; and I warn you that agitation will follow your refusal to enact justice, and that there shall be no repose until every citizen of the republic is enfranchised and stands equal before the law. Shall we falter, Mr. Speaker, in this sublime hour of victory which God has given us, or shall we finish the work which He has committed to our hands by securing the complete enfranchisement of all citizens of the United States?

The voice of every friend of this country in Europe, as it comes to us across the sea, cries out to us to enfranchise the men who in the late struggle were our friends and our allies. From Switzerland, the grand republic of the Old World, there come to us words of counsel and wisdom which we ought not to disregard. From every land beneath the



sun, where liberty is loved and human hearts have been touched by our heroic struggle, there comes to us a plea that in reconstructing this government we shall first of all see to it that justice is the basis upon which we build.

And better than all this, from the loyal men of the South, both white and black, there comes up to us the prayer that we will see to it that they have justice; that we will not falsify the pledges which the nation has made. Sir, do gentlemen expect that we can make the pledges we have made, and then turn these people over to the tender mercies of their enemies and ours without calling down upon us the execrations and denunciations of all right-thinking men? If they do, they are mistaken. Shall we hear and answer these words of counsel and wisdom and the prayer of our friends and allies, or shall we turn for counsel and advice to our late enemies?

We are as a nation either to go forward in the great work of progress or go backward; we cannot stand still. And I am desirous to know whether this Congress is going to attempt the work of staying the great anti-slavery revolution which has swept over the country and obliterated all the pro-slavery landmarks erected by parties and by men. Sir, I have faith to believe that neither President nor Cabinet nor Congress can long stay with their puny efforts the grand decree of the nation. He who attempts it, be he President, Cabinet minister, or statesman, will fall before its advancing power, and his political grave will be marked by the skeletons of those who for the past quarter of a century, having betrayed liberty, were wrecked along the political coast and to-day lie unburied and unhonored because there were none so base as to do them reverence.

Sir, I know that our hour of triumph may be delayed; but I have faith to believe that we cannot be defeated. Let the ballot be placed in the hands of every loyal man in the South, and this nation is safe—safe from rebellion, safe from repudiation, safe from a war of races, safe from the domination of traitors in its councils. Sir, without the ballot in the hands of every loyal man the nation is not safe. The ballot is the only sure weapon of protection and defense for the poor man, whether white or black. It is the sword and buckler

and shield before which all oppressions, aristocracies and special privileges bow. Sir, Mr. Lincoln, in a letter written to Governor Hahn, of Louisiana, pleading for the right of the black man to vote, said most beautifully, and as I believe, prophetically, that "in some trying time the vote of the black man may serve to keep the jewel of liberty in the family of freedom."

I believe this most fully; and believing it, I would be false to myself and false to my country if I did not demand it. If I were a black man, with the chains just stricken from my limbs, without a home to shelter me or mine, and you should offer me the ballot, or a cabin and forty acres of cotton land, I would take the ballot, conscious that, with the ballot in my hand, rightly used, all else should be added unto me.

Sir, I would like to know whether there is one professedly loyal man in this nation who would rather confer the ballot upon a traitor to his country than upon a loyal black man who has fought to save the republic. I should like to hear such a man speak out here or elsewhere. Sir, however much brazen-faced impudence there is in every public assembly, there is no man in this House so bold or so bad as to make such a declaration.

MR. LE BLOND. With my colleague's permission, I wish to ask him a question. I infer from his remarks that he is in favor of negro suffrage. I wish to know whether he is in favor of negro suffrage in the States.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. Everywhere.

MR. LE BLOND. In the State of Ohio?

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. Everywhere.

MR. LE BLOND. Then I wish to ask the gentleman another question: does he claim that Congress has the power to confer the right of suffrage upon negroes in the States?

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. Well, sir, I do not intend to put myself on record against the right of Congress to do that. I have no time now to argue the point with my colleague; but I will say to him that when the time comes for the American Congress to take action on the question, I will be ready to speak. I will not say now whether I would vote for or against such a proposition.

MR. LE BLOND. I wish to ask my colleague one more question: is he in favor of the report of the reconstruction committee?

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. Well, sir, I am voting for it.

MR. LE BLOND. Is my colleague in favor of keeping the States out until the conditions prescribed in that report are complied with?

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. If my colleague had listened to my remarks and to the amendment which I presented, he would not have felt called upon to interrupt me to put this inquiry.

MR. LE BLOND. I would like to inquire why the gentleman yields the question of suffrage, as he does, in supporting the proposition of the committee.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. Because I cannot get it. [Laughter.] Is not that a fair answer?

MR. LE BLOND. That is honest.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. Now, sir, let us look at this question for a moment from the standpoint of the black man. And he who will not look at this question from the standpoint of the black man is unfit to sit in judgment on this question. Let me ask gentlemen on the other side, with whom I always deal fairly, suppose your ancestors had been in bondage for two hundred years, and that this nation—this nation of hypocrites and liars for more than eighty years—had enslaved and degraded you as no people were ever degraded before—making merchandise of your entire race, while professing Christianity and a love for liberty. I say suppose this to have been your condition when this war begun—a war inaugurated on the part of your masters to establish a government which should perpetuate your bondage—and after becoming satisfied that we could not conquer your masters without your aid, we had invited you in the hour of the nation's agony to join our army and help put down the rebellion, promising you your freedom, and that you had come two hundred thousand strong, and had stayed, if you did not turn, the tide of battle, thereby giving us the victory. I say suppose this to be the case, and after the rebellion had been crushed and your masters were put down by your aid, we had coolly and unblushingly turned you over

to the control of local State governments administered by your late masters. I ask, what kind of justice you would call that?

MR. ELDRIDGE. I wish to inquire——

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. If you will answer that question I will yield the floor.

MR. ELDRIDGE. Was that so from the beginning?

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. It was so with me. I do not know what issue the gentleman had. So far as his votes indicated, his position was on the other side.

MR. ELDRIDGE. Was that the position of Mr. Lincoln and those who supported him from the beginning of the war?

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. I do not think it was at the beginning.

MR. ELDRIDGE. Was it at the end of the war?

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. Yes, sir.

THE SPEAKER. The gentleman's time has expired.

MR. GARFIELD. I move that my colleague's time be extended.

MR. LEBLOND. He is entitled to credit, and deserves extension.

There was no objection, and it was ordered accordingly.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I want my friend from Ohio, or any one on that side of the House, to tell me, if after having fought to save the nation under the promise of freedom and the protection of his life and property, what would be his feelings toward those who committed the great crime of turning him over to the control of his enemies and ours? What would you say of such a government? What would you say of the honor of its rulers? Sir, I know not what other men would say, but if I were a black man I would not submit. I would rather be the slave of one man who had a pecuniary interest in my health and life THAN TO BE THE SLAVE OF A STATE WHOSE GOVERNMENT WAS CONTROLLED BY MY LATE MASTERS. It is a terrible thing to be the slave of a State whose government is administered in the spirit of caste. Sir, if the members of this House could witness what I have often seen, free men made the slave of the State, they would know how intolerable is such a condition, and would not sleep soundly if by their vote they permitted four million

people, who were our allies and friends in this late war, to become the slaves of a State whose government was in the hands of rebels.

**MR. HIGBY.** They have re-enacted the same laws.

**MR. ASHLEY,** of Ohio. These laws have been re-enacted in some of the so-called reconstructed States, as my friend from California remarks. Sir, I repeat, if this great injustice was done me I would not submit; and I tell you that these four million people, soon to increase to many millions, will not submit to such monstrous legislation. If I were a black man I would rather go into rebellion and revolution than submit to such an intolerable wrong. I would take my children and go daily with them to the altar and swear eternal hostility to those who thus betrayed me. I would consecrate all the powers of mind and strength which I possessed to brand those with infamy who had been so false to my people, and to put them into history along with those who, in every generation, have disgraced the world as the betrayers of mankind and enemies of the human race.

Sir, nothing can give such security to the poor man as the ballot. The prejudice of caste is strong, but the ballot will soon banish its baneful spirit. If in the days of Know-Nothingism the Irishman had not had the protection which the ballot alone could give him his condition would have been intolerable. How much more intolerable the condition of the black man without the ballot when completely under the dominion of his late slave-master!

**MR. ELDRIDGE.** Let me ask a question.

**MR. ASHLEY,** of Ohio. Not now. When Richmond fell, when Lee surrendered, when the last rebel army surrendered, and the bells all over the North were ringing out their peals of joy, who were the men that stood up first in this Union and asked for mercy to a fallen foe? The men who had a right to speak, Garrison, Phillips, Beecher, Greeley, Bryant, and Gerrit Smith—the men of heart, of intellect, and of soul. While they demanded justice for black men and the loyal men of the South, they plead also for mercy to a fallen foe.

When I came here last spring to see President Johnson, he was talking about "making treason odious, and declaring

that traitors should take a back seat." I was more anxious to secure justice to our friends and allies than to execute vengeance on our late enemies. All we asked then and all we ask now is justice—justice to our friends and mercy to a fallen foe. All we ask now for white men and black men in the South and in the North is justice; and I tell you, that by the blessing of God, we intend to have it. Be not deceived. You cannot always postpone the demands of justice. As a nation we have learned by sad experience that we cannot trample upon it with impunity. Neither laws nor customs nor despotism can silence its claim, because it is a principle implanted by the Creator in every human heart, and can never be wholly eradicated by the selfishness or tyranny of man. He who understands the simple teachings of the golden rule comprehends the application of justice alike by governments and men.

It needs no learning or superior wisdom to interpret it. The ignorant black, so recently a slave, and the most scholarly white, alike understand it. Justice demands liberty and equality before the law for all. It speaks in the heart of every man, wherever born, with an inspiration like unto that which spoke on the day of Pentecost with tongues of fire. Woe to the statesman or party or nation which tramples on this principle! Its complete recognition by our government will bring us national grandeur and national glory, and secure unity, peace, prosperity, power. Its rejection will tarnish the fair fame of our country, and bring discord, dissension, adversity, war.

Let the corner-stone of each reconstructed State be justice and the cap-stone will be liberty. With liberty and justice as the fundamental law of our national and State governments there can be no war of races, no secession, no rebellion. It is injustice and oppression which bring dissension and war. The opposite will bring harmony and peace. He who votes injustice to-day will be held accountable by the people now, and in the great tribunal of human history will be justly chargeable with all the oppression, wrongs, and wars which must follow the enactment of injustice into law. The law-maker who demands nothing for himself which he will not concede to the humblest citizen is the only true

statesman. 'Make the community of interest one by guarantying the equal rights of all men before the law, and the fidelity of every inhabitant of such a commonwealth becomes a necessity not only from interest but from a love of justice.

Sir, this Congress is writing a new chapter in American history. Let every man whose great privilege it is to record his name where it will stand forever, so record it as to secure the triumph of justice, and his name and memory shall have a life coequal with the Republic.

Sir, he who has comprehended the logic of the terrible conflict through which we have passed and studied with profit the lessons which it has taught, will have learned the point at which in our great march as a nation we have reached, and know something of the course which in the future it will travel.

Animated for many years by conflicting, sectional, hostile forces, I have lived to see since my entrance into Congress these antagonistic views so modified and melted into one that to-day the condition is accepted by all patriotic, right-thinking men, and the historian without confusion can make up the record. If this war has taught us any one lesson more clearly than another, it is that we are inseparably one people, that this continent can never again become the abode of human slavery, and that in all our future deliberations in these Halls old antagonisms will cease to divide us, and our hopes and aspirations become one, because our interests are one.

Let this measure, or those which the Senate may perfect, pass and go into the Constitution of the country; let the propositions before us become the law of the land, and you will have done something toward securing the triumph of justice. Pass these acts, and justice as a flaming sword will stand at the doors of the nation's council halls to guard its sanctuary from the presence of traitors. Pass them, and he who approaches this temple of liberty shall pause at the threshold before entering and swear eternal fidelity to the republic.

Let these propositions pass and the proposed amendment of the Constitution become part of our fundamental law, and a generation shall not pass away before witnessing the com-

plete enfranchisement of every freeman and the entire abolition of all class legislation.

In this faith and with this hope, believing that Providence in the future as in the past will overrule all for our good and supply where we have failed, I am prepared to give my voice and my vote for whatever measure a majority of the loyal members of the American Congress may adopt for the restoration of the States lately in rebellion.



## SPEECH

OF HON. JAMES M. ASHLEY, OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JANUARY 26, 1867.

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### RECONSTRUCTION.

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The House having under consideration House bill No. 543, to restore to the States lately in insurrection their full political rights—

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio, said:

MR. SPEAKER: I am opposed to the motion of my colleague to refer the bill now under consideration, with the pending amendments, to the joint Committee on Reconstruction. I am also opposed to the motion which the gentleman from Pennsylvania gave notice of the other day, to lay these bills on the table. I hope the motion to refer them, or lay them on the table, will not be adopted. If either of these motions should prevail it would operate practically as a declaration on the part of the House that no action may be expected during the remainder of this Congress upon the great question of reconstruction. I accept the suggestion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, and now withdraw my amendment to his substitute; and, so far as I can, I will sustain the motion which he proposes to make on Monday, that the House consider these bills as in Committee of the Whole under the five-minute rule, and try to perfect a bill so as to be able to send it to the Senate within the next two or three days.

Gentlemen at all familiar with the legislation of the House, and the manner in which its business is now blocked out, will comprehend at once that unless some speedy action is had by the House, and the bill sent to the Senate, so that

they may have time to examine it, and to review the veto message in case it shall come in, during the life of this Thirty-ninth Congress, there can be no act passed which will bring relief to the loyal men of the South or carry out the pledges which the Thirty-ninth Congress made to the country and to the loyal men of the South, that loyal and constitutional State governments should be established there on the reassembling of Congress.

As the gentleman from Pennsylvania has just remarked, there are but twenty working-days practically left of this session. The Thirty-ninth Congress went to the country in opposition to the policy of the President, and to what we were pleased to denominate his usurpations. The people in generous confidence have sustained Congress and returned to the Fortieth Congress by majorities unprecedented men pledged to the abolition of the governments established by the acting President of the United States, in violation of all law, and, as I claim, in clear violation of the Constitution. A large majority on this side of the House were returned to the next Congress under the express pledge that they would not permit these rebel State governments to exist a single hour after this Congress had been in session long enough to declare them abolished. If this Congress fails to redeem that pledge it will commit a blunder which, in such an hour as this, is worse than a crime.

MR. CONKLING. I ask the gentleman to state his objection to having a subject like this, with regard to which a number of bills have been brought forward, committed to a committee which has now no work upon its hands and which has a right to report at any time.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. My answer to the gentleman from New York is, that the Committee on Reconstruction have held no meetings during this entire session up to this hour. Several bills proposed by gentlemen have been referred to that committee during this session upon which they have taken no action. If the committee ever gets together again, which I doubt, as it is a large committee composed of both branches of Congress, I have but little hope of their being able to agree. The chairman of the committee on the part of the Senate, as is well known, is absorbed in his efforts

to perfect the financial measures of the country, and I fear that if this bill goes to that committee it will go to its grave, and that it will not during the life of the Thirty-ninth Congress see the light. If I were opposed to these bills I would vote to send them to that committee as sending them to their tomb. That is my answer to the gentleman from New York.

MR. CONKLING. I do not know whether the gentleman from Ohio would like my opinion as to whether that is a good answer or not.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. I have no objection to the gentleman giving his opinion.

MR. CONKLING. I think it is not very good considering that it comes from such a distinguished source. There is no difficulty in having prompt consideration of anything which may be sent to the committee. It was created originally solely to deal with this subject. It was at first broken into four sub-committees that the work of gathering evidence might be more advantageously and speedily carried on. It became one committee, usually working together, only during a few weeks immediately preceding the bringing forward of its ultimate propositions. It would not be decorous for me to praise the committee or the work it did; but I may say with propriety that if it ever was a good committee, if it ever should have been created and composed as it was, it is a good committee now—better than it ever was before; better, because more familiar with this subject, because its members having now become acquainted with each other's views, and having become accustomed to act with each other, and having studied the whole subject committed to them, can proceed with much more hope of good results than ever before. Having a right to report at any time, and being led on the part of this House, by the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Stevens], I see no reason why it cannot consider and digest wisely and promptly whatever may be referred to it and make report.

I did not intend to say one word about this, and do not intend to rise again in regard to it. I beg now to say, however, that I hope the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bingham] will not withdraw his motion to refer this whole subject to

the joint Committee on Reconstruction; on the contrary, I trust the majority of this House will promptly refer all these bills with all cognate propositions to that committee, and give them at least one opportunity at this session to show whether they can produce something for action or some reason for not acting.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. I have as much confidence in the joint Committee on Reconstruction as any gentleman on this floor; but the gentleman from New York [Mr. Conkling] will remember that the propositions which they brought forward near the close of the last session, simultaneously in both branches, were propositions which demanded a two-thirds vote of each branch of Congress, and did not require the signature of the Executive. Had they required the signature of the Executive, and been returned by him without his signature, as any reconstruction bill undoubtedly will be, the time to which Congress had limited its session would have expired before we could have reconsidered and passed them over his veto.

Upon this subject of reconstruction the great body of this House have given much thought, and I believe we can arrive quite as surely at a result here in the House, under the five-minute rule of amendment and debate, as we can by referring this subject to any committee.

MR. STEVENS. I will reply, in answer to what my colleague upon the joint Committee on Reconstruction [Mr. Conkling] has said, that he seems not to be aware that we are now considering a report from that very committee. That committee made a report, and I have offered a substitute for the bill which they reported. If the gentleman thinks the report of that committee best then let him vote against my substitute. But why send this subject back again to the committee? The gentleman knows as well as I do how many different opinions there are in that committee; some of us believe in one thing, and some of us in another; some of us are very critical and some of us are not. The idea that we can consider anything in that committee, constituted as it is, in less than a fortnight, it seems to me is wholly out of the question; and as we have only about some twenty working-days in which to mature this bill in both branches of Con-

gress, if we send this subject to that committee and let it take its time to consider it, and then have it reported here and considered again, I certainly need not say to gentlemen that that would be an end of the matter, at least for this session. I do not believe the gentleman from New York [Mr. Conkling] desires to accomplish that result; though I believe some gentlemen do. I believe that will be its fate as inevitably as it goes there.

MR. CONKLING. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Ashley], I trust, will allow me a remark in reply.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. Certainly.

MR. CONKLING. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Stevens] inquires why this report, emanating originally from the Committee on Reconstruction, should now be sent back. Let me answer: the gentleman from Pennsylvania concurred in that report; he had his full share in molding it and making it precisely what it was. He supported it then; now he offers a substitute for it, Why? Because the time which has elapsed since then and the events which have transpired have modified, he thinks, the exigencies of the case. Is not that as applicable to the judgment of the committee as to his own? And if it be necessary for him now to offer, as he has offered, a different series of provisions in order to express his views, matured as they are by the intermediate experience, is it not necessary, or if not necessary is it not proper, that it should have the opportunity of acting for once in the light of all the facts and circumstances as they are to-day? By as much as those circumstances involve the necessity of the substitute emanating from the gentleman from Pennsylvania, by so much in my judgment they invoke the renewed action of this committee.

MR. STEVENS. The gentleman is aware, I suppose, that two or perhaps three bills on this subject have been referred during this session to that committee. Why has not the committee acted on them?

MR. CONKLING. Mr. Speaker, if I were the chairman of the committee on the part of this House I should be able to answer that question, because then I could tell why I had not called the committee together. But as I am only a subordinate member of the committee, whose business it is to come

when I am called, and never to call others, I am entirely unable to give the information for which the gentleman inquires.

**MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio.** Mr. Speaker, if I could have any assurance that this committee would be able to report promptly a bill upon which this House could probably agree, I would not hesitate a single moment to vote for the reference of this measure to that committee, including the several bills before my own committee, because, as I said in the outset, I have entire confidence in the gentlemen who constitute that committee. But, believing that they will be unable to agree, I shall vote against a recommitment.

One word more with regard to this matter. This House has on two different occasions by resolutions instructed the committee of which I am chairman—the Committee on Territories—to report to the House bills on this subject. Some half dozen bills have been prepared and sent to that committee. And when the committee is called, unless the House shall already have acted on some proposition looking to the reorganization of loyal governments in the late rebel States, we intend to report a bill and to insist upon a vote. So far as I am concerned I do not intend that the Thirty-ninth Congress shall adjourn without some effort to provide governments which shall secure justice and equality to all loyal men in the southern States.

**MR. BLAINE.** With the gentleman's permission I desire to ask him, in regard to those bills now before his committee, whether, when they were introduced here for reference, the point of order was made upon them that they had no business before that committee, but belonged, under the rules of the House, to the Reconstruction Committee.

**MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio.** No, sir; one of those resolutions was introduced before this House again galvanized into life the Reconstruction Committee for the remainder of the session.

**MR. BLAINE.** And all the bills that have been referred to the gentleman's committee since then were referred in direct violation of a rule of this House; and if the point of order had been made upon them they would not have been referred to that committee. I do not think that the gentle-

man's committee ought to take advantage of the neglect of members to make the point of order.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. If this House has, by unanimous consent, since the adoption of the resolution reviving the Reconstruction Committee, sent bills to the Committee on Territories, it is no fault of the latter committee.

MR. BLAINE. Unanimous consent, in nine cases out of ten, is only another name for negligence on the part of the House. It was gross negligence in this case.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. Very well, sir, that may be the opinion of the gentleman; but so far as the House is concerned, its action, before the Reconstruction Committee was reconstituted for this session, authorized the committee of which I am chairman to report a bill, and we intend to do it.

Now, sir, I wish to examine briefly one or two of the provisions of the amendment which I have offered to the bill of the gentleman from Pennsylvania. Substantially this bill will be reported by the Committee on Territories if no bill is previously acted on by the House.

MR. FINCK. I desire to ask my colleague whether he can tell the House and the country what the plan of congressional reconstruction is?

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. I hope to be able to do so before I take my seat.

MR. FINCK. We shall be very glad, indeed, to learn it.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. At any rate, I shall show that a majority of the Republican Union party by their votes in the Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth Congresses are committed to the plan of reconstruction now proposed.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Raymond], in his speech on the day before yesterday, made an objection to the amendment which I have offered because it abolishes unqualifiedly the DE FACTO State governments established by the acting President in the late rebel States, and claimed that in the interim between the organization of the provisional committees provided for in the bill and the passage of the act abolishing these governments anarchy would reign supreme in those States, and he claimed that any government is better than no government. Now, Sir, the gentleman from New York was mistaken. It is true that

there would be no local civil government left in those States if the bill should pass abolishing the present governments; but there is a provision directing the President of the United States to see that the laws of the United States are executed in those States and the lives and property of our citizens protected.

MR. BINGHAM. What laws of the United States to protect life and property?

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. No law of the United States now on the statute-books; but the President is required by the provisions of my bill to use the entire military and naval force of the nation to protect the lives and property of the citizen in those States during the interim. So far as that subject is concerned the lives and property of the people will be just as safe as they were during the interim between the surrender of Lee and Johnston and the organization of the present governments.

With the whole force of the United States at the President's disposal, he can if he will protect the lives and property of the people quite as well as he did after the surrender and until the establishment of the governments now existing there.

MR. BINGHAM. What provision is there in this act for the protection of life and property?

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. The bill provides that the force of the United States shall be at the disposal of our military commanders in those States just as it was at the suppression of the rebellion.

MR. BINGHAM. What provision is there to punish any acts of petit larceny?

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. There is none. If any act of petit larceny is committed in those States during the short interim contemplated it will not materially damage the loyal men who have been exiled or despoiled of all they possess. If such acts are committed upon Union men under the present governments there is no chance for redress under these DE FACTO rebel governments. So far as I am concerned, if I were a southern loyalist, I would rather have no government at all than the infernal despotism which to-day crushes the loyal men of the South.



MR. ELDRIDGE. Will the gentleman tell me what laws of the United States he considers applicable to this country?

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. I have provided in this bill for that.

MR. ELDRIDGE. I understand the gentleman to say he expected the people of these Territories to be protected by and under the laws of the United States, enforced by the President. Will the gentleman tell me what laws he purposes shall be enforced?

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. My colleague has just propounded the same question, and I have just answered it.

MR. ELDRIDGE. I was not able to hear what occurred between the gentlemen and his colleague.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. The whole machinery of the bill is to compel the President of the United States, with the army and navy and the whole force at his disposal, to see to it that this act and all acts of the provisional governments organized under it shall be enforced in those States.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. Raymond] made the objection that there would be an interval of time when there would be no government in these States. I reply again that the interim would be no longer than that which occurred after the suppression of the rebellion and the setting up of the provisional governments now existing there, and the time would not ordinarily be longer than sixty days.

As I intend to withdraw this bill, as requested by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, I will not take up the time of the House in discussing its provisions.

MR. BINGHAM. Can that be done while my motion is pending to refer?

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. Yes, sir, it can; but I yield to the gentleman to make his point of order if he desires.

MR. BINGHAM. But the gentleman has not withdrawn it.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. If I have not, I withdraw it now.

Now, Mr. Speaker, in reply to some of the arguments addressed to this House by gentlemen on the other side, I want to say that the great body of Union men deny that during the entire war there has been any constitutional State government in any one of the States in rebellion. Tennessee has been readmitted, or its reorganized State government

has been recognized by Congress since the war. The gentlemen who have served with me here during the entire war recognize the fact that the great body of men constituting the Republican-Union party have held that opinion since the outbreak of the rebellion.

At the first regular session of the Thirty-seventh Congress I introduced a bill to establish temporary provisional governments in the then eleven rebellious States. The Committee on Territories authorized me to report such a bill, and on the 12th of March, 1862, I did report such a bill to this House, which was laid on the table by a small majority; the great body of the Union members present and voting voted against laying the bill on the table. At the commencement of the first session of the Thirty-eighth Congress a special committee was organized on the subject of reconstruction, of which the late Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland, was chairman, and of which I also was a member. They proposed to this House, and the House and Senate passed, a bill again recognizing the principle on which the Union-Republican party have acted during the entire war, declaring there were no constitutional State governments in those States. These bills recognized the fact that the sovereignty of the nation was in the people residing in States which maintained constitutional State governments, acting in practical relations with the Government of the United States. They held that Congress as the representative of the sovereignty of the nation had the right to legislate on all subjects in States where constitutional State governments had been overthrown or destroyed. That bill passed both Houses, but failed to become a law because Mr. Lincoln declined to sign it, although he said he was acting and intended to follow practically the principles contained in the bill.

MR. LE BLOND. Will my colleague yield for a question? I understand him to say that from the outbreak of the difficulties to the present time this Congress entertained the views he has just advanced. If that be so, I would like to know how it came that the Congress passed in 1862 the Crittenden resolution, which is in direct conflict with the theory the gentleman has announced. I believe my colleague voted for that resolution.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. The Crittenden resolution was passed at the extra session of Congress in July, 1861, immediately after the battle of Bull Run. I voted for the first proposition in the resolution, which declared that this war had been inaugurated by the southern people who were then in arms around the national capital. I did not vote for the second proposition; I declined to do so, although the great body of the party to which I belonged did vote for it.

MR. ELDRIDGE. You did not vote against it.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. I did not vote at all. There were only two votes in the negative on our side, if I remember rightly, my then colleague, Mr. Riddle, of Ohio, and Mr. Potter, of Wisconsin.

MR. DAWES. And two on the other side.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. And two on the other side. But that resolution did not commit this House nor the Republican party to any settled policy in regard to the state of things now existing. If the rebellion had been suppressed at once, if the people in rebellion had laid down their arms, then every gentleman here and all who served with me in the Thirty-seventh Congress know very well that they would have been welcomed back to their former positions at once. But the rebellion having been continued during the entire four years, the local governments in those States having been destroyed or their constitutional relations with the National Government suspended, when the people residing in the States which maintained constitutional State governments, and who during these four years constituted the Government of the United States and represented its sovereignty, crushed the rebellion, they had a right under every law, human and divine, to prescribe terms of restoration to the States lately in rebellion; and I tell gentlemen on the other side that the men who crushed the rebellion intend to prescribe terms of restoration to those States. I know gentlemen of the opposition insist with great pertinacity on the abstract proposition that there is no power in the people of a State to sever their constitutional relations with this government; but, sir, there stands the fact against this theory. I admit, and every gentleman on this side of the House admits, that the people in a State have no constitutional power to destroy their State

governments or dissolve their constitutional relations with the National Government; but that they have nevertheless done so the history of the country for the past four years is the best evidence.

MR. ELDRIDGE. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him this question? If what the rebels did previous to the passage of the Crittenden resolution did not break their relations with the United States, how could they have done it afterward?

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. If the gentleman knows anything of the history of the country he comprehends very well that a majority of the people in the North, even as late as late as July, 1861, were unwilling to believe that such a formidable insurrection and rebellion was before them, and that we were to have a bloody war of four years after the disaster at Bull Run.

MR. ELDRIDGE. Then will the gentleman allow me to ask whether the United States have any power or authority by which they can allow a State to break its relationship with the Union?

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. I suppose there is no one in this House who would claim or admit that the Government of the United States has any constitutional power to authorize or recognize the right of a majority of the people of a State to dissolve their constitutional relations with the General Government. So far as I am concerned, and the great body of the men with whom I act, we utterly deny it. But, sir, if the people of a State do the act, what then? Who is there to prescribe the terms and conditions upon which these States shall be restored when these acts are consummated?

Sir, I hold, as my distinguished colleague [Mr. Bingham] holds, and as the great body of the Republican-Union party hold, that the Government of the United States under its present Constitution can only exist where constitutional State governments are maintained, and that the sovereignty of the people of this country reposes in the people who reside in States which maintain constitutional State governments in practical relations with the National Government, and exists nowhere else. I hold that the people of a State may, and all know that eleven States did, in violation of the Constitution, dissolve their practical relations with the National

Government. As an individual citizen may, in violation of law, commit crime, so may a political community, in violation of law, refuse or neglect to discharge their constitutional obligations. If they do this thing, I hold that the States which remain loyal must always represent the national sovereignty and have the right to dictate such terms as they may see fit to revolting States, and to compel the people of the States so violating the Constitution to accept those terms, or to remain during the pleasure of the conqueror in the condition in which we now find the late rebel States. No, not in such condition, but in such condition as the Congress which represents the nation may dictate.

I have regretted to find, since this Congress came together, so many gentlemen here doing all they could to inflame the passions and prejudices of the great body of the people who were recently in rebellion in the United States. I have regretted to find them forming alliances with rebels and justifying the President of the United States, who has become the leader of a negative rebellion as hostile and as dangerous to the United States, and I fear far more so than an open armed rebellion would be if he were at the head of it. I am anxious, and the great body of those with whom I act are to-day most anxious, that the people who went into the rebellion (many of them honestly and thousands of them reluctantly) should be restored to their practical relations with this government upon the mildest and most merciful and forgiving terms which it is possible for us, a conquering people, to impose upon them, looking to our own safety, the stability of the National Government, and the rights of loyal citizens in those States.

MR. FINCK. Will my colleague yield to me for a moment?

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. For a question.

MR. FINCK. This is the very place for my question. What are the terms you propose? What is the congressional plan for restoration?

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. The gentleman will find an answer if he will read these bills; he will have his answer when this House has agreed upon some practical measure of restoration, which I trust we shall do within ten days—

MR. FINCK. I ask the gentleman which of these bills presents a fair congressional plan of restoration ?

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. I hope the gentleman will learn that fact when the majority of this House comes to vote upon these measures next Monday.

MR. FINCK. I suppose so.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. And he cannot learn before.

MR. FINCK. One more question, and I am done. I want to know of my colleague, whom I recognize as the leader of that side of the House on this question, whether he admits that his party have not yet come to an agreement upon their plan of restoration ?

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. So far as I know they have not. The Union party practically committed themselves to a policy of restoration, and they went so far as to admit the State of Tennessee upon the proposed terms of that restoration policy. I voted for the admission of Tennessee, and do not regret having voted for the admission of that truly loyal State.

If any other State recently in rebellion had come to this House under the same conditions in which Tennessee came, ratifying the amendment to the Constitution, and having adopted a State constitution securing the control of the government of the State to loyal men, I should, although it might not have come up to all my requirements, have voted for the admission of its members ; so anxious was I then, and so anxious am I now, to see the States recently in rebellion restored to their former position in the Union. But the great body of the men recently in rebellion, under the lead of the Executive, have rejected these mild terms, and it now rests with Congress to say upon what terms they shall be admitted.

MR. HISE. I desire to ask the gentleman one question, inasmuch as he asked me some questions while I was speaking the other day.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. I believe I did not ask the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Hise] any questions at all. I merely declared in my seat in a word or two that I dissented from his views.

MR. HISE. I desire to ask a question.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. Very well ; I will allow the gentleman to ask me a question.

MR. HISE. The gentleman has said that there has not been a definite plan adopted by a majority of this House. I wish to ask the gentleman if he will go so far as to state that the majority of this House concur with him in refusing admission into the Congress of the United States of representatives from these ten States now unless they agree to the condition of branding all who have held either civil or military office under the confederacy as traitors, and as such are to be excluded from the right to hold office under the United States, and regarding the whole body of the people of those States who sympathized with or co-operated with those who endeavored to establish the confederacy as disloyal, and that none are to be regarded as loyal except the negroes and interlopers there?

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. In all of the measures proposed by this Congress the great body of the men who were in the confederate army and supported the rebellion have been granted entire forgiveness. In the propositions which were submitted by Congress to the people only certain parties were excluded from holding office. Now, I would like to ask the gentleman [Mr. Hise] whether he is willing that men, who while members of this House, and of the Senate, and of the Government of the United States and of the several States, plotted treason against this Government, and went into a war and maintained it for four years to destroy this Government, should now be received here without conditions with his vote?

MR. HISE. I will answer that question. I am of the opinion that all of the distinguished men, both civilians and those who held commissions and authority in either army, in the suppression of the rebellion, in putting down this secession, or opposition to the government, were citizens of States in the Union. I deny the authority of the Government to demand as a condition-precedent to admission to representation upon this floor a right to inquire into the conduct of, to convict, and to condemn these men so as to denationalize them or to deprive them of the right to hold office either under the National Government or under a State government. I should oppose that as a usurpation of power.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. The answer of the gentleman amounts to this: that so far as he and the party he repre-

sents are concerned they would not object to Jeff. Davis or any of the men whose hands are red with the blood of my loyal countrymen, coming into this Hall and taking seats alongside of them as Representatives. But the gentleman goes further, and says this is a proposition to clothe the black population with the franchise, and interlopers with the right of the franchise in States. All I demand, all the loyal men of the nation demand, in the reorganization of State governments in the late rebel States, is that we protect the rights of those who during the war were our friends and allies, and I claim we can only do that by securing every loyal man the right of the ballot.

But, Mr. Speaker, my time is passing, and I must return to the point which I was about to notice when interrupted. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Ross], like many other gentlemen upon that side of the House who have spoken before him, asked why we permitted Senators and Representatives from these States to remain in these Halls after the rebellion, if we recognized the principle upon which we now profess to act? Why, sir, the answer is obvious, and I am surprised that any intelligent gentleman should ask such a question. When those men were elected they came here from States recognized as constitutional States, in practical relations with the National Government. A Senator of the United States is elected for six years, and a member of the House for two years. They came here and took their seats because they had been constitutionally elected before their States went into rebellion. Every gentleman knows that there is no authority under the Constitution which would authorize the House or the Senate to exclude a member duly elected and qualified, unless they committed some overt act of treason or violated the rules prescribed for the government of the House or Senate, and the gentleman ought to understand this matter quite as well as I do.

MR. CHANLER. I want to ask the gentleman one question.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. Very well; I will hear it.

MR. CHANLER. It is this: if the loyal population of any State should be found to consist of negroes alone, does the gentleman mean to say that he would recognize that as a



State, its organization being based upon negro population alone, excluding the white race?

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. The gentleman has asked me a question which he knows very well —

MR. CHANLER. You cannot answer it. [Laughter.]

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. It has no practical application so far as it relates to any of the States recently in rebellion.

MR. CHANLER. You dare not answer it. Answer "yes" or "no," and do not falter about it.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. When the gentleman talks about my faltering and not daring to answer he assumes what he has no right to assume.

MR. CHANLER. Well, give us an answer.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. If the gentleman will take his seat and remain quiet for a moment I will give him an answer. If there were a single State in the American Union in which there was not a single white man and all were black men, I would clothe its population with the right of the franchise, and with every other right of an American citizen under this Government. [Applause in the galleries.] Does the gentleman regard this as an answer?

Now, Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Ross] and those who sustain him have asked the question repeatedly with an air of assumed innocence why we do not admit loyal Representatives from the recent rebel States upon this floor and upon the floor of the Senate. Why, sir, I would not vote to-day to admit Horace Greeley as a Representative in this House from South Carolina, nor would I vote to admit any other man, however loyal, as a Representative from that community. Why? The gentlemen on the other side comprehend this matter quite as well as I do. They know that no political community under our form of government has the right to representation on this floor or in the Senate of the United States, unless it has a constitutional State government organized and recognized by Congress as in practical relation with the Government of the United States. The admission of Representatives and Senators in Congress is a practical recognition of the State government from which they come.

MR. HISE. With the permission of the gentleman from Ohio, I will say that I do not think he has met the interroga-

tion submitted by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Chanler]. The gentleman from Ohio has said that if the population of a State were composed entirely of black men, no white men residing in the State, he would recognize those black men as entitled to the right of suffrage and every other right. But the question of the gentleman from New York, as I understood it, was, whether the gentleman from Ohio would recognize as entitled to representation a State where suffrage was confined to the negroes, the white population being excluded from the exercise of that right.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. Well, Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman is anxious for my views on this point, I will explain. I am willing to forgive, though I can never forget the crimes committed by those who attempted to destroy this Government. I am willing to walk backward and with the broad mantle of charity cover the political nakedness of the men recently in rebellion. My anxiety for the restoration of the Southern States is such that I am willing that all men, even those who held subordinate civil positions and positions in the army of the rebellion shall have the ballot, excluding only the more important and leading men from holding office—those, for instance, who were above the grade of colonel, and those who held positions under this Government before the rebellion. Every bill ever introduced by me for reorganizing these States has proposed to extend the right of the ballot to the great body of the white as well as the black people. My friend from Kentucky says—and if I held his opinions I would say—“that the rule I have suggested would exclude the very best men in the South.” Undoubtedly it would exclude those whom he and his friends regard as the best men in the South. If my friend from Kentucky had resided in South Carolina during the war I suppose he would never have been upon this floor. I respect him for standing up here and maintaining his opinions, erroneous as I deem them. I prefer an open, manly opponent to a pretended friend. A large majority of those with whom I act are anxious for the restoration of loyal State governments in the South. They are willing to go so far as to extend forgiveness to the great body of the people guilty of the great crime of treason, and admit them to the ballot-box; but at the same

time they demand that every loyal man, every "interloper," as my friend from Kentucky terms the white Unionist, every man, however dusky his skin, whose heart beat true to the old flag and the Union during the entire war, shall be the equal of any traitor, however white.

MR. HILL. I desire to ask my friend from Ohio whether his last expression is to be taken as indicating his conversion to the doctrine of "universal amnesty and universal suffrage?"

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. No, sir; I do not know that I have ever been in favor of that doctrine. As a practical man, however, I want to see the Union restored; and if the members of the opposition would come to this question with the earnestness of the men of New England and the men of the West, the work of restoration would have been accomplished before now. Why, sir, the assumption, the brazen-faced assumption, of men who during the entire war were in open or secret alliance with the rebels, coming here now and joining hands with the apostate at the other end of the avenue, who is the leader, the recognized leader, of a counter-revolution — a negative rebellion, as I said awhile ago — passes comprehension.

Why, sir, suppose that in 1860 John C. Breckinridge had been elected President of the United States; suppose the anti-slavery men of the country had rebelled against his election, and their cause for rebellion would have been far greater than the cause which impelled the southern men into their rebellion; and suppose that after four years of bloody war this anti-slavery rebellion had been crushed and Mr. Breckinridge had been again elected President and in an hour of weakness you had taken an apostate abolitionist from the North for Vice-President, to show your love of the North you had conquered, to show them that you had no feeling of hatred toward them, and that in one short month after the inauguration, by a conspiracy of anti-slavery men in the North, Mr. Breckinridge had been assassinated as Mr. Lincoln was assassinated, and the apostate abolitionist had come into the presidency as Mr. Johnson came into it, and he had pardoned and appointed throughout the North and the entire country the men who had been chiefs of the rebellion, turned out the men who had

elected him, and appointed their unrelenting enemies, what would have been your denunciations? Sir, I know the denunciations on this side of the House are mildness in comparison with the terrible denunciations which would have been hurled at this apostate and usurper by the men on that side of the House. And they would not have stopped with denunciations; he would have been impeached and deposed before to-day.

Sir, all I ask, and all the loyal men of this country ask who have sacrificed so much in blood and treasure in putting down the rebellion, is that in the restoration of these States care shall be taken that the National Government shall not again be imperiled by a counter-revolution, in which the apostate President shall be the leader, aided by the late rebels and their northern allies. Hence I am in favor of prompt and vigorous action by this Congress. I hold that these governments set up by Mr. Johnson are illegal, and I want them declared illegal and void before this Congress adjourns. I do not care if for a period of sixty days or more or less, as alleged by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Raymond], there should be an interregnum in which there would be no local civil governments in those States. If you had been loyal men in New Orleans and Memphis during the late massacre you would have welcomed any government instead of the governments which planned and executed the murders there enacted. I would rather have every man stand upon his own responsibility as a man than to have governments which exiled me from my home, confiscated my property, or murdered me or mine with impunity. In this city there are men to-day who have been exiled from their homes, not able to return, because of their fidelity to the flag of the Union, the Government of the Union which they served during the war refusing them protection in their homes.

What I want is not oaths; I have not much faith in oaths. I would trust some men on a simple declaration, such as I quoted in a speech on this subject at the last session, much sooner than I would trust those who hesitate at no oath; such a one, sir, as was made by a distinguished gentleman in North Carolina, Mr. Read, who presided over their recent reconstruction convention, and who had been himself a rebel. His dec-

laration was such that when I read it in California I said in my heart, there is a man I can take by the hand and welcome back to the old family mansion. Bad men will take any oath under the advice and lead of unscrupulous politicians. We have witnessed its fatal workings in Maryland.

I want peace, I want unity, I want the Government restored, but I do not want the men who conquered the rebellion proscribed, and the governments of the rebel States carried on by the men who have been waging bitter war against us for the past four years. I utterly repudiate the assumption of the President that he can parole armies and then authorize these paroled prisoners of war to form constitutional State governments for the loyal men in the States recently in rebellion. I know very well if gentlemen on the other side had been in power in the case supposed by me a while ago what they would have done. There would have been no let-up on their part. There would have been no such mercy as we have shown ; no such mild terms of restoration submitted as we have proposed. There would have been no such forgiveness. But they would have proscribed, and proscribed to the bitter end. They would have maintained their party organization in every rebel State against any and all attempts to overthrow it by those who had so recently been their enemies and the enemy of the nation. I say we are ready to forgive the great body of the Southern people, we are anxious to forgive them ; but we are determined, by the grace of God, that these rebel State governments organized by Johnson shall not be recognized, come what may ; that disloyal Representatives shall not appear upon this floor, nor shall the electoral votes of such States be counted in any presidential election until constitutional governments have been organized and recognized by the Congress of the United States.

## IMPEACHMENT OF THE PRESIDENT.

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REMARKS BY HON. JAMES M. ASHLEY, OF OHIO, IN THE  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MARCH 7, 1867.

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ON THE CHARGES, RESOLUTIONS AND REPORTS IN FAVOR OF  
IMPEACHMENT.

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MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I rise to perform a painful, but, nevertheless, to me an imperative duty; a duty which I think ought not longer to be postponed, and which cannot, without criminality on our part, be neglected. I had hoped, sir, that this duty would have devolved upon an older and more experienced member of this House than myself. Prior to our adjournment I asked a number of gentlemen to offer the resolution which I introduced, but upon which I failed to obtain a suspension of the rules.

Confident, sir, that the loyal people of this country demand at our hands the adoption of some such proposition as I am about to submit, I am determined that no effort on my part shall be wanting to see that their expectations are not disappointed.

MR. FINCK. I rise to a point of order. I want to know what the question is.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. I will state it.

MR. FINCK. I have not heard it.

THE SPEAKER. If the gentleman insists, the question must be stated.

MR. FINCK. I do insist.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. Then, sir, on my responsibility as a Representative, in the presence of this House, and before the American people, I charge Andrew Johnson, Vice-President and acting President of the United States, with the

commission of acts which, in contemplation of the Constitution, are high crimes and misdemeanors, for which, in my judgment, he ought to be impeached. I therefore submit the following—

**MR. FINCK.** I propose another question of order. Is that a question of privilege?

**THE SPEAKER.** It is. In the Twenty-seventh Congress, by the then Speaker, it was decided, on the point raised by Horace Everett, of Vermont, that it was a question of privilege.

**MR. ELDRIDGE.** Is there not a special order for to-day?

**THE SPEAKER.** The unfinished business, which is the regular order, cannot interfere with this proposition.

The Clerk read the proposition of Mr. Ashley, of Ohio, which is as follows:

**MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio.** I demand the previous question.

**MR. SPALDING.** I move it be laid on the table. Yeas, 30; nays, 105.

The question was then taken on the passage of the resolution, and decided in the affirmative. Yeas, 108; nays, 39.—  
Congressional Globe, Jan. 7, 1868.

I do impeach Andrew Johnson, Vice-President and acting President of the United States, of high crimes and misdemeanors.

I charge him with a usurpation of power and violation of law:

In that he has corruptly used the appointing power:

In that he has corruptly used the pardoning power:

In that he has corruptly used the veto power:

In that he has corruptly disposed of public property of the United States:

In that he has corruptly interfered in elections, and committed acts which, in contemplation of the Constitution, are high crimes and misdemeanors: Therefore,

**BE IT RESOLVED,** That the Committee on the Judiciary be, and they are hereby authorized to inquire into the official conduct of Andrew Johnson, Vice-President of the United States, discharging the duties of the office of the President of the United States, and to report to this House whether, in their opinion, the said Andrew Johnson, while in said office, has been guilty of acts which are designed or calculated to overthrow, subvert, or corrupt the Government of the United States, or any department or office thereof; and whether the

said Andrew Johnson has been guilty of any act, or has conspired with others to do acts, which, in contemplation of the Constitution, are high crimes and misdemeanors, requiring the interposition of the constitutional power of this House; and that said committee have power to send for persons and papers, and to administer the customary oath to witnesses.

IMPEACHMENT OF THE PRESIDENT.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. I rise to a question of privilege, and present the following resolution:

WHEREAS, The House of Representatives of the Thirty-ninth Congress adopted, on the 7th of January, 1867, a resolution authorizing an inquiry into certain charges preferred against the President of the United States; and whereas the Judiciary Committee, to whom said resolutions and charges were referred, with authority to investigate the same, were unable for want of time to complete said investigation before the expiration of the Thirty-ninth Congress; and whereas in the report submitted by said Judiciary Committee on the 2d of March they declare that the evidence taken is of such a character as to justify and demand a continuation of the investigation by this Congress: Therefore

BE IT RESOLVED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, That the Judiciary Committee, when appointed, be, and they are hereby instructed to continue the investigation authorized in said resolution of January 7, 1867, and that they have power to send for persons and papers, and to administer the customary oath to witnesses; and that the committee have authority to sit during the sessions of the House and during any recess which Congress may take.

RESOLVED, That the Speaker of the House be requested to appoint the Committee on the Judiciary forthwith, and that the committee so appointed be directed to take charge of the testimony taken by the committee of the last Congress; and that said committee have power to appoint a clerk at a compensation not to exceed six dollars per day, and employ the necessary stenographer.

MR. WILSON, of Iowa. I desire to offer an amendment.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. I will hear it.

MR. WILSON, of Iowa. The amendment I desire to offer is to add to the resolution the following:

RESOLVED, That the Clerk of the House of Representatives be directed to pay out of the contingent fund of the



House, on the order of the Committee on the Judiciary, such sum or sums of money as may be required to enable the said committee to prosecute the investigations above directed, and such other investigations as it may be ordered to make.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. I accept that amendment as a modification of my resolution.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution will bring the House to a vote on a question of transcendent importance. It brings us face to face with a man whose usurpations have imperiled the republic. We cannot escape the consideration of this question if we would, and we ought not if we could. The report of the Judiciary Committee of the last House made on Saturday is a sufficient vindication of the action of that body on the charges presented looking to the impeachment of the President. It is a report which the moral sense of the nation will approve. It is to be regretted that that committee were not authorized at an earlier day to proceed with this investigation, so that they might have completed it and presented the case to Congress. All true men who have examined this matter impartially can but regret our inability to secure earlier action.

But I think I may without hazard express the opinion that there is no cause for discouragement; that the foundations have been so carefully laid that the machinations of the conspirators and their chief, with all the immense power and patronage in his hands, will be unable long to stay the doom which awaits him. It is, sir, to go upon the record of this House, and it will go into history, that the people of the United States will never permit the President to usurp the prerogatives of the law-making power; nor will they permit him to defy the deliberately recorded verdict of the nation. They will permit no man—certainly no man who came into the Presidency through the door of assassination—

MR. NIBLACK. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of order. Is debate in order at this stage of proceeding?

THE SPEAKER. Debate is in order.

MR. NIBLACK. Is the resolution before the House?

THE SPEAKER. It is before the House as a question of privilege. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Ashley] will proceed.

Mr. Speaker, I was saying, when interrupted, that the people of this country will never permit any man—certainly no man who came into the Presidency through the door of assassination—to use the vast powers with which the Executive of this country is clothed in defiance of Congress and the people. That the acting President has done all this and more will not be seriously denied. His usurpations of power have been in clear violation of the Constitution, and many of his acts tend directly to revolution. In fact the message to which we were all compelled to listen on last Saturday, returning with his objections the reconstruction bill, was but an invitation to revolution and civil war. If any loyal man had doubted before, he could doubt no longer, that while this man remains in the presidential office there can be no tranquility in this country, no security for property, liberty, or life to loyal citizens in the South, no such restoration of this Government as the Union army and the Union citizens of this nation have decreed, no safety for a single hour from rebellion or revolution.

Sir, a man of Mr. Johnson's antecedents, of his mental and moral character, coming into the Presidency as he came into it—and I say nothing now of the dark suspicions which crept over the minds of men as to his complicity in the assassination plot, nor of the fact that I cannot banish from my mind the mysterious connection between death and treachery which this case presents—I say, such a man, in view of all that has happened, coming into the presidential office as he came into it, ought to have walked with uncovered head, and very humbly, before the loyal men of this nation and their Representatives in the American Congress.

Mr. Speaker, if this nation does not stamp with the broad seal of its condemnation the usurpations and crimes and misdemeanors of this man it will be but an invitation in the future for a repetition of these usurpations, crimes and misdemeanors.

Self-protection and a proper respect for the honor of the nation demand that the Representatives of the people shall declare, in a manner not to be misunderstood, that no man hereafter elected President or Vice-President shall present himself at his inauguration drunk; that no man discharging

the duties of the office of President of the United States shall be permitted to turn the White House into a den of thieves and pardon-brokers, nor shall he be permitted with impunity to address in vulgar, seditious language a drunken, howling mob from the steps of the Executive Mansion.

Sir, unless this committee take charge of this matter and proceed with it, this Congress might as well lay down its powers. If, however, nothing more should be done, I am sure that, when the evidence which has been already taken is published, it will operate as a deliberate and solemn protest against a repetition in the future of another drunken electioneering tour such as last year mantled the cheek of this nation with shame; that it will be a protest against the unpardonable attacks which the acting Executive made upon the national Congress, a protest against his usurpations and crimes and misdemeanors.

Sir, his crime is not, as many suppose, the mere perfidy of which he has been guilty to the men who in an evil hour elected him Vice-President of the United States, black and infamous as it is; his crime is the highest known in our country, a crime against the Republic itself.

If the investigation go no further, it will establish beyond question that the people of this country will not permit any man with impunity to be guilty of acts of which he has been guilty; and if so, the investigation will not have been in vain. Mr. Speaker, the United States is not the only nation which has been disgraced by such an executive head. Fortunately, however, for mankind, such men are born into the world to curse the human race but once in centuries. The nation cries out in its agony and calls upon the Congress of the United States to deliver them from the shame and disgrace which the acting President has brought upon them. They demand that the loathing incubus which has blotted our country's history with its foulest blot shall be removed. In the name of loyalty betrayed, of law violated, of the Constitution trampled upon, the nation demands the impeachment and removal of Andrew Johnson.

The SPEAKER here intimated to Mr. Ashley that he was proceeding beyond the license allowed in debate, and after some interruption he again proceeded, as follows:

Mr. Speaker, I know, on this question, that the timid among the loyal hesitate, that the late rebels and their northern allies are defiant, and that the camp-followers of the President alternately threaten and supplicate, and that all unite in prophesying war and revolution, and in any event, financial ruin to the country, if Congress shall undertake to arraign and depose the President, as provided by the Constitution. Sir, I hope this Congress will not hesitate to do its duty because the timid in our own ranks hesitate, or because of the threats of the President's satraps and rebel allies, but that it will proceed with dignity and deliberation to the discharge of the high and important duty imposed upon it, uninfluenced by passion and unawed by fear. If, as has been happily suggested by one of our able and true men, the nation could stand the shock occasioned by the murder of a beloved President by the hand of an assassin, it surely can stand the shock caused by the removal of one so detested as the acting President, if done in pursuance of law.

And, sir, has he not done enough? Before he had been one month in the Presidency he entered into a combination with the enemies of the nation to usurp in their interest the prerogatives of Congress, and sought to bind hand and foot the loyal men of the South, who had aided us in putting down the rebellion, by putting the governments of the South in the hands of their mortal enemies and ours. This with me is enough. When you add to this his other acts, which have become public history, the case for me is complete.

The duty of the President is to execute, not to make laws. His oath requires him to see that the laws are faithfully executed. That the President has neglected or refused to execute many of the laws of Congress no man questions. That he has failed to execute the civil rights bill, nay, that he has not even attempted to execute it, the whole country knows. On the other hand, he has not only failed to execute it, but in most indecent and offensive language he has assailed and denounced the law as unconstitutional.

Sir, in his failure to execute this just and most necessary law the crime of the President becomes perfectly colossal. Since the surrender of Lee and Johnston more than five thousand American citizens, guilty of no crime but love of country,

have been murdered by men who were lately in arms against this country. Thousands more have been driven from their homes into exile, while no effort has been made on the part of the executive department of the Government to give them the protection which the law demands and which justice and humanity demand. So far as I know, in no single instance has one murderer or rioter been arrested and punished for his crimes, while loyal men who served in the Union army are arrested and tried before rebel tribunals and punished with unusual and severe punishments for doing acts when in the performance of military duty and obeying the orders of their superior officers, and no effort is made by the executive department of the Government to protect them. Sir, there never was a nation on this earth guilty of the infamy of treating its loyal citizens as the President of the United States has treated the loyal men of the South.

I know how easy it is for the President and his co-conspirators to deny his guilty knowledge. I know also how difficult it is to prove by technical rules the guilt of a man occupying his position, although the whole country may know him to be guilty.

Why, sir, when the rebellion broke out in the winter and spring of 1861, and for several months afterward, no man could have been arrested, tried and convicted before a court and jury in this District who was engaged in conspiracy against this government, although no sane man ever doubted their guilt. It is much more difficult in a case of this kind, where the rebellion is not an open, armed rebellion, but a negative rebellion. In this rebellion the President is the recognized leader, and it is well known that he has co-operating with him nearly all the late rebels of the South.

MR. CHANLER interrupted, but Mr. Ashley declined to yield, and continued as follows:

I KNOW, MR. SPEAKER, HOW DIFFICULT IT IS BY TECHNICAL RULES TO PROVE THE GUILTY KNOWLEDGE OF MEN WHO REFUSE TO EXECUTE THE LAW WHILE PROFESSING TO DO SO. It is well known that the civil rights bill has not only not been enforced, but the vast military power at the disposal of the President, instead of being used to protect loyal men, has

been used either by his guilty knowledge or by his indifference to crush the loyal men of the South.

MR. ELDRIDGE. I wish to make an inquiry of the gentleman. I understood him to make a remark censuring the President because certain parties were not brought to trial. I wish to ask him if he thinks the President is to blame because Jefferson Davis has not been brought to trial?

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. I am unable to answer that question. I know that in those military departments under his command where he does interfere he has used the military power to crush the loyal men, instead of protecting them.

MR. ELDRIDGE. Will the gentleman give us one single instance where the President has neglected his duty in regard to the trial of any person?

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. Yes, sir; in New Orleans, in Memphis, and in every rebel State.

MR. ELDRIDGE. Could the President institute courts and try these parties?

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. I do not claim that he can, but he could give loyal men at least the same protection he has given rebels. He never hesitates to interfere in favor of rebels. I refer to the case of Mr. Watson, of Virginia, and others; but it is not necessary that I should go into this.

Mr. Speaker, I do not hesitate to say that, in view of all the facts before us, if this investigation is not proceeded with, and this man is not put on trial, the provision of the Constitution providing for the impeachment of the President is valueless. Sir, if this man is not impeached, if he is not tried and deposed from the high place which he has disgraced, then no man who may succeed him need ever fear trial and conviction, no matter what his crime.

SIR, IF THIS CONGRESS WILL BUT DO ITS DUTY, AND MEET THE JUST EXPECTATIONS OF THE LOYAL PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY BY EMPOWERING ITS JUDICIARY COMMITTEE TO PROCEED WITH THIS INVESTIGATION, AND THE COMMITTEE DO SO WITH THAT ENERGY WHICH ATTENDS THE PROCEEDINGS IN AN ORDINARY CRIMINAL CASE, I BELIEVE THE IMPEACHMENT AND CONVICTION OF THE PRESIDENT IS AS INEVITABLE AS DEATH.

Mr. Speaker, I should not have trespassed so long upon the time of the House as I have but for interruptions. But I

desire to make one suggestion which has just occurred to me. It is this: that all persons, whether citizens or foreigners, who have any documents in their possession which would be evidence in this case, or who are in possession of any facts tending to show technically the guilt of this man, ought as a matter of duty to bring them to the knowledge of the Committee on the Judiciary.

Any person in the possession of such facts or documents refusing or neglecting to do so becomes an accessory in the crime of this man, and will be held responsible before the country and in the great tribunal of human history as a co-partner in his guilt.

MR. HOLMAN, of Indiana, moved to lay the resolution on the table—and the vote was yeas 32; nays 119. On the adoption of the resolution there was no division.—CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE, MARCH 16, 1867.

On Saturday, February 24, Mr. Stephens, of Pennsylvania, from the Committee on Reconstruction, submitted the following report and resolution:

The Committee on Reconstruction, to whom was referred, on the 27th day of January last, the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Committee on Reconstruction be authorized to inquire what combinations have been made or attempted to be made to obstruct the due execution of the laws; and to that end the committee have power to send for persons and papers and to examine witnesses on oath, and report to this House what action, if any, they may deem necessary; and that said committee have leave to report at any time.

And to whom was also referred, on the 21st of February, instant, a communication from Honorable Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, dated on said 21st day of February, together with a copy of a letter from Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, to the said Edwin M. Stanton, as follows:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, }  
WASHINGTON, D. C., February 21, 1868. }

SIR: By virtue of the power and authority vested in me, as President, by the Constitution and laws of the United States, you are hereby removed from office as Secretary for the Department of War, and your functions as such will terminate upon the receipt of this communication.

You will transfer to Brevet Major General Lorenzo Thomas, Adjutant General of the Army, who has this day been authorized and empowered to act as Secretary of War AD INTERIM, all records, books, papers, and other public property now in your custody and charge.

Respectfully yours,

ANDREW JOHNSON.

HON. EDWIN M. STANTON, Washington, D. C.

And to whom was also referred by the House of Representatives the following resolution, namely:

“RESOLVED, That Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, be impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors;”

Have considered the several subjects referred to them, and submit the following report:

That in addition to the papers referred to the Committee, the committee find that the President, on the 21st day of February, 1868, signed and issued a commission or letter of authority to one Lorenzo Thomas, directing and authorizing said Thomas to act as Secretary of War AD INTERIM, and to take possession of the books, records, and papers, and other public property in the War Department, of which the following is a copy:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, }  
WASHINGTON, February 21, 1868. }

SIR: Hon. Edwin M. Stanton having been this day removed from the office of Secretary for the Department of War, you are hereby authorized and empowered to act as Secretary of War AD INTERIM, and will immediately enter upon the discharge of the duties pertaining to that office. Mr. Stanton has been instructed to transfer to you all the records, books, papers, and other public property now in his custody and charge.

Respectfully yours,

ANDREW JOHNSON.

To Brevet Major General LORENZO THOMAS, ADJUTANT GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY, WASHINGTON, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Official copy respectfully furnished to Hon. Edwin M. Stanton.

L. THOMAS,

Secretary of War ad interim.

Upon the evidence collected by the committee, which is herewith presented, and in virtue of the powers with which they have been invested by the House, they are of the opinion that Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors. They there-



fore recommend to the House the adoption of the accompanying resolution.

THADDEUS STEVENS,  
GEORGE S. BOUTWELL,  
JOHN A. BINGHAM,  
C. T. HULBURD,  
JOHN F. FARNSWORTH,  
F. C. BEAMAN,  
H. E. PAINE.

Resolution providing for the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States.

RESOLVED, That Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, be impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors in office.

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REMARKS OF HON. J. M. ASHLEY, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES FEBRUARY 22, 1868, ON THIS RESOLUTION.

THE SPEAKER. The House will now resume the consideration of the resolution reported from the Committee on Reconstruction, in reference to the impeachment of the President of the United States, on which the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Ashley] is entitled to the floor.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, in approaching this subject I hope I do so in any other spirit than the spirit of a partisan. In the few minutes I shall occupy the time of the House, I desire to call attention first to the statute which the President, in his removal of the Secretary of War, has set at defiance, and second, to the provision of the Constitution which he has also violated.

This act, sir, was passed and took effect on the 2d of March, 1867.

The section reads thus:

“SEC. 6. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, That every removal, appointment, or employment, made, had, or exercised contrary to the provisions of this act, and the making, signing, sealing, countersigning, or issuing of any commission or letter of authority for or in respect to any such appointment or employment, shall be deemed, and are hereby declared to be, high misdemeanors, and, upon trial and conviction thereof, every person guilty thereof shall be punished by a fine not exceeding \$10,000, or by imprisonment not ex-

ceeding five years, or both said punishments, in the discretion of the court: PROVIDED, That the President shall have power to make out and deliver, after the adjournment of the Senate, commissions for all officers whose appointment shall have been advised and consented to by the Senate."

This provision of law, passed by the Congress of the United States over the veto of the President, he has deliberately violated. On last Friday, in utter defiance of it, and as if to challenge this House to resort to its constitutional powers, he notified the Senate that he had, on the authority vested in him by the Constitution, removed the Secretary of War. Now, sir, while I regard this as one of the smallest of the many offenses of which this man has been guilty, yet it is clearly an offense brought within a narrow compass—one which is easily comprehended, and will satisfy that class of gentlemen in the House, who hold that the President cannot be impeached except for a violation of some statute law. His dismissal of the Secretary of War and the appointment of Mr. Thomas, on Friday, without the consent of the Senate, brings him within that technical rule. Sir, I regret that this House should not before to-day have put itself upon the record in condemnation of this most indefensible assumption that public officers, especially the Chief Magistrate, cannot be impeached except for the violation of some statute law or some clearly-defined provision of the Constitution. Sir, the impeaching power in the Constitution, as defined by the honorable gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Woodward], I accept as the only rational definition. It is, he told us a few weeks ago—

"A popular power; a power destined for the protection of the rights and liberties of the people against their rulers, and one that ought to be liberally construed, and in proper cases freely used."

To assume that the President can be impeached only for "treason" or "bribery" is practically to assume that he cannot be impeached. In Curtis' History of the Constitution he thus refers to the impeaching power of Congress:

"Among the separate functions assigned by the Constitution to the two Houses of Congress are those of presenting and trying impeachment. An impeachment, in the report of

the Committee of Detail, was treated as an ordinary judicial proceeding, and was placed within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. That this was not in all respects a suitable provision will appear from the following considerations: although an impeachment may involve an inquiry whether a crime against any positive law has been committed, yet it is not necessarily a trial for crime; nor is there any necessity in the case of crimes committed by public officers for the institution of any special proceeding for the infliction of the punishment prescribed by the laws, since they, like all other persons are amenable to the ordinary jurisdiction of the courts of justice in respect of offenses against positive law. The purposes of an impeachment lie wholly beyond the penalties of a statute or the customary law. The object of the proceeding is to ascertain whether cause exists for removing a public officer from office. Such a cause may be found in the fact that either in the discharge of his office or aside from its functions he has violated a law or committed what is technically denominated a crime. BUT A CAUSE FOR REMOVAL FROM OFFICE MAY EXIST WHERE NO OFFENSE AGAINST POSITIVE LAW HAS BEEN COMMITTED, AS WHERE AN INDIVIDUAL HAS FROM IMMORALITY OR IMBECILITY OR MALADMINISTRATION BECOME UNFIT TO EXERCISE THE OFFICE."

But I cannot now pursue this point further.

Sir, if there were no law on the statute book, if there were only the simple provisions of the Constitution, to which I shall in a moment refer, I would hold that this House might, under the authority vested in it, impeach the President for the removal, without the consent of the Senate, of an officer, when the Senate is in session. I refer now to the clause vesting the power of appointment in the President, with the consent of the Senate:

"He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they may think proper in the President alone. in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

“The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.”

MR. PRUYN. With the consent of the gentleman I wish to ask him whether I correctly understood his position on the question to which he has just referred (removal from office), and state briefly my view of it. It was alluded to in the discussion on Saturday evening. When the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Ingersoll] was on the floor, I made a remark, which was immediately controverted by several members on the other side, and particularly by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Schenck], with whom I understood the member from Ohio now on the floor to concur. My statement was to this effect: that from the time this question as to the removal was discussed and decided by Congress at its first session in 1789 to the present day, the practice has been uniform that the President, and the President only, had made removals from office, and that without the concurrence of the Senate, although that body might be in session. This necessarily results from the nature of the power which under the Constitution, is inadvisable. I make this point now most distinctly, as it is fundamental in this discussion, and has been so treated from the outset.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I regret exceedingly that my thirty minutes will not allow me to enter into a colloquy with the gentleman; but I do not now call to mind a single instance in which any President of the United States has ever removed an officer confirmed by the Senate, without the consent of the Senate if it was in session. And I go further, and deny the power of the President, under the Constitution, to remove any officer, even during the recess of the Senate, without cause.

Sir, the power of appointment is vested in the President by special grant, and not by implication. The President, I know, claimed in a message to the Senate on Friday last, that by virtue of the power vested in him by the Constitution, he had authority to dismiss from and appoint to office without the consent of the Senate. If the power to dismiss and appoint without the consent of the Senate is possessed

by the President, it must be an implied and not an express grant of power. Gentlemen may examine the Constitution and nowhere will they find such an express grant of power. I deny, therefore, that it exists, that any authority to appoint can be delegated to the Executive by implication. The clause providing that the President shall "take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all officers of the United States," does not confer the power to appoint or dismiss; nor does the fact that all executive power is vested in the President clothe him with any implied power, or power which may be necessary or proper to carry into effect any power which is expressly granted to the Executive. Sir, I can find in the Constitution no authority authorizing the President to dismiss a faithful public officer without cause.

"All power necessary and proper to carry into effect any power vested in the President or in any department or officer of the government is vested in the Congress of the United States."

I desire to call the attention of the gentleman from New York to that paragraph in the Constitution which clothes Congress with the power—

"To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers"—

meaning those vested in Congress—

"and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof."

Whatever power may be vested in the President by express grant, he cannot assume to exercise a power merely because it is appurtenant to another power, and necessary, in his opinion, to carry out some provision of the Constitution. The right to clothe any officer of this government with power not specially delegated, is reserved to the Congress of the United States as the law-making power of this nation. Congress alone is clothed by the Constitution with authority to confer by law whatever power they may deem proper which is not specially delegated, either to the President, the judiciary, or any department or officer of the government.

Sir, this power does not exist in the President, nor in any department or officer of the government. It exists only in Congress by express provision of the Constitution.

The Constitution has lodged the law-making power in the Congress, in conjunction with the President, but sometimes the law-making power without the concurrence of the President. Then, sir, if there were no statute such as I have read, I would hold that the President was amenable to the high court of this nation for a deliberate and willful infraction of the Constitution in the removal of Mr. Stanton.

Now, sir, I hold, as I said a moment ago, that this is one of the smallest of the crimes of the President. That he has clearly set at defiance the statute I have quoted will not be denied. His act of Friday last reduces his offense to a narrow compass. It is all official and upon paper. In the trial of this case we need not wade through a thousand pages of evidence which must be sifted in all cases to get a few grains of wheat. Nor need we consume much time in the trial. Here the offense is presented within a small compass and is within the comprehension of all. But few, if any, witnesses are needed. Sir, I am sure that when this trial shall take place before the high court of the nation, if the evidence taken before the Judiciary Committee of this House shall be reproduced there, it would establish one or more of the crimes of which this man has been charged, and the verdict of the people of this country will be, that this charge is one of the most excusable of the crimes of which he has been guilty. If Mr. Johnson had been guilty of no impeachable offense until his removal of Mr. Stanton, no one believes that a majority of this House could be induced to vote for his impeachment now.

Sir, what has been the logic of the conflict between this man and Congress? From the outset it has been his deliberate purpose, so far as his acts can indicate a purpose, to usurp to himself the law-making, the judicial, and the executive powers of this Government. Starting out with loud professions of loyalty, he assumed first the entire authority of providing for the reorganization of the States lately in rebellion, and in doing so he conferred the entire power upon that class of citizens who were but a paroled army of Confederates, to the exclusion of the great body of loyal citizens. To this

paroled army he confided the power of reorganizing State governments, and returning those States to their constitutional relations in the Union. Then, sir, he made an alliance with the late rebel leaders, and they became his champions.

He pardoned thousands of public enemies guilty of the blackest of crimes, and to many of them, in violation of law, he gave official positions. He repeatedly authorized the payment of money from the public treasury in violation of law. He gave the property of the United States to the amount of millions to unrepentant rebels. He connived at, if he did not consent to, the massacres of Memphis and New Orleans, and he is justly held responsible in history and before God for the murder of thousands of Southern Union men.

Now, sir, the logic of this contest, so far as his acts develop it, is simply that the Congress of the nation and all the departments shall submit to his domination in the government, and no man can have watched the vain efforts of this Congress to tie his hands by statutory enactments without feeling a sense of shame. Every effort of Congress to secure a restoration of the Union by the passage of reconstruction acts, and supplementary reconstruction acts, has failed thus far because of this man, who, with the immense patronage which he has in his hands, and with an entire disregard of Constitution, laws, and oaths, has been able to evade them all, and eventually, if not removed, he will bring on a conflict which can end only in civil war unless Congress surrenders. Sir, his purpose has been, and it will continue to be, unless he is arrested and brought to the bar of the Senate for trial, to usurp the whole power of the government, and to clothe the late rebel States with authority to cast their electoral votes in the pending Presidential election either for himself or some candidate of his choice, and if, when the electoral votes come to be counted, there were enough loyal states voting for the candidate of his choice, whether it be himself or some one else, to make up a majority with the illegal vote of the rebel States, he and his friends would insist on their being counted, and if Congress refused he would inaugurate a civil war, and at the same time the man whom they would claim to have elected. Thus we should have

inaugurated in the capital of the republic two Presidents, and probably two Congresses.

This, in my opinion, has been from the start the deliberate purpose of this man, and I am amazed that gentlemen on the other side should have felt it to be their duty to give this man even a QUASI support, and to apologize for his acts for the sake of the feeble aid which he gives them politically and the spoils of office which they have been able to secure for their friends. Sir, I want gentlemen to remember that by their defense of this man, whose violations of the Constitution and laws of the country is unquestioned, they go into history as a party to his crimes.

We attempted to tie this man's hands by putting a clause in the Army bill, to which I wish for a moment to call your attention. I refer to the second section of the Army Appropriation bill, passed March 2, 1867, which the President signed, but returned it with a protest. The section reads thus :

“ SEC. 2. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, That the headquarters of the General of the Army of the United States shall be at the City of Washington, and all orders and instructions relating to military operations issued by the President or Secretary of War shall be issued through the General of the Army, and in case of his inability, through the next in rank. The General of the Army shall not be removed, suspended, or relieved from command or assigned to duty elsewhere than at said headquarters, except at his own request, without the previous approval of the Senate; and any orders or instructions relating to military operations issued contrary to the requirements of this section shall be null and void; and any officer who shall issue orders or instructions contrary to the provisions of this section shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor in office; and any officer of the army who shall transmit, convey, or obey any orders or instructions so issued contrary to the provisions of this section, knowing that such orders were so issued, shall be liable to imprisonment for not less than two nor more than twenty years, upon conviction thereof in any court of competent jurisdiction.”

This was designed to keep Grant, the General of the Army, at his headquarters here, as a measure of precaution against any attempt of the President to disperse Congress by force, and to provide that every military order of the Presi-



dent should go through the General-in-Chief, and meet his approval before subordinates should obey it. We all know how this act has been violated both in letter and spirit. Sickles, Pope, Ord, Sheridan, and almost every officer within the President's reach have been removed from their commands, and he has attempted to humiliate them because of their obedience to the law of the land, and their faithful execution of the duties assigned them. Experience has demonstrated the fact that there has not been wisdom or sharpness enough in this Congress to tie the hands of this man. And at last there appears to be nothing left but to bring him to trial either for the acts of Friday last, or to include with them every other act of which he has been guilty since his accession to power.

Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives is again to be brought to a direct vote upon a question, the importance of which cannot well be overestimated; a vote which shall test the fidelity of every Representative to his constitutional obligation. Again we are to be brought face to face with the man who is recognized by every loyal citizen, and by every rebel, as a public enemy; a man, who, if not before, certainly since, his accession to power has been recognized as the friend and the ally of the late conspirators against the nation's life and against the nation's chosen chief; a man who has proven himself a more faithful representative and a more formidable ally of "the lost cause" than could any general of the late rebel armies, had he been in his place. Duplicity, usurpations of power, and violations of law have marked the public and private career of this extraordinary man from the time of his unfortunate accession to the presidential chair.

I may be pardoned if I repeat what I said on the 7th of March last, when introducing into this House, by direction of the caucus of the Republican members, a resolution to continue this impeachment investigation:

"If any loyal man had doubted before, he could doubt no longer, that while this man remains in the presidential office there can be no tranquility in this country, no security for property, liberty, and life to loyal citizens in the South, no such restoration of this government as the Union army

and the Union citizens of this nation have decreed, no safety for a single hour from rebellion or revolution.”

Sir, if this be true — and I challenge any gentleman to controvert it — if this be true, dare we longer postpone, dare we longer shrink from the exercise of that power with which the Constitution has clothed us, to rescue the government from the hands of the usurper, and thus proclaim to the world that this is a government of law, and not an irresponsible despotism, beyond the control of law, and in the hands of an ignorant, cunning, and unscrupulous man, who was thrown to the surface by the waves of the late rebellion, and elevated to the chief executive office of the nation, not by the voluntary suffrages of a free people, but by the hands of an assassin.

Mr. Speaker, time and truth evermore vindicate the right. When this House, but two short months ago, voted down this proposition, I said let the loyal men of the nation keep heart and await the logic of events. I know that by the vote which this House is to give to-day I shall be vindicated, as will be every man who has been from the first for impeachment. But though I shall be thus vindicated, this is not to me an hour of exultation and triumph, but of sadness, rather. Far rather would I that every charge which I have made against the acting President of the United States should fall to the ground if untrue, than that I should be sustained if wrong. Far rather would I that the dark suspicions which have taken possession of the public mind should be dispelled by unquestioned evidence than that they should be true.

For my country's honor, and for the sake of human nature itself, I could hope that it were otherwise than as I believe. Rather would I that this man, after his accession to the Presidency, had so conducted himself as to have commanded the confidence and respect of the country; that he had so administered the government as to bring the country, torn and bleeding as it has been, back to the paths of peace, and thus secured its unity and prosperity.

But he has failed in all this, and not only failed, but has so conducted himself that from the evidence before me I am compelled, upon my conscience and upon my judgment, to

declare that I believe him guilty of usurping powers not delegated to him and of violating deliberately the Constitution and the laws of the land.

In that he has conspired with the late public enemy and attempted, by the usurpation of the legislative authority, to organize State governments in the late insurgent States, and to restore the late rebel leaders to all the rights and privileges which they forfeited by the rebellion.

In that he has corruptly, and in violation of law, used the appointing power.

In that he has corruptly used the veto power.

In that he has corruptly used the pardoning power.

In that he has corruptly disposed of public property of the United States.

In that he has corruptly interfered in elections, and committed acts and conspired with others to commit acts which, in contemplation of the Constitution, are high crimes and misdemeanors.

Believing that Andrew Johnson is guilty of all this and more, I feel that it is our duty, I think it to be a necessity of our condition, for the safety of the nation and of our institutions, that he should be impeached. I hold that it is necessary, if not for our safety to-day, at least to teach those who shall come after him a lesson; a lesson which shall vindicate the majesty of the law and test the practical working of our matchless Constitution.

For these reasons, sir, and others which I might give if I had time, I give my voice and my vote to arraign and put on trial before the high court of the nation, Andrew Johnson, acting President of the United States.

The resolution was adopted; yeas, 126; nays, 47, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Allison, Ames, Anderson, Arneli, Delos R. Ashley, James M. Ashley, Bailey, Baker, Baldwin, Banks, Beaman, Beaty, Benton, Bingham, Blaine, Blair, Boutwell, Broomall, Buckland, Butler, Cake, Churchill, Reader W. Clarke, Sidney Clarke, Cobb, Coburn, Cook, Cornell, Covode, Cullum, Dawes, Dodge, Driggs, Eckley, Eggleston, Eliot, Farnsworth, Ferriss, Ferry, Fields, Gravely, Griswold, Halsey, Harding, Higby, Hill, Hooper, Hopkins, Asahel W.

Hubbard, Chester D. Hubbard, Hulburd, Hunter, Ingersoll, Jenckes, Judd, Julian, Kelley, Kelsey, Ketchum, Kitchen, Laffin, George V. Lawrence, William Lawrence, Lincoln, Loan, Logan, Loughridge, Lydch, Mallory, Marvin, McCarthy, McClurg, Mercur, Miller, Moore, Moorhead, Morrell Mullins, Myers, Newcomb, Nunn, O'Neil, Orth, Paine, Plants Poland, Polsley, Price, Raum, Robertson, Sawyer, Schenck, Scofield, Selye, Shanks, Smith, Spalding, Starkweather, Aaron F. Stevens, Thaddeus Stevens, Stokes, Taffe, Taylor, Trowbridge, Twichell, Upson, Van Aerman, Burt Van Horn, Van Wyck, Ward, Cadwallader C. Washburn, Elihu B. Washburn, William B. Washburn, Welker, Thomas Williams, James F. Wilson, John T. Wilson, Stephen F. Wilson, Windom, Woodbridge, and the Speaker—126.

YAYS—Messrs. Adams, Archer, Axtell, Barnes, Barnum, Beck, Boyer, Brooks, Burr, Cary, Chanler, Eldridge, Fox, Getz, Glossbrenner, Golladay, Grover, Haight, Holman, Hotchkiss, Richard D. Hubbard, Humphrey, Johnson, Jones, Kerr, Knott, Marshall, McCormick, McCullough, Morgan, Morrissey, Mungen, Niblack, Nicholson, Phelps, Pruyn, Randall, Ross, Sitgreaves, Stewart, Stone, Taber, Lawrence S. Trimbel, Van Auken, Van Trump, Wood and Woodward—47.

NOT VOTING—Messrs. Benjamin, Dixon, Donnelly, Ela, Finney, Garfield, Hawkins, Koontz, Maynard, Pomeroy, Robinson, Shellabarger, Thomas, John Trimble, Robert T. Van Horn, Henry D. Washburn and William Williams—17.

# SPEECH

OF HON. JAMES M. ASHLEY, OF OHIO.

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DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
MAY 29, 1868.

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AMEND THE CONSTITUTION—ABOLISHMENT OF THE OFFICE OF  
VICE-PRESIDENT—NEITHER CAUCUSES, CONVENTIONS, ELEC-  
TORAL COLLEGES, NOR THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
TO INTERVENE BETWEEN THE PEOPLE AND THEIR CHOICE  
OF A PRESIDENT. •

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The House being in Committee of the Whole on the  
State of the Union—

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio, said:

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is now ten years since I became a member of this House. During that time I have submitted more than once propositions looking to an amendment of the national Constitution, substantially such as I now ask leave to present. Heretofore, when introducing these propositions, I have done so without argument, and they have slept the sleep which knows no waking in the committees to which, under our rules, they must be referred.

I now ask the indulgence of the House while I submit to gentlemen present and to the country some of the considerations which have induced me again to bring this subject to public notice.

The proposition which I now send to the Clerk's desk to be read, provides that the President of the United States shall be elected for but a single term of four years, and proposes the abolition of the office of Vice-President. If

adopted, it also secures the abolition of the present system of appointing presidential electors, as the legislatures of the several States may provide, and makes it impossible for the election of a President to devolve, as now, on the House of Representatives, but provides that in case of death, resignation, or removal of the President from office, that the two Houses in joint convention shall elect to fill the vacancy, each Senator and Representative having one vote. Its adoption will relieve the people of the despotism of party caucuses and party conventions, and thereafter commit the election of President to a direct vote of the people by ballot. The Clerk will please read.

The Clerk read as follows:

**Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.\***

**RESOLVED BY THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED (two thirds of both Houses concurring), That the following be proposed as an amendment to said Constitution, which, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of said Constitution, to wit:**

Amend section three of article one, by striking out clauses four and five, which read:

“The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

“The Senate shall choose their other officers and also a President *PRO TEMPORE*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.”

And insert the following:

“The Senate shall choose their own presiding and other officers.”

In article two, section four, strike out the words “Vice-President.”

Amend section one, article two, by striking out the words “together with the Vice-President chosen for the same term;” so that it will read:

The executive power shall be vested in the President of the United States of America; he shall hold his office during the term of four years, and be elected as follows.

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\*Senator Sumner, of Massachusetts, presented this proposed amendment to the Senate, on the 6th of May, 1872, with two or three verbal changes.

In lieu of clauses two, three, four and six of article two and of article twelve of the amendments insert the following:

The qualified electors shall meet at the usual places of holding elections in their respective States on the first Monday in April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-two, and on the first Monday in April every four years thereafter, under such rules and regulations as the Congress may by law prescribe, and vote by ballot for a citizen qualified under this Constitution to be President of the United States, and the result of such election in each State shall be certified, sealed, and forwarded to the seat of government of the United States in such manner as the Congress may by law direct.

The Congress shall be in session on the third Monday in May after such election, and on the Tuesday next succeeding the third Monday in May, if a quorum of each House shall be present, and if not, immediately on the assembling of such quorum, the Senators and members of the House of Representatives shall meet in the Representative Chamber in joint convention, and the President of the Senate, in presence of the Senators and Representatives thus assembled, shall open all the returns of said election and declare the result. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of votes cast; if no person have such majority, or if the person having such majority decline the office or die before the counting of the vote, then the President of the Senate shall so proclaim; whereupon the joint convention shall order the proceedings to be officially published, stating particularly the number of votes given for each person for President.

Another election shall thereupon take place on the second Tuesday of October next succeeding, at which election the duly qualified electors shall again meet at the usual places of holding elections in their respective States and vote for one of the persons then living having the highest number of votes, not exceeding five on the list voted for as President at the preceding election in April, and the result of such election in each State shall be certified, sealed, and forwarded to the seat of the government of the United States as provided by law.

On the third Tuesday in December after such second election, or as soon thereafter as a quorum of each House shall be present, the Senators and members of the House of Representatives shall again meet in joint convention, and the President of the Senate, in presence of the Senators and Representatives thus assembled, shall open all the returns of said election and declare the person having the

highest number of votes duly elected President for the ensuing term.

No person thus elected to the office of President shall thereafter be eligible to be re-elected.

In case of the removal of the President from office by impeachment, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve temporarily on the President of the Senate, if there be one; if not, then on the Speaker of the House of Representatives, if there be one; and if not, then the member of the executive department senior in years shall act as President. If there be no officer of an executive department, then the Senator senior in years shall act until a successor is chosen and qualified.

If Congress be in session at the time of the death, disability, or removal of the President, the Senators and Representatives shall meet in joint convention under such rules and regulations as the Congress may by law prescribe, and proceed to elect by *VIVA VOCE* vote a President to fill such vacancy. Each Senator and Representative having one vote, a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a majority in each House of the Senators and Representatives duly elected and qualified, and a majority of all the votes given shall be necessary to the choice of a President. The person thus elected as President shall discharge all the powers and duties of said office until the inauguration of the President elected at the next regular election.

If the Congress be not in session then the acting President shall forthwith issue a proclamation convening Congress within sixty days after the death or disability of the President.

On the assembling of a quorum in each House the Senators and Representatives shall meet in joint convention and elect a President as hereinbefore provided.

Amend article fourteen proposed by the Thirty-ninth Congress by striking out section two and inserting the following:

SEC. 2. Every citizen of the United States twenty-one years of age and upward (except Indians not taxed and persons *NON COMPOS*) shall be an elector in any State or Territory in which he may have resided one year next preceding the election at which he shall offer a vote. Each State shall prescribe uniform rules for the registration of all qualified electors residing therein and complete the said enrollment at least twenty days before each presidential election; they shall provide by law against fraud at elections, and may disfranchise any person for participation in rebellion against the



United States, or for the commission of an act which is felony at common law.

SEC. 3. Representatives in Congress shall be apportioned among the several States according to the number of inhabitants in each.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. On these several propositions I intend to ask the judgment of the country and eventually a vote upon them in this House.

SHALL THE OFFICE OF VICE-PRESIDENT BE ABOLISHED?

The proposition to abolish the office of Vice-President will, I trust, commend itself to the considerate men of all parties. The creation of the office was objected to by some of the ablest men of the Revolution as "unnecessary and dangerous." Experience has confirmed the wisdom of their opposition. The Vice-President is, as all know, a superfluous officer, having few duties to perform, and those might more properly devolve upon a member of the Senate, selected because of his fitness, as the duty of presiding in the House devolves upon a member of the House who is elected Speaker.

The objection to the selection of a member of the Senate as presiding officer would hold equally good against selecting a member of the House of Representatives for its presiding officer. Indeed, the power conferred on the Speaker of the House is far greater than is conferred on the Vice-President or President *PRO TEMPORE* of the Senate.

In the House the Speaker appoints all the committees and can participate in debate on the floor of the House. He may also vote at any time he so elects. In the Senate the regular standing committees are selected by a party caucus, and appointed or confirmed afterward in open Senate by a vote of that body. The Vice-President is not permitted to debate any proposition before the Senate, and can only vote when there is an equal division, while the Speaker can vote at any time if he desires to do so, but is not compelled to vote except in case of a tie.

The country has been distracted and its peace imperiled more than once because of the existence of the office of Vice-President. The nation would have been spared the terrible

ordeal through which it passed in the contest between Jefferson and Burr in 1801 had there been no vice-presidential office. Had there been no such office we would have been spared the perfidy of a Tyler, the betrayal of a Fillmore, and the baseness and infamy of a Johnson.

Party interest and party necessity, under our present convention system, usually seeks to compensate the friends of a defeated presidential candidate in any national convention by conceding to them the privilege of naming the candidate for the Vice-Presidency.

This is done in order to soften the sting of defeat and to bind the defeated party in the convention to the more certain support of a ticket which a large minority, and sometimes even a majority, of the party would refuse to support at the election but for such compromises, aided by the despotism of party caucuses and party conventions. Often the mere question of locality has more to do with the nomination of a Vice-President than the question of his fitness.

The country rejoices with me in the fact that no such narrow consideration controlled the action of the Republican convention at Chicago in selecting our honored Speaker as the candidate of the party for Vice-President. Not to locality is he indebted for that position, for locality was against him, but rather to his long and faithful public services, his fidelity to Republican principles, and to his personal worth is he indebted for the distinguished honor of being associated on the same presidential ticket with the most extraordinary man of this or any age.

While each of the candidates for President and Vice-President professes to subscribe to the so-called platform of principles adopted by the conventions which nominate them, they nevertheless represent, as a rule, opposing factions in the party, and often at heart antagonistic ideas, which are only subordinated for the sake of party success. This was the case with Harrison and Tyler, Taylor and Fillmore, Lincoln and Johnson. When each of these Vice-Presidents on the death of the President-elect came into the presidential office he attempted to build up a party which should secure his re-election. For this purpose they did not scruple to betray the great body of men who elected them to the office

of Vice-President, nor did they hesitate at the open and shameless use of public patronage for that purpose. The weakest and most dangerous part of our executive system for the personal safety of the President is a defect in the Constitution itself. I find it in that clause of the Constitution which provides that the Vice-President shall, on the death or inability of the President, succeed to his office. The presidential office is thus undefended and invites temptation. The life of but one man must often stand between the success of unscrupulous ambition, the designs of mercenary cliques, or the fear and hatred of conspirators.

Whether pro-slavery conspirators, representing party cliques, caused the death of Harrison and Taylor I know not. I am confident, however, that a widespread conspiracy, representing the pro-slavery rebel faction in the nation, was organized for the purpose of assassinating Mr. Lincoln, and all know of its success. That the conspirators who plotted the murder of Mr. Lincoln had a purpose to subserve, which they supposed could not be accomplished while he remained in the presidential office, will hardly be questioned.

Mr. Chairman, history will record the fact that the conspiracy which resulted in the assassination of Mr. Lincoln was the offspring of the rebellion, and may yet give political success to a cause, which millions of rebels failed to secure after a deadly war of four years. **HAD ASSASSINATION DONE MORE THAN IT DID IT WOULD HAVE OVERREACHED ITSELF.** By sparing and using Andrew Johnson it gained a temporary triumph for those whom it represented.

Whatever may have been, and whatever may now be, my suspicions as to the complicity of Andrew Johnson in the assassination plot, **THE SCHEMES AND HOPES OF THE CONSPIRATORS CAN EASILY BE EXPLAINED UPON THE HYPOTHESIS OF HIS INNOCENCE, AND HIS ENTIRE IGNORANCE OF THEIR BLOODY PURPOSES.** Let me present it from that standpoint.

The failure of the rebellion found a large number of disappointed and desperate men in the late rebel States under disability for treason and rebellion. If justice was meted out to them they knew that the leaders ought to be arrested, tried, and punished, and that if the law was administered their prop-

erty was subject to confiscation. The leaders expected, in any event, to be politically disfranchised, if they escaped imprisonment, banishment, or the confiscation of their property. Having staked all on the hazard of a die and lost, their condition was desperate, and to escape punishments, confiscations, or political disfranchisement thousands of them would not hesitate at any desperate expedient which promised success. The men who without cause had inaugurated fratricidal war, who had murdered unarmed Union soldiers after their surrender, who had deliberately starved to death thousands of our heroic men at Andersonville, Salisbury, Belle Isle, and Libby prison, and committed enormities upon the living and the dead which no human tongue can describe, would not hesitate at taking the life of any one man by assassination, however exalted his position, if thereby it secured them exemption from the punishment due their crimes.

On surveying the situation they found that the Republican party had, by a blunder, which in such an hour was worse than a crime, elected Andrew Johnson Vice-President of the United States. I can imagine how carefully they examined his antecedents, his personal and political history; how they weighed well his words, and made themselves familiar with his public and private acts, his weaknesses and his ambition. During this examination they undoubtedly learned his view of the "situation" before he left Tennessee to be inaugurated Vice-President. They heard of his declaration to Stanley Mathews at Cincinnati while on his way to the capital, before his inauguration, and to others afterward, AS TO THE NECESSITY OF REORGANIZING THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. They were informed of what he had repeatedly said he would do about reconstruction, "if he were President." They knew of his CONDITION when inaugurated Vice-President, AND THAT TO THEM WAS AN AUGURY OF SUCCESS. Of his vanity, his unscrupulousness, his love of power, and his capacities as a demagogue they were fully advised. They satisfied themselves that, with proper management, he could be used to shield them from punishment, and, perchance, restore them to political power. From that moment the doom of Mr. Lincoln was sealed. THE PRETENSE THAT MR. JOHNSON WAS TO HAVE BEEN ASSASSINATED, WAS NEVER BELIEVED BY ANY BUT WILLING

DUPES. The assassination of Mr. Johnson would have defeated the hopes and purposes of the conspirators, and no one knew this better than they.

After Mr. Johnson came into the presidential office, the conspirators and their friends at once openly and unblushingly surrounded him, flattered him, took possession of him, and promised him a re-election and a brilliant future. THEY REMINDED HIM OF HIS OLD POLITICAL RECORD, OF HIS DENUNCIATION OF ABOLITIONISTS, OF HIS UTTERANCES TO STANLEY MATHEWS AND OTHERS "AS TO THE NECESSITY OF REORGANIZING THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY," BY A UNION WITH CONSERVATIVE REPUBLICANS, LEAVING THE "ANTI-SLAVERY ELEMENT IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY TO SLUFF OFF," AS HE REPEATEDLY EXPRESSED IT. All this, I submit, could have happened and Mr. Johnson be free from any criminally guilty knowledge of the assassination, either before or after the act.

I only present this panoramic view, of what has transpired and is now history, to illustrate how weak and indefensible in this particular is the presidential office; so that I may appeal to the nation to fortify it against this danger, by removing the temptation now presented to conspirators and assassins, and thus make the presidential office a citadel against which they may hurl themselves in vain.

Adopt this plan, and the occupant of the presidential office is effectually guarded from all political conspiracies which thrive by assassination. It also precludes the possibility of an interregnum in that office. In addition to the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House, each of the eight members of the Cabinet in turn, and after them the entire Senate, stand ready to assume, temporarily, the duties of the presidential office until Congress can elect a successor. It would not be possible for any conspiracy to succeed which contemplated the wholesale assassination of entire Cabinets and Senates.

If, as I propose in this amendment, there had been no Vice-President, and the Constitution had provided, as I suggest, that on the death, resignation, or removal of the President the vacancy should be filled forthwith by the election of any citizen of the United States eligible under the Constitution, each Senator and Representative having one vote, the

nation would never have been cursed with the Tyler, Fillmore or Johnson administrations, nor is it to be supposed that Mr. Lincoln would have been assassinated, because it would not have been possible to foretell who would have been elected his successor. If this amendment had been part of the Constitution the country would have been spared much anxiety during the late impeachment trial, and Senators who constituted the court of impeachment would have been spared much of the suspicion and criticism to which they were subject. No man could then have known in advance who would have been the choice of the two Houses of Congress, in joint convention, for acting President to fill the vacancy. The question of Mr. Johnson's successor would, therefore, never have disturbed or embarrassed the proceedings of the Senate during the recent impeachment trial.

THE ABOLITION OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS AND NATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

Instead of the intervention of presidential electors, I propose the election of President by a direct vote of the people by ballot, on the democratic principle, so fully recognized in our theory of government, "that all political power is inherent in the people and of right belongs to the people." I hold that it is safer and better for the people to exercise this power directly, without the intervention of nominating conventions or presidential electors or any intermediate agency. To withhold from the qualified electors of the nation the right to vote directly for the choice of a President is a violation of the democratic idea, an act at war with the fundamental principles of our Government, and utterly indefensible.

The adoption of the proposition which I have made will secure at once the abolition of the plan of electing a President by indirection, in the selection of electors chosen as now, by a plurality of the votes in each State, thus enabling the minority, when there are three or more candidates, by concentrating their votes on one electoral ticket, to secure the election of their candidate. This plan will also secure the early abolition of all national nominating conventions,

and eventually of all State and county conventions, thus relieving every voter from the despotism of party cliques and party caucuses.

This provision is itself enough to commend the proposed amendment to the favorable consideration of the great body of the American people who have so long been controlled by the despotism of party conventions.

As a rule, not one voter in ten is consulted under our present caucus system as to his first choice of a candidate for any office, and yet when nominations are made, no matter whether fairly or by fraud, each voter is compelled to support the nominee of his party or aid in the election of the candidate of the opposite party.

For years I have been opposed to the present system of nominating all candidates for elective offices, including that of President of the United States. I have long held that all nominations should be made directly by the people under the authority and protection of law. In other words, that there ought to be two elections for all officers, to be elected by the people, unless at the first election one of the candidates should receive a majority of all the votes cast, an event not probable at any election, and certainly not for President nor for Governor of a State or a Representative in Congress. If any one should receive a majority of all the votes cast at the first election he would be declared duly elected, and there would be no second election to fill that office. If there were no choice at the first election for President, I provide in the proposed amendment that all candidates but the five, or possibly it may be advisable to say all but the four highest voted for at the first election, shall be dropped.

If I were making a State constitution or a law for the election of any elective officer, I would provide that at the second election all but the four, or possibly all but the three, highest voted for at the first election for any office should be dropped, and that at the second election, only the candidates thus nominated should be voted for; that no other votes should be counted; and if there were three candidates at the final election, that a plurality of the votes cast, should elect as now.

This plan, as all can see, would supersede the present corrupt and unsatisfactory convention system, and enable every elector to vote without caucus dictation at the first election for his first choice, and without fear of electing the candidate of the opposition because of scattering votes.

After the most careful and deliberate examination of the question I am compelled to confess that the convention system now in use by both the great political parties of the nation is demoralizing in its practical workings, unfair in its representation of the great body of voters, and repugnant to the principles of true democracy and republicanism.

I look upon the present convention system for the nomination of a President as far more objectionable than the old congressional caucus system which it superseded, and which I would not restore if I could.

The theory is that the national conventions of both parties are composed of delegates fresh from the people, elected by the people, and that they represent the people. All know that, practically, nothing can be further from the truth. History will confirm what I say, when I declare that a majority of the national conventions of both parties which have been held in the past, not only have not reflected the wishes of the party for which they assumed to act in making nominations, but that they have repeatedly and deliberately disregarded their known wishes.

Instead of our national, State, or district conventions being made up of delegates elected directly by the people, they are made up of delegates selected by packed committees in State conventions composed of delegates appointed on the recommendation of like committees appointed by other delegates in county conventions, who, in the first instance, are often nominated in township and ward caucuses, which are packed by the leaders of cliques and controlled by political machinery in the hands of a few, without regard to the wishes or interests of the voters for whom they assume to act. Thus the delegates in our national conventions are always removed three, and usually four, degrees from the people. Indeed, the people seldom have a voice in the election of the first delegates from townships and wards, owing to the political machinery employed by the few who work it. If the



voice of the people is partially heard in the ward and township caucuses, which is well nigh impossible under our present practice, at each successive remove from the people their will is less regarded, until at last when it reaches our national conventions no voice is heard but the clamor of the office-seeker and the violent contentions of warring factions. Especially is this the case in the Democratic party when they adopt the two-thirds rule. As to consultation and deliberation at such conventions, that is impossible, nor is it now expected.

Often more than otherwise the delegates who attend these conventions vote for men of whom they know but little and of whose political record they know absolutely nothing. Witness the action of the Republican convention at Baltimore which nominated Andrew Johnson. The indecent scramble of the bullet-headed politicians and demagogues for the honor of first announcing the name of Andrew Johnson as a candidate before that convention was one of the most disgusting exhibitions I ever witnessed.

A majority who attend such conventions are always clamorous for prompt action and adjournment, never for consultation. They are usually more anxious about the size of their hotel bills than about the record of the candidate to be nominated. Their object is gained when their names are recorded as delegates to the convention and that they have voted for the nomination of the successful man.

Benton, in his "Thirty Years' View," in speaking of national conventions and comparing them with the congressional caucus system, uses the following language :

"But it [the convention system] quickly degenerated and became obnoxious to all the objections to Congress caucus nominations and many others besides. Members of Congress still attended them, either as delegates or as lobby managers. Persons attended as delegates who had no constituency [as delegates, professing to be from Texas and other States, appeared at the Chicago Republican convention in 1860]. Delegates attended upon equivocal appointment. Double sets of delegates sometimes came from the State, and either were admitted or repulsed, as suited the views of the majority. Proxies were invented. Many delegates attended with the sole view of establishing a claim for office, and voted accordingly. The two-thirds rule was invented to enable the

minority to control the majority, and the whole proceeding became anomalous and irresponsible and subversive of the will of the people, leaving them no more control over the nomination than the subjects of kings have over the birth of the child which is born to rule over them. King caucus is as potent as any other king in this respect; for whoever gets the nomination, no matter how effected, becomes the candidate of the party, from the necessity of union against the opposite party, and from the indisposition of the great States to go into the House of Representatives to be balanced by the small ones. This is the mode of making Presidents, practiced by both parties now. It is the virtual election! And thus the election of the President and Vice-President of the United States has passed, not only from the college of electors, to which the Constitution confided it, and from the people to whom the practice under the Constitution gave it, and from the House of Representatives, which the Constitution provided as ultimate arbiter, but has gone to an anomalous, irresponsible body, unknown to law or Constitution, unknown to the early ages of our Government, and of which a large proportion of the members composing it, and a much larger proportion of interlopers attending it, have no other view, either in attending or in promoting the nomination of any particular man, than to get one elected who will enable them to eat out of the public crib—who will give them a key to the public crib.”

I do not overdraw the picture, nor did the great Missouri Senator.

The demoralization inseparable from such disgraceful proceedings cannot be overstated. As Mr. Benton says, a majority of the delegates who attend national conventions do so for the purpose of establishing claims for office, and we all know that they are usually candidates for an appointment at the hands of the President whom their votes help to nominate. When there are three or more rival candidates for President before a national convention, and a balance of power party can be formed, they do not hesitate to demand as a condition to the vote of their clique or State the promise of a Cabinet appointment. This unblushing demand has been made as a condition to the support of cliques and factions at more than one convention and acceded to. In pursuance of such arrangements Cabinet ministers have been appointed, and were thus enabled by their official position to provide offices for their friends, who, as delegates, voted as required in convention.

Entire delegations from States sometimes permit themselves to be bartered and pledged for a candidate on condition that one or more of their own number shall have a designated official appointment, and sometimes even for the empty honor of having one of their number act as the presiding officer of the convention; and this is called representing the people. Thus, in our national conventions, where oftener than otherwise there are more than two candidates, the most unscrupulous are the most likely to succeed. A few leading men combining for Cabinet positions or foreign appointments can, by concentrating their votes, secure a majority in the convention, and thus nominate any candidate upon whom they unite. If this has been and may be by combinations such as I have described, it is certain to be repeated again under like temptations.

The desire for place and power can, as it has done, bring the most hostile political leaders together. "If we combine," they whisper to each other, "we shall conquer. If we divide, we shall be conquered." With the cohesive power of self-interest to urge them on they combine, and by the aid of party conventions make nominations in the name of the people to which the people are opposed, and thus live upon the Government at their expense.

The Republican national convention for 1864, which re-nominated Mr. Lincoln, and the Republican convention which meets at Chicago on the 20th of this month, formally to ratify the wishes of the people in placing General Grant in nomination, are exceptions to this rule. The man of destiny is made a candidate in spite of cliques and cabals. As no combinations could have been made by party cliques formidable enough in 1864 to have defeated the nomination and election of Mr. Lincoln, so none could be made this year of sufficient magnitude to defeat the nomination and election of General Grant. Such was the condition of the country in 1864, and such is its condition to-day, that the people with a unanimity unprecedented commanded, and the political schemers, making a virtue of necessity, yielded, and were as clamorous for Lincoln in 1864 as they are to-day for General Grant.

As a rule, however, national conventions do not, as I have shown, nominate the first choice of either party. Especially is this the case with the Democratic party. The two-thirds rule makes their cliques more formidable, and the schemers usually so manage as to get their favorite or secure a compromise on some new man whom they know they can use.

If the new President and all elective officers were nominated by law as I propose, no compromise on a new and unknown man could possibly be made by political managers.

It may, and probably will be, claimed by the friends of the convention system, that the proposition securing a nominating election under the protection and security of law would not prevent the caucus nomination of candidate to be voted for at the first election. There is unquestionably some force in this suggestion. I am confident, however, that its adoption would practically abolish the convention system.

The people may safely be entrusted with the management of this whole matter. All they ask is the protection of law, and they will soon dispose of party tricksters and convention cliques. A nominating election, under the safeguards of law, is their security. If cliques and conventions attempt to dictate and control at the first or nominating election, their defeat will be inevitable at the second or regular election. It will thus be seen that the system has, in itself, the inherent power of protection against caucuses, conventions, and frauds.

MR. LAWRENCE, of Ohio. I would like to ask my colleague if he has not attended conventions and been nominated by conventions, and if he does not support all nominations made by the Republican party.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. I answer the question of my colleague in the affirmative. I have attended conventions and expect to attend them as long as my party adheres to that system. I have been nominated by conventions, and have accepted those nominations, because I believed they were honestly made, and because I believed they fairly represented the wishes of the party. I would not accept a nomination secured by bargain and sale, or by fraud and corruption. I would not accept a nomination for any office if made by a

“balance of power” clique, with the understanding, expressed or implied, that in case of my election I should appoint the leaders of such clique to office. I have been nominated and elected five consecutive times by the Republican party of my district, and I never made, nor permitted to be made, such a promise to a single man. I have always supported the regular nominations made by my party, and expect to do so until the system of nominating conventions is abolished, and some new and better system adopted.

**THE INDEFENSIBLE MODE OF ELECTING OUR PRESIDENTS MAINTAINED IN THE INTERESTS OF SLAVERY.**

But for the existence of slavery the present indefensible anti-democratic system of electing the President by the appointment of electors in such manner as the State legislatures may by law provide would long since have been changed, and a system more in accord with the democratic spirit of the age adopted.

That the present system of nominating and electing a President is in antagonism with the principles of democratic government will not be seriously questioned. It has more than once defeated the popular choice for the nomination and election of President. Since I became a voter a majority of our Presidents have been elected by a minority of the popular vote. Under the present system the incentive to fraud in ballot-box stuffing, illegal voting, and the importation of voters into the large and closely-contested States cannot be over-estimated. If an electoral ticket obtains by any means, fair or foul, a plurality of one or more votes, it controls the entire electoral vote of the State, which may decide the result of a presidential election, as in the case of the vote of New York in 1844. This electoral machinery has, and may again, defeat the popular will.

In 1824 Maryland gave Adams a larger popular vote than either Jackson, Crawford, or Clay. But of the eleven electoral votes to which the State was then entitled, Jackson received seven, Adams three, and Crawford one.

The electors in Maryland were elected at that time by districts, whereas they are now elected on a general ticket

for the State at large, as in all the States. **TWO DISTRICTS IN MARYLAND (the third and fourth), ELECTED AT THAT ELECTION TWO ELECTORS EACH, TO ACT AS SENATORIAL ELECTORS.**

In 1824 the electors of President and Vice-President were appointed in the several States as follows:

In Maine, Massachusetts, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, Illinois, and Missouri, by the people in districts. Seven States.

In New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, and Ohio, by the people on general ticket. Ten States.

In Vermont, New York, Delaware, Georgia, Indiana, Louisiana, and South Carolina, by the legislatures. Seven States.

In a few years all the States except South Carolina adopted the general ticket system, so that the vote of the States should not be divided, thus securing to the large States the power to elect the President, and often by a mere plurality of the vote of the State.

At the election of which I am speaking Jackson had ninety-nine electoral votes, Adams eighty-four, Crawford forty-one, and Clay thirty-seven.

The Constitution requiring a majority of all the electoral votes cast to elect a President, and there being no choice of President by the electors, the election devolved on the House of Representatives.

**THE STATES WHICH REPRESENT A MINORITY OF THE PEOPLE IN  
THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES MAY ELECT THE  
PRESIDENT.**

Here, again, the machinery provided by the Constitution for the election of a President by the House of Representatives makes it possible for a minority of the people residing in small States to defeat the will of a majority of the voters in the nation.

At the election in 1824 for electors of President Mr. ADAMS HAD A MAJORITY OF THE ELECTORAL VOTE IN BUT SEVEN STATES. When the election took place in the House of

Representatives, each State having one vote, which is cast as a majority of the Representatives in the House from each State may determine, MR. ADAMS HAD A MAJORITY IN EACH, OF THE REPRESENTATIVES FROM THIRTEEN STATES. The vote stood as follows:

For Adams.....	13
For Jackson.....	7
For Crawford.....	4

Mr. Adams, having a majority of all the votes cast, was declared duly elected President for the ensuing term.

It will be observed that Mr. Adams had not only fifteen electoral votes less than Jackson in the Electoral College, but that he had a majority of the electors chosen in only seven States, whereas he obtained in the House of Representatives when elected President the vote of thirteen States, THREE OF THESE BEING STATES WHICH GAVE JACKSON A MAJORITY OF THEIR ELECTORAL VOTE, namely, Alabama, Louisiana, and Maryland; while three of the States which gave a majority for Clay at the election voted for Adams in the House, namely, Kentucky, Missouri, and Ohio. North Carolina gave her vote in the Electoral College for Jackson, BUT IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES HER VOTE WAS GIVEN TO CRAWFORD BY A VOTE OF TEN TO THREE, in utter disregard of the popular vote of the people of the State as expressed at the ballot-box.

I present these facts to show how, under our present system, the voice of the people has been and may again be disregarded. Nothing could demonstrate more forcibly than this simple statement the necessity for a change in the manner of electing a President, if the will of the people as expressed at the ballot-box is to determine every four years who shall discharge the powers and duties of the office of President of the United States.

I also desire to call attention to the fact that the machinery of electors, as provided by our present Constitution, makes it possible for the will of the people to be defeated after the appointment of electors. For instance, if a candidate for the Presidency should have in the Electoral College but two or three majority of the electoral vote, and four or five electors chosen by the majority in the different States

should, either corruptly, ignorantly, negligently, or for any cause, fail or refuse to attend at the place and on the day designated by law for their meeting in each State, to vote for the person designated on the ticket for President, or should appear and vote for the opposing candidate, or vote blank, the people who voted for such electors would be either misrepresented or unrepresented in the Electoral College, and the candidate for whom a majority of electors was chosen to vote would be legally defeated, although fairly elected. This is not unlikely to happen at any election, unless each State should provide by law for the contingency of absentees. **THEY COULD NOT PROVIDE A REMEDY FOR THE BETRAYAL OF AN ELECTOR.**

Of the presidential electors appointed for 1792, two in Maryland and one in South Carolina failed to appear at the time and place appointed for the meeting of electors, and did not vote. For 1808 there was one in Kentucky. For 1812, one in Ohio. For 1816, three in Maryland and one in Delaware. For 1820, one in Pennsylvania, one in Alabama, and one in Tennessee. For 1824, one in Rhode Island. For 1832, three in Maryland. For 1864, one in Nevada. The entire electoral vote for the State of Wisconsin was legally lost to Fremont in 1856 by the accident of a snow-storm, and would probably not have been counted if thereby the result of the election could have been changed. There may have been others which I have overlooked.

In 1797 Adams had seventy-one votes and Jefferson sixty-nine, giving Adams but two majority. If three of the electors who voted for Adams had failed to appear at the time and place designated by law to vote for President, or had refused to vote, or voted blank, Mr. Jefferson would have been elected. It will thus be seen that of the number of electors who have been appointed and three or four times failed to vote for President, in one instance in our history such neglect or refusal to act would have changed the result of an election and defeated the legally expressed will of the people in the selection of a President.

But I need not detain the House longer by presenting reasons against a system so indefensible.



If the proposition which I have introduced should be adopted and become a part of the Constitution, it will abolish all the machinery of intermediate bodies, which now often control or defeat the will of the people, whether it be national conventions, electoral colleges, or the choice of a President by the House of Representatives.

**THE ELECTION OF A PRESIDENT BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.**

We have had two elections in our history of a President by the House of Representatives, and I trust the Constitution may soon be so changed that we shall never have another.

Each State in such an election has one vote, and a majority, as I have already said, of the Representatives in Congress from the States whose members are present and voting determine for which of the three persons returned to the House the vote of the State shall be cast. At such an election the Representatives in Congress elected by a minority of a people may, and as a rule will, in such a contest elect a President.

Counting all the States, and we now have thirty-seven; of these, under our present system ten may elect a President if united. I will name them:

	<i>Votes.</i>
Illinois .....	16
Indiana .....	13
Kentucky .....	11
Massachusetts .....	12
Missouri .....	11
New York .....	33
Virginia .....	10
Ohio .....	21
Pennsylvania .....	26
Tennessee .....	10
	—
Ten States.....	<u>163</u>

	<i>Votes.</i>
Alabama .....	8
Arkansas .....	5
California .....	5
Connecticut .....	6
Delaware.....	3
Florida .....	3
Oregon .....	3
Georgia .....	9
Kansas.....	3
Louisiana .....	7
Maine.....	7
Maryland .....	7
Minnesota.....	4
Mississippi .....	7
Nevada .....	3
Nebraska .....	3
New Hampshire .....	5
New Jersey.....	7
Rhode Island.....	4
South Carolina .....	6
Texas.....	6
Vermont .....	5
West Virginia.....	5
North Carolina .....	9
Wisconsin .....	8
Iowa .....	8
Michigan.....	8
	<hr/>
Twenty-seven States.....	<u>154</u>

If at any time an election for President should devolve on the House of Representatives, a majority of the Representatives in Congress from nineteen of the thirty-seven States, representing not more than one-fourth of the people and less than one-third of the electoral vote, could by uniting elect the President.

Let me name the States :

	<i>Votes.</i>
Delaware.....	1
Florida.....	1
Kansas.....	1
Nebraska.....	1
Nevada .....	1
Oregon.....	1
Minnesota.....	2
Rhode Island .....	2
Arkansas.....	3
California .....	3
New Hampshire .....	3
Vermont .....	3
West Virginia .....	3
Connecticut.....	4
South Carolina .....	4
Texas .....	4
Maryland .....	5
New Jersey.....	5
Mississippi .....	5
—	
Nineteen States.....	52
=	

Thirty-eight of the fifty-two members from the States just named can control the vote of said States and elect the President.

It will be observed that in the table from which I have just read, we have six States, with but one vote each, while seven others have but nineteen votes, and the six remaining but twenty-seven. In all fifty-two votes. These nineteen States have two Senators each, making in all thirty-eight Senators, which, added to the fifty-two Representatives in the House, makes ninety votes, and that number of electoral votes.

In a few years, at most, six new States will be organized out of our present Territories and admitted into the Union. When admitted, they will be entitled under our present sys-

tem to cast three electoral votes each for President, making eighteen votes, and in case the election of a President devolves on the House of Representatives, they will each have all the political power of New York or Ohio, with the certainty that they cannot lose their vote in the House by an equal division of their Representatives as the larger States may ; thus increasing the inequality of political power which now exists in the House when the election of a President devolves upon it, to an extent which I fear the statesmen of the country do not fully recognize. Admit six of the Territories, and the number of States would be increased to forty-three, and the electoral vote, if the States already named retain their present number of votes, would be three hundred and thirty-five.

Now, take Georgia, with her nine electoral votes, and add to the ten States in the first table, and eleven States can give one hundred and seventy-two electoral votes, while the remaining thirty-two States can give but one hundred and sixty-three electoral votes. Thus eleven States out of forty-three, if united, may, by a plurality of their voters, elect a President ; yet, if they are so divided that a majority of all the electors are not chosen for one of the candidates, there is no election, and the election devolves on the House of Representatives, when twenty-two States, representing only eighty-nine electoral votes out of three hundred and thirty-five, or a fraction more than one-fourth, and not one-fourth of the popular vote, may elect a President.

Add the six new States, each with their three electoral votes, to the six States now in the Union with but three votes each, and we will have twelve States with one vote each in the House, and but thirty-six electoral votes. When that time comes — which will probably be within ten years at most — we shall have, as I have shown, forty-three States, of which twenty-two will be a majority, and this majority of States can be controlled by thirty-five members ; eight votes less than there are States in the Union. Thus it will be seen that THIRTY-FIVE MEN IN THE HOUSE, WHEN COMPOSED OF TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-NINE MEMBERS, WILL HAVE THE POWER TO ELECT A PRESIDENT SHOULD THE ELECTION DEVOLVE ON THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

I need not add a word in condemnation of a system so utterly repugnant to all right-thinking men. The fact that so small a body of men will have it in their power to elect a President, if the election can be carried into the House of Representatives, will make it for the interest of desperate political adventurers and place-hunters to combine and force the election into the House. I would not have you forget that the Representatives who are to determine the choice of a President when the election devolves on the House of Representatives are members of the Congress which expires on the day the new President is to be inaugurated; that the term of all members not re-elected will cease on the 4th of March after the election of the President, and that such members will then be prepared to accept appointments under the new Administration.

With the States all restored, as we soon hope to see them, there will be thirty-seven, as I have before said, and the number of members in the House will be two hundred and forty-three, one hundred and twenty-two of whom are a majority. **YET THIRTY-EIGHT MEMBERS REPRESENTING NINETEEN STATES BY VOTING TOGETHER CAN CONSTITUTIONALLY ELECT THE PRESIDENT WHEN THE ELECTION DEVOLVES ON THE HOUSE.**

These calculations are based upon the hypothesis that every State will have a vote in such an election; whereas it will sometimes happen that the larger States will lose their vote by an equal division in their delegation. This, of course, cannot happen where a State has but one Representative.

When there is but one majority in a delegation, any member from such a State may change the result, or he may refuse to vote, and thus deliberately, and for a purpose, cause the vote of his State to be equally divided and lost, thus increasing the power of the few in the House who vote as a unit.

The proposition which I make brings the Senate and House of Representatives together in joint convention within sixty days after the death, resignation or removal of the President, and secures to each Senator and Representative one vote.

An election of a President by a joint vote of the two Houses of Congress can only happen under the plan which I have submitted, on the death, resignation or removal of the incumbent; because the people will of necessity elect a President at the second election without the intervention of any body of men, thus taking away from the House of Representatives this dangerous power, now lodged by the Constitution in the hands of less than one-third of its members, and securing it to the people.

Experience teaches that small bodies of men may be corrupted, the great body of the people never. Where there are more than two presidential candidates, those representing political parties known to be in the minority in any State, while acting separately, may unite and adopt a joint electoral ticket, composed of men representing their respective party organizations, and thus obtain a plurality of the popular vote in enough doubtful States to defeat an election by electors. The election of the President would then devolve on the House of Representatives, and one of the candidates of the minority could there be elected, as I have shown, by less than one-third of the Representatives in Congress, with a constituency numbering less than one-fourth of the popular vote.

After an election, in which there was no choice by the people, if they were permitted to vote the second time, they would never permit an election of President to go to the House of Representatives, as provided under our present Constitution. This is one of the important privileges which I propose to secure directly to the people, so that in a country extensive as ours the people may have an opportunity of voting for a second choice if they fail to secure their first choice.

In any light in which I am able to view the present mode of electing a President, whether by the appointment of electors or selecting him by the House of Representatives, it seems to me to be violative of the democratic principle, and dangerous to the peace and stability of the Government.

In conversing recently with one of the most distinguished men of the nation on this subject he said that should an election such as I have described occur, and the choice devolve on the House of Representatives, it would not dare to select for President the candidate having the smallest vote; that if

they did so it would end in revolution, and that until some great agitation resulting from such an outrage came upon the country the people could not be aroused to the necessity of providing against its probability.

However that may be, I feel it to be my duty to present this subject to the consideration of this House and the country, with the notice that while I remain a member of this body I do not intend to rest until a judgment is rendered upon it by Congress and the people.

Believing in the capacity of the people for self-government, I ask that all who are duly qualified shall vote directly for President; that they be secured and protected in that right, and be freed from the dictation and control of all intermediate and irresponsible bodies of men. Any substitute for a popular vote makes it possible for intermediate bodies, who are commissioned to act for the people, to betray them or defeat their choice.

The system which now prevails of nominating and electing our Presidents tends directly to corruption and fraud, and to placing the government in the hands of a minority of experienced and unscrupulous political intriguers.

Minorities cannot long administer a government such as ours in this country by fraud and intrigue without inaugurating violence and bloodshed. The administration by the slave oligarchy of this government for so many years by fraud, intrigue, and force is a case in point.

The history of all republics which have risen and fallen teaches us that liberty will perish if the people permit the establishment of any substitute for popular elections.

It is the province of true statesmanship to supply a remedy for the dangerous, unjust, and anti-democratic provision of the Constitution which provides for the election of our national Executive.

I have not provided for special elections by the people in case of the death, disability, or removal of the President, because I think the presidential term should commence and end as now.

The business interests of the country cannot afford to go through a presidential campaign oftener than once in four years. If an election to fill a vacancy devolves on the Con-

gress, each Senator and Representative has one vote, which is as equitable an apportionment according to population as can well be made, and the choice of an acting President to fill any vacancy which may happen will probably give as much satisfaction in the mode proposed as any which could be devised.

#### OF THE EXECUTIVE AND APPOINTING POWER.

Mr. Chairman, in defining the executive power the framers of the Constitution declared that it should be in a President, intending thereby to say that the executive power of the nation should be vested in one person, to be called a President, and that he should exercise the powers and duties conferred in strict accordance with the grants and limitations of the Constitution. Gradually but steadily the executive power has strengthened itself and encroached upon the legislative department, causing the conflict through which we have just passed.

The power of appointment committed to the President under our Constitution has for years made him little else than a king for the time being, except in name.

Insidious usurpations, long submitted to, but never contemplated by the Constitution, have so grown into custom that to-day, without the tenure-of-office act, the vast power in the hands of an ambitious, aspiring, popular President is dangerous to the peace and stability of the Union.

When it is remembered that there are nearly forty thousand office-holders, whose salaries amount to millions, and whose appointments, directly or indirectly, depend on the word of the President, we will be able to comprehend something of the overshadowing power of the Executive.

We have all seen how dangerous a President may become who is without character and without ability, even when manacled with the civil tenure-of-office law.

Let the intelligent student read over our political history for the past forty or fifty years, and he will be surprised to find how large has been the number of Senators and Representatives who during that time have openly or covertly betrayed their constituents, and become the mere dependents of



the Executives who during their official term filled the presidential office.

I will not now speak of the baseness which has been so open and unblushing within the memory of us all. For the sake of place and power a large number of public men, in the past half century, have abandoned cherished convictions, betrayed the people, and become the mere creatures of our acting Executives, so that to-day our political highway presents an almost unbroken line of unburied political skeletons, offensive to the sight and poisonous to our political atmosphere. Sir, let any man read our political history for the past forty or fifty years, and he will find that an executive nod to a representative of the same political party has been more potent, as a rule, than the will of his constituents. I admit that this abasement was far more general than it is to-day, during the period in which the slave-masters of the South dominated over the nation and northern doughfaces did their bidding with alacrity and without question.

Experience has demonstrated the fact that executive blandishment and patronage have been used with marked success within the memory of us all. Senators and Representatives of all parties have alike yielded to its seductive power.

The men usually selected to do the bidding of an Executive in defiance of the wishes of their constituents are men elected from congressional districts which never re-elect their representatives, or re-elect them but once. Such districts, as a rule, send men to Congress who are without State or national reputations, and as a consequence a large number of such men are always ready in the name of party to do the bidding of an unscrupulous Executive, and accept for their services, when repudiated by their constituents, a petty appointment, which men of character, ability, and a political future would spurn. So long as Representatives to Congress are elected for but one, or at most for but two terms, and because they reside in this or that county of a district rather than because of their fitness, ability, or fidelity to principles, and so long as the President is clothed with such vast appointing power, and he is permitted to demand, as now, of his appointees, an indorsement of "his policy," including his policy for a re-election, as a condition to their appointment or

continuance in office, so long will constituencies be betrayed and political adventurers be successful.

Practically, sir, the demand made, disguise it as we may, of the great body of men who are nominated to important positions by every Executive ambitious for a re-election is, will you pledge yourself to support "my policy?"

#### THE ROTATION SYSTEM—ITS STUPIDITY.

In a number of congressional districts personally known to me, the rotation system prevails so rigidly that they never re-elect a gentleman to Congress, no matter how able or faithful. Political aspirants with their personal friends come together in what they are pleased to call conventions, and negotiations are deliberately entered into and a programme agreed upon, which must remain undisturbed for years and with which no national exigency or local want of the people must interfere. In these convention conclaves the people are without a voice or vote, and in the name of party they are bound hand and foot. It is generally agreed that the nominee for the first term, in such district, after a new apportionment, shall be given to the county having the most political influence, if their local politicians can agree, and thereafter, if there is more than one county in the district, that the candidate shall rotate until each county shall in turn be served with a candidate. Experience has demonstrated how indifferent a majority of such Representatives are to the wishes and wants of their constituents.

Of the practical inefficiency of such Representatives I need not speak. It is not possible for them to be otherwise than inefficient. Let the constituencies who have so repeatedly suffered under this stupid system, and been humiliated, disgraced, and betrayed, apologize to the nation for sending such men into her council halls, by speedily changing a system which is the nursery of the most insufferable demagogues.

I have known men who ought never to have been intrusted with official position anywhere, and who probably never would have been but for this system, change their residence from one county to another for the express purpose of

securing a nomination to Congress, and succeed. Their anxiety to serve the dear people would become so great that they would anticipate by removing into a county entitled under their agreement to the candidate at the next election.

Mr. Chairman, what is a congressional district? Legally and for the time being it is one political community, as much as any county. It is organized by law as an entirety for the election of a Representative to Congress. The system which provides for the rotation of the member from one county to another every two or four years was not adopted in the interest of the people, but in the interest of politicians.

I know many constituencies will pardon me if I suggest to such as are pledged by their party leaders to the policy of electing a Representative from each county in a district, or to electing a new and inexperienced man every two or four years, that they modify it so far, at least, as to select a gentleman to represent them because of his character, ability and well-known fidelity to principles which they regard as fundamental, and that they require the candidate, as a condition to his renomination, that he "board round," when at home, in each county, after the custom of our western schoolmasters in early times, so that each county in such district shall have secured to it, at least once every year or two, a Representative in Congress who shall thus become a resident of every county. This would be a vast improvement on the plan so long adhered to in the North, which plan enabled the political adventurers who have so often held the balance of power in all our great national struggles to crawl into the national Congress. As a class these were the men who, at the bidding of the slave barons, betrayed the nation into the adoption of the Missouri compromise of 1820; and again, when it was repealed, whose votes enacted the so-called compromises of 1850 into law, including the infamous fugitive-slave act, the Kansas-Nebraska acts of 1854, and the Lecompton constitution of 1856; in short, the men who betrayed the nation in every great struggle between liberty and slavery for the past half century.

A large proportion of the men who thus betrayed their constituents, after being repudiated at home, received petty appointments from the President. This custom of compen-

sating the nation's betrayers, by their appointment to office, has been sanctioned and sanctified by long and successful usage, so that an act of successful treachery against a confiding constituency opens the door for promotion at the presidential mansion. All can understand that so corrupt and corrupting a custom could only be maintained by having reckless demagogues and small men without character rotated in and out of Congress as fast as possible. The South favored the "rotation principle" for the North, but were too wise and wily to adopt it themselves. The result was that with the immense patronage of the Government in the hands of a President controlled by the slave barons, liberty was always betrayed.

Had I time I might here present some interesting and instructive facts, showing how few men the North maintained in Congress beyond a single term, or beyond four years in the House for twenty-five years before the war, and how the South continued her Representatives until her men of ordinary abilities became so familiar with the public business of the country that they came to be leaders in Congress, and by a careful organization of the committees, controlled the legislation of the nation.

When I came into the Thirty-sixth Congress the two Senators from Florida—a political community without the voting population of the congressional district which I have the honor to represent—were each at the head of an important committee; one at the head of the Navy, the other of the Post-office; and this was a fair sample of the manner in which committees were organized both in the Senate and House for many years before the war. The whole State of Florida did not have as many letters go through its post-offices in a year as go through one city in my district in a single week; nor did its entire commercial interests reach in one year an amount equal in value to the commerce of Toledo every ten days; and yet these two men shaped, and in a great measure controlled, the postal and naval legislation of the country. Thus the representatives of a class interest, numbering but a few hundred thousand slave-owners, the most offensive and infamous oligarchy in history, by the political machinery of conventions took possession of the Government in the name

of Democracy and filled its most honorable and responsible offices from their own number. I am glad to be able to state that thousands of good men all over the country are beginning to see and feel the necessity of a radical change in this matter. Of the many letters which I have received, and seen when received by others, none is more to the point than one shown me a few moments ago by my colleague [Mr. Lawrence], an extract from which I will read. He says to my colleague:

“Go on. You have borne the heat and burden of the day. ‘We do not want to trade horses while crossing the stream.’

“We like your bold, manly course, and have learned to appreciate it the more since we see so many going over to the enemy. We want to make the example that it pays better to remain with our colors than to sell out and desert.”

**DANGEROUS POWER OF THE PRESIDENT IN CONTROLLING CONGRESSIONAL NOMINATIONS AND ELECTIONS.**

At least one-third of all the congressional districts in the nation may safely be classed, in ordinary party times, as politically doubtful. Such districts are organized by the dominant party in every State legislature for the purpose of securing, if possible, to their party, every Representative in Congress from the State.

A majority of all doubtful or close districts have what is known as a balance-of-power faction in each party, composed for the most part of dissatisfied and disappointed men, with political adventurers for leaders, who are always plotting for office, especially for congressional nominations, on the principle of “rotation,” and “that this or that man has had it long enough; and that it is their turn now.” If they cannot secure a nomination from one party they do not hesitate to ask a nomination from the opposite party. If they cannot secure a nomination from either party THEY DO NOT HESITATE TO “BOLT” OR TO ENTER INTO ANY COALITION WHICH PROMISES TO SECURE DEFEAT TO ANY MAN WHO STANDS IN THEIR WAY. In short, they will do any act which they believe will compel one or both parties to a compromise in the selection

of its candidates, under the threat of defeat if compliance with their demand is refused. These demands are usually the petty offices at the disposal of the Representative from the district, and a bargain as to which faction and county in the district shall have the congressional candidate for the next term.

In this way, with the aid of the plausible cry, "rotation in office," political apostates and adventurers and men without character, ability, or principle have so often in our history crept into the council halls of the nation and misrepresented and betrayed the people.

In such districts as I have described, the question too often asked by the best men of both parties is not who is the most reliable and competent man to represent us in Congress, but "who can the most certainly defeat the candidate of the opposition." To accomplish this, men who never were Republicans have been selected as candidates and voted for by Republicans since the organization of that great party, and sometimes apostates, or men but recently members of the opposite party, have been nominated by Republican conventions, as in the case of Andrew Johnson, not because they ever advocated or honestly entertained Republican ideas, but because political tricksters and schemers promised their support, and induced the party to believe that success could thus be secured at the election by the nomination of such candidates, and that defeat would be inevitable without it. As a rule the men thus nominated are but political adventurers, thrown to the surface like drift-wood in a flood, and, though they soon sink with their own rottenness, while they are in power they corrupt and debase the nation.

The insane desire for mere party success rather than the triumph of ideas in the election of honorable and responsible men of unquestioned fidelity has invited and encouraged, in almost every congressional district in which the party majority is uncertain, a score or more of "bolters," apostates, and political trimmers to thrust themselves upon both the great political parties as candidates for nomination to Congress. As a class these are the men who in the past thirty or forty years have so often betrayed constituencies at the bid-

ding of an unscrupulous, ambitious Executive, and received their reward in some petty office.

When a State or congressional district accepts as its representative a drunkard or a man without moral character and destitute of political principles, it treads the path which leads the nation on the highway to ruin. Far better that a party be defeated than that it should elect a man morally base enough to betray it. Far better defeat with men of character representing its ideas than success with men who represent neither moral nor political convictions. That a system so vicious and corrupting should so long have continued in any State or locality, even under the despotism of party conventions, is one of the inexplicable mysteries of American politics.

To the fact that the rotation system was in a measure abolished by the Republican party, and faithful and experienced men retained in Congress from a large number of Northern States during the war and since, does the nation owe in great part the successful legislation which carried it triumphantly through the war and prepared it the better to resist the usurpations and defeat in part the conspiracies of the acting President and his co-conspirators and allies. With new, untried, and inexperienced men every two or four years such a result would have been impossible.

So long as the system which I have described of nominating and electing Representatives to Congress is adhered to — and I concede that the district system is infinitely better than the general ticket system plan which at one time prevailed in a number of States, where the entire congressional delegation from a State was elected on one ticket — I say that so long as the system now prevailing of selecting Representatives to Congress continues and the vast patronage of the Government remains, as now, in the hands of the Executive, so long will a new set of unknown and unfaithful men be found in Congress to do the bidding of any Executive of their party who is unscrupulous enough to employ the Government patronage for that purpose.

Had Mr. Lincoln desired the defeat of the radical Republican candidates for Congress in 1862 he could have secured it in a majority of congressional districts in the nation. Had

Mr. Johnson been a man of character and ability he could in 1866, by ordinary management and a judicious use of the public patronage, have secured in close districts the defeat of all Republicans opposed to "his policy." Through his thirty or forty thousand appointees and his newspaper organs professing Republicanism, and such Republicans as he then had in Congress co-operating with him, he could have said, in a way not to be misunderstood, that such a result would be agreeable to him, and that a large number of leading Republicans, in Congress and out of it, concurred with him in believing that the defeat of all radicals was necessary to the complete success of the Republican party. And there were a number of professed Republicans then in Congress stupid enough or base enough to listen to such schemes and to say that the President's purposes were "to fight out his differences with the radicals in the Republican party;" that "in no event would he go over to the enemy." Fortunately for the nation, Mr. Johnson's open apostasy and base betrayal of the great party which elected him; his offensive and disgusting exhibition of himself throughout the country, and the want of character in his so-called Republican adherents was all that saved us from division and defeat at the elections in 1866 and since.

Mr. Chairman, there are but few congressional districts in which any President of character and good standing with his party may not, by a free use of the vast patronage in his hands, defeat, either for nomination or election, any candidate of his party for Congress who is obnoxious to him. That such vast power ought not to be lodged in the hands of any President will be conceded by all true friends of democratic government.

As the nation grows in population and wealth this vast, uncontrolled and uncontrollable power increases and becomes more dangerous. Its corrupting influence reaches out and subsidizes men in every county of the republic.

Sir, on behalf of all who cherish the democratic idea, I plead for the submission, by this Congress, of such an amendment to the Constitution as shall, when adopted, give security against the corruption and the danger which is in-



separable from the selfish use of the vast appointing power in the hands of any President desirous of a re-election.

Before the rebellion such Representatives in Congress as I have described were always sufficiently numerous to prevent, by uniting with the opposition, the passage of any important measure obnoxious to the President if he exercised the veto power. Hence we see that a President of character and ability may, with the vast patronage at his disposal and a liberal use of the veto, defy, in ordinary party times, both Congress and the nation for his entire term.

THE REMEDY OF IMPEACHMENT BUT "A SCARECROW."

As to the impeachment and removal of a President, that will probably never be attempted again. The late melancholy failure or refusal of the so-called high court to convict and depose an admitted usurper and violator of law, who was without a party and powerless to resist any order of that tribunal, has practically settled that question for all time to come. The nation must seek some other protection from the usurpations of its Executives than the high court of impeachment. Jefferson said that the clause of the Constitution providing for the impeachment of the President would prove but "a scarecrow." To-day we all know that it is a dead letter.

We have all witnessed the resort which was had by artful men to technical subterfuges and legal sophistries in order to release the President from all accountability to the nation.

If Jefferson at the time of the adoption of the Constitution could foresee and declare that "impeachment would prove but a SCARECROW," we who have witnessed its practical workings may, I think, without incurring the charge of rashness, proclaim it "A NATIONAL FARCE."

In the light of what has so recently transpired I am more profoundly impressed than ever with the great wisdom and prophetic foresight of the real statesmen of the Revolution. They comprehended the danger of executive power and the impossibility of successful impeachment before the Senate.

In the Virginia convention Mr. George Mason, in speaking of this defect in the national Constitution, said:

“It has been wittily observed that the Constitution has married the President and Senate—has made them man and wife. I believe the consequence that generally results from marriage will happen here. They will be continually supporting and aiding each other. They will always consider their interests as united. WE KNOW THE ADVANTAGE THE FEW HAVE OVER THE MANY. THEY CAN WITH FACILITY ACT IN CONCERT AND ON A UNIFORM SYSTEM; THEY MAY JOIN SCHEMES AND PLOT AGAINST THE PEOPLE WITHOUT ANY CHANCE OF DETECTION. THE SENATE AND PRESIDENT WILL FORM A COMBINATION THAT CANNOT BE PREVENTED BY THE REPRESENTATIVES. The executive and legislative powers thus connected will destroy all balances. This would have been prevented by a constitutional council to aid the President in the discharge of his office; vesting the Senate at the same time with the power of impeaching them. Then we should have real responsibility. IN ITS PRESENT FORM THE GUILTY TRY THEMSELVES. THE PRESIDENT IS TRIED BY HIS COUNSELORS. He is not removed from office during his trial. When he is arraigned for treason he has the command of the Army and Navy, and may surround the Senate with thirty thousand troops.” . . . “He may frequently pardon crimes which were advised by himself. IT MAY HAPPEN AT SOME FUTURE DAY THAT HE WILL ESTABLISH A MONARCHY OR DESTROY THE REPUBLIC. IF HE HAS THE POWER OF GRANTING PARDONS BEFORE INDICTMENT AND CONVICTION, MAY HE NOT STOP INQUIRY AND PREVENT DETECTION?”

Mr. Madison answered Mr. Mason as follows:

“There is one security in this case to which gentlemen may not have adverted. If the President be connected in any suspicious manner with any persons, and there be grounds to believe he will shelter himself, the House of Representatives can impeach him. They can remove him if found guilty; THEY CAN SUSPEND HIM WHEN SUSPECTED, AND THE POWER WILL DEVOLVE UPON THE VICE-PRESIDENT. SHOULD HE BE SUSPECTED ALSO, HE MAY LIKEWISE BE SUSPENDED TILL HE BE IMPEACHED AND REMOVED, AND THE LEGISLATURE MAY MAKE A TEMPORARY APPOINTMENT. THIS IS A GREAT SECURITY.”

I do not forget that Mr. Madison, after becoming President, yielded to influences which have controlled other men after obtaining power, and that he denied the authority of Congress to suspend the President during trial. I prefer the opinion of Madison when speaking in the Virginia convention, to the opinion of Madison after he became President.

Mr. Monroe, who afterwards became President, declared that the power conceded to the Executive under the Constitution was dangerous to the liberties of the people. He said:

“The President ought to act under the strongest impulses of reward and punishment, which are the strongest incentives to human action. There are two ways of securing this point. HE OUGHT TO DEPEND ON THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA FOR HIS APPOINTMENT AND CONTINUANCE IN OFFICE. He ought to be TRIED BY DISPASSIONATE JUDGES. HIS RESPONSIBILITY OUGHT, FURTHER, TO BE DIRECT AND IMMEDIATE.” . . . “TO WHOM IS HE RESPONSIBLE? TO THE SENATE, HIS OWN COUNCIL. If he makes a treaty bartering the interests of his country, by whom is he to be tried? By the very persons who advised him to perpetrate the act. IS THIS ANY SECURITY?”

Mr. Grayson, another distinguished member of the same convention, during the debates from which I have just quoted, said:

“Consider the means of importance he (the President) will have by appointing officers. If he has a good understanding with the Senate THEY WILL JOIN TO PREVENT A DISCOVERY OF HIS MISDEEDS.” . . . “AS THIS GOVERNMENT IS ORGANIZED IT WOULD BE DANGEROUS TO TRUST THE PRESIDENT WITH SUCH POWERS. How will you punish him if he abuse his power? Will you call him before the Senate? They are his counselors and partners in crimes. Where are your checks? We ought to be extremely cautious in this country. IF EVER THE GOVERNMENT BE CHANGED IT WILL PROBABLY BE INTO A DESPOTISM.”

Has not our recent experience justified all that was said by the considerate statesmen from whom I have quoted, of the danger of executive power and the impossibility of redress by impeachment and trial before the Senate. These brief speeches are so conclusive, when coupled with events which have just transpired, that I do not hesitate to declare the remedy by impeachment for executive crimes and misdemeanors “A NATIONAL FARCE.” From all that has transpired am I not justified in so proclaiming? What are the facts?

The great criminal of the nineteenth century was brought to the bar of the nation's appointed court, and the issue proved too much for the weakness of human nature. The

executive power asserts its defiance of laws and Constitution and its supremacy over both, and the people are powerless in the presence of the usurper. Weeks ago he is said to have communicated the forthcoming decision of the Senate and named the very members thereof who were to vote for his acquittal. The people with one accord had pronounced him guilty, but the high court enter up a verdict of acquittal. All this is done under the sanction of a judicial oath, and the people are told that they must not go behind that to question the judicial verdict of Senators. In answer to this I need only reply that the vilest enormities ever inflicted on mankind of which we have any record in history were committed under the sanction and solemnities of a judicial oath.

If public rumor be true, the verdict acquitting the President was not rendered because of law or evidence, but was the result of a secret, deliberate and carefully organized combination, brought about by personal hatreds, individual ambitions, presidential electioneering schemes in the interest of office-holding and office-seeking cliques; and alas! all fear by a more monstrous prostitution of the great trust committed to each individual member of the court which shall be nameless here.

If such combinations, with the means which are said to have been employed, may successfully prevent the removal of a dangerous and guilty President, by the great tribunal provided by our fathers for the protection and security of the republic, we may look for the early inauguration of a policy which will speedily bring into entire subordination the legislative to the executive department of the Government.

From the judgment of this high tribunal, made under the solemn obligations of a judicial oath, we intend to appeal to a higher and safer tribunal, the great tribunal of the people, who, though not acting under the sanction of official or judicial oaths, will render a verdict quite as honestly and quite as free from partisan hatred — a verdict which shall, at all events, be free from the taint of dishonor and corruption.

To me the only hope of the nation is in that power which can make Presidents and Senators. To that incorruptible power we shall appeal from a verdict which is utterly indefensible and a mockery of justice.

To the people we also intend to appeal for an amendment to their organic law which shall abolish the Vice-Presidential office and provide against the re-election of any man to the Presidency, as a means of obtaining additional security against the encroachments of the executive power. Pass this amendment; secure a fair representation to the minority; provide for a modification of the veto power by authorizing the President to return a bill with his objections, but provide that on a reconsideration a majority of the members elected and qualified in the Senate and in the House of Representatives shall be required to enact the bill into law over the veto, instead of two-thirds of a quorum, as now, and the people will have all the security necessary to protect them against hasty, partisan or unconstitutional legislation. Add to this a civil tenure-of-office act which shall take away from Senators and Representatives the authority which custom has secured to those representing the administration party of designating persons for appointment and lodge it with a board of examiners, as free to act as the examining board at West Point, which board shall examine all applicants for appointment and for promotion, and before whom all shall have a fair hearing, with a copy of the charges and specifications prior to their dismissal from office; and we will do something toward remedying the present unjust and indefensible system of appointing persons to office in our civil service. Provide with this a modification of the pardoning power, which ought never to be lodged in the hands of any one man, and a provision authorizing the House of Representatives, by a two-thirds vote, to demand a change of any member of the Cabinet, and the people will retain in their hands such control of their public servants as will be a guarantee of their fidelity and faithfulness. In this way the dangerous assumptions of the Executive can be successfully provided against and the rights and liberties of the people preserved. If some such provision as I have suggested is not adopted, then the declaration made by Franklin in the convention which framed the Constitution, that—

“The executive power will be always increasing here as elsewhere till it ends in monarchy,”

will, I fear, some day not far distant become a prophecy fulfilled.

**PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES NOT SELECTED BY CONVENTIONS BECAUSE OF FITNESS, CHARACTER, OR ABILITY.**

Mr. Chairman, the considerations which so often prevail in the nomination of Representatives to Congress in closely-contested districts have too often prevailed with both parties in the nomination of their presidential candidates. The question asked by the leaders and active men in each party is not, as it should be, "Who of all the public men of my party is the best qualified, because of executive ability, character, culture and fidelity to principles, to discharge the duties of the presidential office with credit to himself and honor to the nation both at home and abroad; who has the most honorable record, the most blameless public and private life with which to adorn and dignify the most exalted and honorable political office on earth?" But the question asked is, "Where can we find a candidate without a public record, a man of whom our opponents can say nothing, and of whom we may say what we please, to satisfy the interests or prejudices of any locality without fear of contradiction; a man who will the most certainly secure the electoral vote of this or that State which political prophets declare to be doubtful; States which are conceded to hold the balance of power in the presidential contest?" These are the questions asked.

It could not well be otherwise under such a political system than that untried, unfaithful and incompetent men, comparatively unknown to the great body of people, should so often have reached the presidential office. I need not cite more than one instance in our history to show how successfully the honest voters of a great State have been defrauded and betrayed by the nomination of such men as I have described.

In 1844 the people of Pennsylvania were induced to vote for James K. Polk and against Henry Clay, because the Democratic leaders in that State adopted and carried upon all their banners the rallying watchwords, "Polk, Dallas and the tariff of '42," watchwords which would have defeated

them if placed upon their banners in the South or West. After the election the people whose votes had thus been obtained were openly and unblushingly betrayed by the repeal of the tariff of 1842, which act received the casting vote of Vice-President Dallas, of Pennsylvania, and secured the approval of President Polk.

The people who have been so often betrayed begin to recognize the fact that treachery in politics has become a trade, and that so long as the convention and electoral system prevails they are powerless in the hands of its managers.

They know that, as a rule, so long as the people submit to this system, no man will be nominated by either party for the Presidency who is their first choice, or for whom a majority of the electors of either party would voluntarily vote for nomination at the ballot-box, if they could do so under the protection of law.

Adopt the system which I propose and no third or fourth-rate man would probably ever be nominated for President, certainly no man could by any possibility be nominated whose political opinions were unknown and with whose political record the people were not familiar. The Republican party with such a system would never have been guilty of the folly of nominating Andrew Johnson — nor would the voters in the Democratic party entertain for a moment the proposition to nominate the Chief Justice as their candidate. Yet Johnson was nominated by a Republican convention and some of the Democratic managers profess to favor the nomination of Mr. Chase in their convention.

All know that Johnson was the choice of a few tricksters in the Baltimore convention, and not the choice of the Republican party. Mr. Chase would not be the first choice of one Democrat in a thousand, yet men are plotting for his nomination in the Democratic convention, knowing that if he can be nominated the despotism of king caucus would compel the party to yield him its support.

In order to obtain a sufficient number of votes to be included in the list of the five highest or the three highest voted for at the first election, it would be necessary, under the plan which I propose, to present to the voters of both parties or all parties, men of well-known character, ability

and political integrity. No faction or minority in any party could then form combinations and secure nominations by fraud, nor could they defeat, as now, the nomination of any man who was the choice of the majority; schemers could not hold the "balance of power" in any State, and compel the nomination of their candidate on pain of defeat at the election. The voice of each party in the nation would speak and be heard as a unit, and there would be no desperate efforts made, as now, by either party to secure a bare majority in large States by fraud and corruption, in order to secure their electoral vote.

This proposition is so just that I hope it will commend itself to the Congress of the nation, as I am confident it will to the great body of the American people. Its adoption will secure to the voters of the nation a system, plain, simple, natural—a system free from complications and from the control of minorities—one which permits no body of men or party machinery to interpose between the people and the ballot-box.

#### CITIZENSHIP SUFFRAGE

Mr. Chairman, if we adopt the proposition for the election of the President by a direct vote of the people, the necessity of securing the privileges of the ballot to every citizen without distinction of race or color, whether native or foreign born, will be conceded by all who desire the unity and stability of our Government.

While I hold that Congress has the power, under the Constitution as it is, to clothe every citizen with the privilege of the ballot, I am confident it will never be secured to them except by an amendment to the national Constitution.

I am ready now, as I have been for years, to vote for an act of Congress securing the great privilege of the ballot to all citizens without regard to race or color in every State and Territory of the Republic.

I cannot, however, shut my eyes to the fact that such an act of Congress passed so soon after the rejection by a number of States of amendments to their constitutions proposing to confer suffrage on colored citizens, would meet with such



determined and united opposition from the so-called Democratic party and from some professed Republicans, that in many localities it would end in violence and resistance to the execution of the law.

I need not add that this resistance and violence would be inaugurated by the very class who to-day would demand the prompt and merciless execution of the infamous and brutal fugitive-slave act, if slavery were not abolished

In the name of democracy and Christianity the enslavement of men has been sanctioned, and the most God-defying laws executed with the basest alacrity; while those enactments which ennoble and dignify the human race and recognize the rights and privileges of men are condemned and resisted by its professed disciples.

I want citizenship and suffrage to be synonymous. To put the question beyond the power of States to withhold it, I propose the amendment to article fourteen, now submitted.

A large number of Republicans who concede that the qualifications of an elector ought to be the same in every State, and that it is more properly a national than a State question, do not believe Congress has the power under our present Constitution to enact a law conferring suffrage in the States, nevertheless they are ready and willing to vote for such an amendment to the Constitution as shall make citizenship and suffrage uniform throughout the nation.

For this purpose I have added to the proposed amendment for the election of President a section on suffrage, to which I invite special attention.

This is the third or fourth time I have brought forward a proposition on suffrage substantially like the one just presented to the House. I do so again because I believe the question of citizenship suffrage a question which ought to be met and settled now. Important and all-absorbing as many questions are which now press themselves upon our consideration, to me no question is so vitally important as this. Tariffs, taxation and finance ought not to be permitted to supersede a question affecting the peace and personal security of every citizen, and, I may add, the peace and security of the nation.

No party can be justified in withholding the ballot from any citizen of mature years, native or foreign born, except such as are NON COMPOS or are guilty of infamous crimes; nor can they justly confer this great privilege upon one class of citizens to the exclusion of another class simply because one is white and the other black.

True democracy pleads for the equal rights of all men before the law. It demands the ballot for every man, because, under a government such as ours, the ballot is the poor man's weapon of protection and defense. It gives him dignity and power; it recognizes his manhood and secures him justice; it makes the government his agent instead of his master. We all know from experience something of the educational influence and self-protecting power of the ballot.

It quickens and expands the thoughts of men and enables them the better to comprehend their own interests and the higher and more important interests of the State. To secure this self-educating, self-protecting power to all, I again press upon your consideration this amendment. Its adoption will make the national Constitution what it ought to be, the shield of every citizen, so that no State may ever again deprive him, without just cause, of this highest privilege of American citizenship; so that hereafter, if a citizen remove from one State into another, he shall not on that account be deprived by State law of the ballot and be treated in his own country as an alien.

Pass this amendment, and we shall conform our national Constitution to our new condition as a nation. We will thereby place in the hands of each citizen a new power for its preservation, so that we shall become, in fact, one people, living under a common Constitution, which is the outgrowth of civilization, experience, and necessity; a Constitution which recognizes justice as the supreme law and reflects the convictions and aspirations of a free and united people. To this proposition, so long cherished and believed by me to be for the best interests of my country, I invoke the considerate judgment of all men and an impartial verdict at the bar of public opinion.

**HON. JAMES M. ASHLEY UNANIMOUSLY RE-NOMI-  
NATED FOR CONGRESS**

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**BY THE REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL CONVENTION OF THE  
TENTH DISTRICT.**

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**AT NAPOLRON, AUGUST 19, 1868.**

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The Republican Congressional Convention for the Tenth District met, pursuant to call, at Napoleon on the 19th inst., and organized by electing Hon. E. S. Blakeslee of Williams County, President, and F. C. Cully, of Wood County, Secretary. Hon. J. M. Ashley was nominated by acclamation.

The Committee on Platform presented their report, which was unanimously adopted. Among the resolutions were the following:

**RESOLVED**, That in the Hon. J. M. Ashley, the 10th Congressional District has a true, worthy and able Representative, and we do hereby most cordially endorse his political action as in harmony with true Republican principles.

**RESOLVED**, That we cordially approve and recommend the adoption of the constitutional amendment introduced into Congress, on the 29th of May last, by our Representative, Hon. J. M. Ashley, so far as it proposes the election of a President by a direct vote of the people. That we also endorse his proposition to make citizenship and suffrage uniform through all the States and Territories of the republic.

The Committee appointed to notify Mr. Ashley of his nomination, returned and reported Mr. Ashley present to speak for himself. Mr. Ashley was received with enthusiastic applause, and addressed the convention as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:

With all my heart I thank you for this generous and cordial welcome.

I have no words at command with which to clothe the thoughts struggling in my heart for utterance. I would that I had command of language, that I might appropriately express to you the emotions that well up from my heart to my lips, so that you might realize how deeply and sensibly I feel the value of your unwavering support. As in the past it has strengthened me in the discharge of every public duty and in all our political struggles, so in the future it will nerve my arm in the battle for the right.

I appear before you in obedience to your summons, to accept the nomination which you have just tendered me with such unanimity and enthusiasm.

I take with pride the position which you have assigned me, and beg you and the noble constituency whom you have the honor to represent, to accept my grateful acknowledgments for these repeated and distinguished marks of their respect, esteem, and confidence.

We are about to enter upon a campaign in the Tenth District, the importance of which must not be underestimated.

I shall need and hope to have your hearty co-operation, as well as that of every Republican and every friend of the workingman in the District.

Our labor is not for the mere triumph of party, or the election of individual men, but for the triumph of great principles, upon the success of which we believe the future peace and welfare of the the nation depends. These principles are authoritatively announced for us in the national Republican platform which you have endorsed. I subscribe to them, most heartily, so far as they go, and only wish they were clearer and stronger in favor of impartial suffrage.

Conflicting political opinions, which are fundamental, are sooner or later crystallized into political creeds and attract to their support all who honestly subscribe to them. Hence we have conflicting political organizations. In a free government, such as ours, they are a necessity. A republican government could not long exist without them. All will

agree that it is the duty of every citizen to support with its influence and his ballot, the party which best represents his political convictions.

Which of the two great parties now appealing to you for your support best represents your views of local and national policy? Which by its acts and its history is the best entitled to your confidence and gratitude? As you do not judge men by their professions and promises, but by their acts and the company which they keep, so if you are honest with yourselves and just to your country, you will not judge parties by their promises and professions, but rather by their acts and the company which they keep.

[Here the audience was so great as to fill the court-house to suffocation, whereupon an adjournment was had to the open air, where, to an immense crowd, Mr. Ashley continued as follows:]

Let me ask what acts the party calling itself Democratic, has done for the past quarter of a century, whether in power or out of power, which entitle it to your gratitude and support? What promise has it made which it has not broken? What prediction has it made, which has not been falsified? What company has it been keeping which entitles it to your love and confidence and to the confidence and love of the Union soldier?

From the election of Van Buren in 1836 to the election of Mr. Lincoln in 1860, with the exception of one month, this party has had absolute control of the National Government and of nearly all the State governments. Its name was attractive; its professions high-sounding; its promises alluring.

In the name of democracy it assumed unwarranted power. It declared against granting special privileges to the few at the expense of the many, while it fostered and aided in building up an aristocracy the most despotic and offensive ever known among men: an aristocracy of slave barons. While professing to defend the liberties and the rights of mankind, it enslaved millions of men without scruple and sold them without remorse, like beasts in the shambles. When the free labor of the country saw and felt the degrading competition of slave labor with their own, and demanded that it should not be permitted to go into Territories then free, this party

became the ally of the monopolists who claimed to own the laborer, and at the bidding of these slave barons, aided in degrading free labor by maintaining that this oligarchy of slave barons had a right to take their slaves into any free Territory of the nation in defiance of the people. While professing a love for the Union superior to all other parties, it announced doctrines which, if practically applied, could only result in the destruction of the Union. While charging all anti-slavery men with being disunionists, they openly support the most notorious disunionists for the most responsible offices. To every exacting demand of these slave barons it compelled the nation to yield a degrading obedience. With alacrity it voted aye whenever they demanded more territory for the extension of slavery. To their demand for a fugitive-slave law, the most infamous known in all history, it willingly consented. To their demand that the free territories of Kansas and Nebraska, which by solemn covenant had been dedicated to free labor, should be opened up to slavery, it abjectly said amen. And finally, when this slave baron aristocracy became satisfied that the free labor of the country would no longer submit in the name of democracy to their imperious demands and unconstitutional usurpations, they defiantly proclaimed that if the people should elect a President in favor of free labor and UNFRIENDLY to this privileged class and the pretensions of slavery, they would put into practical operation their doctrine of State rights, secede from the Union and destroy the government.

Even this traitorous threat was approved and defended by a MAJORITY of the Northern leaders of this party, including James Buchanan, ex-President Pierce, Gov. Seymour, Vallandigham, Pendleton and Pugh. Some of these men joined the traitors in declaring that the United States had no constitutional power to prevent secession, and declared menacingly that if the Union men of the nation attempted to march an army into the South to put down rebellion, or in their own language, "ATTEMPTED TO COERCE A SOVEREIGN SISTER STATE, WE WOULD HAVE TO MARCH OVER THEIR DEAD BODIES."

I heard this declaration more than once from their acknowledged leaders.

This is the record of our opponents for a quarter of a century before the war, on the question of slavery, the right of secession and the power of the nation to protect its own life when assailed.

I hold that slavery is violative of every democratic principle, and that a slaveholder at heart could no more be a Democrat, in truth, than the prince of darkness could become an angel of light. I hold that the maintenance by this party of the rightfulness of slavery and their support of the slave barons, laid the foundation for our late civil war, and that their defense of the doctrines of state rights and secession aided and precipitated the rebellion and encouraged and strengthened it after the war began.

Indeed, without this aid and co-operation of Northern pro-slavery Democrats, the rebellion would have been impossible, or if possible, must of necessity have been of but short duration.

During the canvass of 1860, this party openly declared that if the friends of free labor elected Mr. Lincoln, the slave oligarchy would not submit. After his election and before his inauguration, part of Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet and many of the recognized leaders of his party, conspired with the slave-holding traitors in an attempt to take possession of the National Capitol and inaugurate their rebel government, and thus prevent the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln at Washington. Their conspiracies, fortunately, failed, and Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated. The government, however, was almost in ruins, as they intended it should be, before Mr. Lincoln could assume power and protect it. They had armed the South and disarmed the North. They had deliberately destroyed the national credit—bankrupted the treasury, and laid the foundation for foreign intervention.

Seven States had seceded and formed a National Confederate Government, with the co-operation, or at least without the protest, of Mr. Buchanan's administration. This Confederate Government had organized armies, which, under the command of its authorized leaders, was marching upon the Capitol of the Republic. You cannot have forgotten that all this occurred before Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1861. After this, many of the Northern leaders of

this party, both in and out of Congress, joined in the support of Buchanan's declaration that "if there was no constitutional right for secession, THERE WAS CLEARLY NO CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY TO PREVENT SECESSION BY FORCE."

They proclaimed every measure adopted by Mr. Lincoln and the loyal Congress to put down the rebellion "DANGEROUS USURPATIONS." They declared that Mr. Lincoln's proclamations were all void, and the emancipation of the slaves a violation of "VESTED RIGHTS." Indeed, during the entire war, nothing was regarded by them as constitutional which promised to crush the rebellion. They prophesied national bankruptcy, and everywhere published that the national debt would never be paid. They declared the war a failure, and did all they could to make it a failure, by discouraging enlistments, and encouraging desertions; by conspiring to resist the government and aid the rebellion by a counter Northern insurrection. They were even guilty of the humiliating infamy of asking Lord Lyons, the British Minister, to co-operate with them in securing the intervention of the five great powers of Europe in favor of the rebel cause. Thanks to the heroism, endurance and fidelity of the Union soldiers and the great party to which you and I belong, the conspiracies of these men all failed; their prophecies all proved false, and the mightiest rebellion the world ever saw was crushed; the constitutional authority of the nation maintained over every foot of the national territory without compromise and without dishonor, and but for the conduct of this party for three years, and their co-operation with Andrew Johnson, every Southern State would ere this have been restored to its "PRACTICAL RELATIONS IN THE UNION," and the nation placed beyond the danger of another rebellion. After the rebellion was crushed and the rebel armies disbanded, these men who before the war were the political disciples of the rebel chiefs, and their open and secret allies during the war, now unblushingly apologized for and defended the "LOST CAUSE," declaring that the rebels had committed no crime, and had lost none of their rights by secession and rebellion, but were entitled without conditions, and on their own motion, to return to the national Congress, with all the rights, privileges and dignities of loyal citizens and loyal States.



This wonderful party could never have survived its great crimes and violated pledges, its betrayal of freedom, and its hostility to free labor, but for its attractive and alluring name.

It has opposed every reform in the interest of liberty and free labor for the past quarter of a century. It opposed the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery throughout the republic, and sought to defeat the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment, recently adopted, which amendment secured the equal rights of all citizens before the law and the equal protection of the law to every stranger within our gates. It opposed the restoration of the rebel States to the Union on the basis of justice, and became the ally of our apostate President, and with the aid of seven wise and incorruptible judicial Republican Senators, saved him from the conviction due for his indefensible crimes.

At last it openly joined hands in its great wigwam in New York with a majority of the late rebel leaders, and has presented for your suffrage Seymour and Blair, on a platform hostile to peace and constitutional government.

In all their leaders said and did in that convention, you will find no sentiment in favor of universal liberty, or impartial suffrage—nor in platform or speech will you find a word or line in condemnation of the rebellion and its horrible crimes; but everywhere outspoken sympathy with the rebel leaders and their agents, and outspoken hatred of the nation's deliverer and peerless chieftain, General Grant.

This is in brief, a summary of the record, the prophesies and the promises which the leaders of the so-called Democratic party, who are now asking for your votes, have made and the company they have kept and are now keeping.

If any man approves and endorses all this, and much more than I have time to enumerate, let him vote for Seymour and Blair, and the nominees of that party. If he does not, let him vote for Grant and Colfax, and to maintain the great party that saved the nation's life, secured the triumph of free labor, and the liberty of millions.

Let me now ask you to look for a few moments at the record of the Republican party; a record so grand and noble that no poor words of mine can present it, as it is indelibly

impressed upon the minds and hearts of all who love liberty and justice.

Its principles came down to earth more than eighteen hundred years ago. Our fathers, when they established this government, recognized and embodied its great principles in our matchless Constitution. Prosperity came, and slavery, which our fathers supposed would be powerless under the new government, soon overshadowed and controlled it, and for many years, in the name of democracy, made the love of liberty a crime.

For nearly forty years a few of the grandest men in the world's history, went forth like one of old crying in the wilderness, to prepare the way for the national jubilee of our redemption. Without official position, without money, without power, they went forth proclaiming the gospel of liberty for all, and because each "CAME NEITHER EATING NOR DRINKING" in the Democratic wigwam, they said, "HE HATH A DEVIL," and being unable to listen and withstand such dangerous heresies, they forthwith stoned and mobbed, and assailed with unsavory eggs these prophets of the new evangel, who, in the land of Washington, came pleading for the liberty of the human race.

After a long and weary struggle, in which the war against slavery was waged with irresistible power, despite mob law and mob violence and the fiendish spirit of hate and prejudice, Abraham Lincoln was carried by its matchless force into the presidential chair.

The slave barons' rebellion was then inaugurated and crushed. The fundamental principles proclaimed by the Republican party, became the corner-stone of our national Constitution. Millions of men emancipated by Mr. Lincoln's proclamation, had their freedom guaranteed and made secure by an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting slavery forever, and after a long struggle they were enfranchised in all the rebel States, so that never again, on American soil, shall a slave stand in chains beneath

"The starry-gemmed flag of the free."

The Fourteenth Amendment was also proposed and adopted, and to-day it is part of our national Constitution. These two

amendments are worth the struggle of a century. By them liberty and justice are established throughout all the borders of the republic. All men are thus made equal before the law, and cannot be denied, in any State, the equal protection of the law. No traitor of the class enumerated can hold any office of honor, trust, or profit until his disabilities are removed by a two-thirds vote of each House of Congress. The public debt, created to save the nation's life, and to pay the pensions and bounties of soldiers and their widows and orphans, shall not be questioned in any place.

What a sublime triumph! The rebellion crushed, and liberty and equal justice for all made the fundamental law. No broken promises; no violated faith; no alliance with treason; no conspiracy with European monarchies in aid of the rebel cause and against the life of the republic. This is the record of the Republican party.

For all this we are indebted to the men who received into their hearts the sublime doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, and consecrated their lives to a vindication of the great truths which it contains.

To the anti-slavery men and women of the United States we owe our political redemption as a nation.

They who endured social and political ostracism, the hatred of slave masters and the cowardly assaults of Northern mobs, in defense of those who were manacled and dumb, and could not ask for help, were the moral heroes of our great anti-slavery revolution. To them and to many thousands whose names will never be written on the pages of history, but whose lives were as true, as unselfish and as consecrated as any, is the nation indebted for its regenerated Constitution, its vindication of the rights of human nature, and its solemn pledge for the future impartial administration of justice.

To me these are the men whose lives are the most beautiful and the most valuable. I admire most of all that man who, having adopted ideas which he believes to be right, adheres to them through good and evil report, and consecrates his life to their development. I do not ask whether he agrees or disagrees with me on any other question. I only

care to know that he follows with fidelity his highest and best convictions.

I hail any true man as a worthy co-worker in the interests of mankind, who, with the same labor, can cause one additional spear of grass to grow where but one grows now. I welcome any man who, by any invention or contribution to science or art, to literature, or to law, aids in elevating, ennobling and bettering the condition of mankind.

The world is full of men whose pure and unselfish lives ennoble and dignify the human race.

My exemplars are the men who in all ages have lived such lives, whether religious reformers like Luther or Wesley, or philosophers and statesmen like Hampden and Sydney, Locke and Bacon, Cobden and Bright, and John Stuart Mill, or like our own Washington and Lincoln, Phillips and Garrison, Chase and Sumner, Greeley and Gerrit Smith. To me the only model statesman is he who secures liberty and impartial justice for all and protects the weak against the strong. He is the statesman and the benefactor who aids in educating the ignorant, and in lightening the cares of the toiling millions. Since I became your representative I have attempted to follow the pathway illumined by the footprints of such men as I have named. How well I have succeeded you must determine.

I welcome all men as co-laborers in the interests of the liberty of mankind, whether agreeing with me or not, who follow conscientiously their highest and best convictions, for "THE HARVEST IS PLENTY BUT THE LABORERS ARE FEW."

He who consecrates his life to any great work in the interest of truth and justice, of science or mechanics, or anything which promises to benefit mankind, commands my highest admiration. Only day before yesterday, from all parts of Continental Europe there were gathered together in Abyssinia, so recently the theatre of desolating war, a large number of scholars and philosophers, to make astronomical observations in the interest of science, civilization and peace.

As the world is interested in the event, and I hope is to be benefited by the discoveries which the several corps of scien-

tific explorers now in that country may make, I allude to it here, and use the fact, to illustrate what I mean, when I say that I welcome and recognize all men, in whatever department of human labor, who follow their highest and best convictions and consecrate their lives to the great work of bettering the condition of mankind.

The gentlemen to whom I have referred visited Abyssinia because there was to be a total eclipse of the sun in the far East on the 17th of this month. The sun would be as far from the earth as it ever is, while the moon was almost as near. The sun would thus appear small, and the moon comparatively large. These conditions make it favorable for astronomical observations, and as the eclipse was expected to be total in Abyssinia and remain unchanged for about seven minutes, the men of science have gone thither.

Their theory is, that there is another and a younger planet, nearer the sun than Mercury, which has never been seen by mortal eye, and of whose movements they propose to take observations. No telescope has ever yet penetrated this space or revealed the mystery of the presence of this planet, and yet there were hundreds of men gathered from all parts of Europe day before yesterday, confident that their theory would be confirmed. This to me is a sublime spectacle. Not for the love of money, or power, or place were these men gathered together, but for the love of science and the hope of benefiting mankind. The men who in workshop, or field, or garret, toil to develop any idea which promises to promote the peace and happiness of the human race, are the men who command my enthusiastic admiration.

These are the world's real heroes, to whom mankind owe a debt of gratitude which they can never repay. These are the kind of men for the most part who organized and consolidated the great Republican party of America and led it to victory. These are the men in whose presence the world should stand with uncovered head.

There are thousands of men and women in this District whose unselfish fidelity to the right, in all our great struggles, entitle them to be classed with the world's real heroes; these are those whom I have sought more especially to repre-

sent; and they are the men, I am proud to know, who have upheld me in every battle.

In the presidential canvass upon which we are just entering, this is the class of men upon whom the nation must rely. Whatever may be our differences as to men, or on minor questions of tariffs and taxation, we are all agreed as to the imperative necessity of saving the nation from the possibility of another rebellion. This can be done by the election of General Grant, because all believe that his election will give us peace. This, all men concede, will save us from a reign of terror and violence. No existing State government will be subverted or overthrown. No loyal man, whether white or black, will be disfranchised or deprived of his natural or political rights, but the work of enfranchisement will go steadily and securely on until all men who swear fidelity to the Constitution shall be enfranchised and disenthralled.

I had intended, in what I said to-day, to render a short account of my stewardship since I became your Representative, but I have already detained you too long. There is one matter, however, to which, in closing, I will refer to here and at this time, so as to put to rest the silly inventions of men who seem only to hope for political preferment by misrepresenting and pulling others down.

If any man can point to a vote, or to a speech which I have made in Congress in favor of or against the passage of any law, to which he objects, I am ready to answer.

No man has ever been deceived, when voting for me, and I do not intend that any man shall be deceived.

Upon the question of suffrage, I made a speech last year, to which I wish to call your attention. You will find it in the Congressional Globe of last December. I stand by the propositions and declarations which I then made, because they are the sentiments of my heart.

Agreeing with the great body of the Republican party as to the practicability and necessity of impartial suffrage I could never, by my vote, consent to the disfranchisement of any person, competent for the ordinary duties of a citizen, except as a punishment for crime.

I hold that every adult citizen of the United States, and every adult citizen of a civilized nation who is naturalized

in the United States, and not disqualified because NON COMPOS, or by conviction for crime, ought to have a voice in the affairs of his government. In this country our fathers proclaimed the logic of the American revolution when they declared the great fundamental truth, which was then, for the first time, recognized among men, "that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." Upon this impregnable truth I stand, as I have ever stood, and plead for the enfranchisement of every citizen capacitated for the ordinary duties of life, whether native born or naturalized, white or black. I demand that all shall have the great privilege and self-protecting power of the ballot because they are American citizens. What I ask for myself and mine I demand for the humblest among men. I have, therefore, proposed that citizenship and suffrage should be uniform throughout the nation, and this I am happy to know you have authoritatively endorsed.

I hold that the government which does not secure equal rights for all its citizens, without regard to race, nationality or color, is not a just government, and is in no sense of the word a democratic or republican government.

I say this much here and now on the question of suffrage, because I have been falsely charged with attempting to disfranchise American citizens, especially the Germans, who have ever been my most earnest and consistent friends. I DO NOT NOW, NOR HAVE I EVER ADVOCATED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A STANDARD FOR VOTING INCONSISTENT WITH THE IDEA OF IMPARTIAL SUFFRAGE.

I recognize, as the corner-stone of the republic, the common sense and the love of justice of her toiling millions. Their strong arms and brave hearts must ever be her shield of protection and defense. As a nation, I know that our future greatness, and grandeur, and glory, depend upon them. By no act or vote of mine shall any natural right or political privilege be taken away from any of these, whether native or foreign born, either because they are poor, or because they are ignorant, or because they are black, so long as they recognize their allegiance to our Constitution, and live in obedience to law, beneath the protecting folds of the banner of the free.

The speaker was frequently interrupted with applause from the immense crowd he was addressing. The convention dispersed at about 6 P. M.



Letter from Bishop W. J. Gaines, D. D., Atlanta, Ga.

We have never read a grander speech than the foregoing, made on accepting a political nomination. In thought and style, in clearness of statement, and in all that goes to make up a model and manly political stump speech, this speech at Napoleon, in 1868, is not surpassed in this collection. "I hold that the government which does not secure equal rights for its citizens, without regard to race, nationality or color, is not a just government, and is in no sense of the word a democratic or republican government. I say this much here

and now on the question of suffrage, because I have been falsely charged with attempting to disfranchise American citizens, especially the Germans, who have ever been my most earnest and consistent friends. I DO NOT, NOR HAVE I EVER ADVOCATED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A STANDARD FOR VOTING INCONSISTENT WITH THE IDEA OF IMPARTIAL SUFFRAGE." A careful reader of the orations and speeches published in this volume, cannot fail to be impressed with [the dignity and character of the man who made them. His unquestioned ability, his singleness of purpose, and his transparent sincerity, shine out bright and clear on every page. In the fierce and passionate battle between freedom and slavery, he early in life unselfishly espoused the cause of our race, because, as he declared in some of the speeches in this book," he believed that the true democratic idea recognized liberty as the birthright of the human race." And this belief is so happily expressed and so generously stated in all he said or wrote, when protesting against the enslavement of men, that even now, it gives force and power to what he then wrote and said. As our Methodist brethren say, he simply believed, and so believing, was able to impress that belief on his hearers, and now we do not doubt that the speeches which we have compiled will make a like impression on all who read this book.

W. J. GAINES.



# SPEECH

OF HON. JAMES M. ASHLEY, OF OHIO.

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DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
FEBRUARY 13th, 1869.

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DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT CAN ONLY BE  
MAINTAINED BY THE SUBORDINATION OF THE EXECUTIVE  
AND JUDICIAL TO THE LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY.

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THE MINORITY MUST HAVE PROPORTIONABLE REPRESENTATION  
IN STATE LEGISLATURES, AND IN THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.

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The House being in Committee of the Whole on the State  
of the Union—

Mr. ASHLEY, of Ohio, said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: At the last session I proposed an amendment to the national Constitution which provided for the abolition of the office of Vice-President, and for the nomination and election of the President without the intervention of caucuses, conventions, or presidential electors. In addition to this there was a clause which provided that the election of a President should never devolve, as now, on the House of Representatives.

When submitting that proposition I intended to do no more than suggest the practicability of abolishing the office of Vice-President and to call the attention of the thoughtful men of the nation to the admitted defect in our present system of electing the President. I did not expect to secure, either at that session or this, the favorable action of Congress on

that proposition; nor do I now expect to secure favorable action on the propositions I am about to present. I know how reluctantly the mass of mankind consent to reforms or changes of any kind, especially in matters of government. I know how accustomed they are to run in grooves, and how adverse they are to agitators and to all ideas which disturb them or jog them out of their old and familiar paths; nor am I unmindful of the fact that it would probably require years of persistent labor to bring the people to approve the changes in their organic law which I propose. John Stuart Mill, in speaking of governmental reform, says that "there is a natural prejudice against everything which professes much; that its perfection stands in its way, and is the great obstacle to its success." Admitting the full force of this statement, and realizing how thankless is the self-imposed task which I am about to undertake, I nevertheless feel it to be my duty, before the expiration of my term of service, to offer for the consideration of the people, and especially for the consideration of those who are soon to be charged with the administration of the Government, the propositions which I now make for amending the national Constitution. The clerk will please read.

MR. WILLIAMS, of Indiana. I would like to ask the gentleman from Ohio why he offers these propositions now, if, as he says, he has no hope of their passage during this Congress.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Williams] asks me why I introduce these propositions now if I have no hope of their passage. After the amendment is read, and before submitting the observations which I propose to make, I will answer him. Let the amendment providing for the modification of the veto power be now read.

#### THE VETO POWER.

The Clerk read as follows:

Strike out clauses two and three in section seven of the Constitution and insert the following:

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Repre-

sentatives and the Senate shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it with his objections to the house in which it originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, a majority of all the members elected and qualified in that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the President's objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by a majority of all the members elected and qualified in that house it shall become a law. But in all cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by the yeas and nays, and the name of the person voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal in each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law. Every order, resolution or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States, and before the same shall take effect shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him shall be repassed by the Senate and House of Representatives according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. I will say to my friend from Indiana [Mr. Williams] that I offer this amendment as I have heretofore offered other propositions which at the time of offering them I did not expect to see pass. I have sometimes offered propositions for which I had no intention of voting, in order to provoke a discussion of the question presented. For this I have been roundly abused by many, while others have called me the "suggesting member." I offer the propositions which I now submit and advocate them because convinced of their necessity. As the most disgraceful executive administration which has ever cursed the country is about to die and pass into history, I believe it an opportune moment in which to present and discuss such propositions as I now submit, so that the people may be apprised of the danger which threatens them in the future.

MR. WILLIAMS, of Indiana. But you cannot get a vote on them now.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. I know that. Only a moment ago I said that I did not offer them with any hope of seeing them passed by this Congress. That does not deter me, however, from presenting and discussing them. I know that many men would not present them unless assured of their favorable reception by their party. I care nothing about that. During my term of service here I have been more concerned to be right than to have personal success, or to have the credit of securing the passage of any particular measure. This is well known to my associates here, and especially to gentlemen who for the past ten years have been connected with the public press. I have been more anxious that the work in which I was engaged should be done, and well done, than I have been about what would happen politically to myself. I have always acted on the theory that politically he who would save his own life should lose it. If in our reconstruction measures the Republican party as a body had acted upon this theory, AND GONE TO THE ROOT OF THE MATTER, AND MADE OUR CONSTITUTION CONFORM TO OUR NEW CONDITION AS A NATION, INSTEAD OF ENACTING LAWS AND SUBMITTING CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS WHICH WERE BUT PATCHWORK, WE SHOULD NOT NOW BE ENVIRONED WITH THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH SURROUND US. I submit these propositions because I believe they involve practical questions of the highest importance, and because I believe that to statesmen no question affecting the welfare of the nation or the rights of its citizens can be of secondary importance.

Mr. Chairman, I am a firm believer in the necessity of the propositions which I make for the abolition of the kingly prerogatives of the President by a modification of the veto power; and providing the manner of appointing and the manner in which all appointees should be removed from office; for limiting the terms of service of judges of the Supreme Court, as also their jurisdiction; for making them after their appointment ineligible to any office under the National Government, except, perhaps, foreign ambassadorships, and for retiring them at the end of their term of service on such pay as Congress may deem to be just and proper. No less important, it seems to me, is the question of appointing United States Senators by a direct vote of the qualified electors of each

State by ballot, instead of electing them as now by the legislatures of the several States; and last, though not least, the necessity of securing to the minority an equitable voice in the administration of the government. To these several propositions I invite the considerate attention of all who recognize the fact that the whole power of the government is gradually but surely passing into the hands of the President and the Supreme Court.

Mr. Chairman, it is claimed by the advocates of the veto power that under our form of government the Executive represents the whole people, and is the person in whose hands the requisite power ought to be lodged to protect the interests and rights of minorities, and to check hasty and inconsiderate legislation. To this I answer that hasty and inconsiderate legislation may be checked and a careful reconsideration had of every bill which Congress may pass by the return of such bill by the President, with his objections, and its reconsideration and passage by a majority of all the Senators and Representatives elected and qualified, as I propose in the amendment which I have submitted.

It is a fallacy to suppose that the minority can have any security from the use of the executive veto. The only way in which such protection could be obtained for them would be for the majority in the two houses of Congress to concede to the minority the President—a proposition which the majority would not entertain for a moment. All know that, as a rule, the party strong enough to elect its President will be strong enough to elect a majority of Representatives of the same political faith, so that there must always be added to the numerical strength of the representative majority the co-operative will of a President of their own selection, armed with the veto power, which under our system is secured to the President, and by its use and the entire patronage of the government, which, as all know, amounts to many hundred millions, he is practically a king during his official term.

If we can modify the executive veto and obtain an equitable representation in Congress for the minority, the future of representative government in this country will be secured; without it we cannot have such a negative on the acts of the majority as will afford proper security to the rights of minor-

ities, and the legislative will of partisan majorities will by degrees be concentrated in the hands of the Executive. The experience of the past quarter of a century demonstrates the fact that the whole power of the National Government is gradually but surely passing under the complete control of our Presidents. The struggle of the great political parties for place and power strengthens his authority, and makes his will during his term of office the only law known to partisan Representatives in Congress. Against this violation of the representative principle and this dangerous innovation by our Executives of the fundamental theory upon which our Government was founded I am utterly opposed. All will admit that the veto power conferred upon the Executive by the present Constitution is a power at war with the democratic idea. There are but few men who have given the subject any consideration who will not concede that it is a dangerous power to lodge in the hands of any man, and that it is a power with which no man, however able or reputable, should be intrusted in a republic. This power in the hands of any man who is not absolutely infamous or an imbecile enables him, with the use of executive patronage, to defeat the will of the nation so long as he remains in the presidential office. No man has ever discharged the duties of the executive office, nor is it probable that any man ever will, who is so far above the representatives of the people either in wisdom or patriotism as to justify the lodgment of such vast power in his hands.

I am willing, if after discussion it be thought best to have some check against haste and inconsiderate legislation, that the President shall have a modified negative, such as I propose, so that the representatives of the people may avail themselves of any suggestions which a citizen so distinguished as our Presidents ought to be, might make to Congress when returning a bill for their reconsideration. I am unwilling, however, to intrust any man with power sufficient to overrule the deliberately formed opinions of a majority of all the men who have been elected and qualified as Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States. The veto power, as now conferred by the Constitution, makes the will of the President equivalent to that of twelve Sena-

tors, when there are seventy-eight members of that body, and equivalent to thirty-eight members of this House, when composed of two hundred and thirty-three members. Thus one man, often a very ordinary man, is made by this anti-democratic provision of our Constitution the equal in legislative power, and the theory is that he is equal in wisdom, to fifty Senators and Representatives when the two houses together have 311 members.

For instance, when the States are all represented in the Senate there are seventy-eight Senators; of this number forty are a majority. If the President veto a bill it requires two-thirds of the Senate to repass it, which, in a full Senate, with seventy-eight members, requires fifty-two votes. It will thus be seen, that the veto power makes the President equal in legislative power to twelve Senators. In the House, with 233 members present, it requires 117 votes to pass a bill. If the President veto it it requires 156 votes to pass it over the veto, which makes the veto power of the President equal to thirty-eight members of the House of Representatives and equivalent to fifty Senators and Representatives when both houses number 311 members. Add to this monarchical prerogative the overshadowing authority which the appointing power always confers on an executive or king, and you have at the head of the Government, a man whose will is practically the law of the land, as long as he is able to maintain himself in the presidential office.

The framers of the Constitution intended that there should be three departments in this Government, the legislative, executive and judicial, and that these departments should be separate and distinct. That was their theory. They held, as I hold, that no free government can long endure which violates this fundamental theory. If this theory be a correct one, then the Executive of this nation ought not to be clothed with any part of the law-making power. It was intended that our laws should be the embodied will of the nation, as authoritatively expressed by Congress. To execute these laws was to be the duty of the Executive, and I hold that this ought to be his chief duty. To clothe the Executive with the veto power is to make him part of the law-making power, which is a violation of the theory upon which the

government was organized. I shall never cease my war upon this kingly prerogative. I believe it to be utterly indefensible in a democratic republic. Secure the minority an equal personal representation in the national Congress, as I propose, and there can be no necessity for the veto and no pretext for maintaining so despotic and dangerous a power in the hands of any man.

Examine the yea and nay vote of this House for ten years and you will find that when a majority of all propositions were voted upon about one-fifth of the members were absent. If one-fifth of the members of both houses are absent when propositions are voted upon, as a rule it will be found that the larger number are of the majority party. In a House of 233 members we will have, if about one-fifth are absent, say 190 votes; of this number 96 are a majority. If the President return a bill with his objections, my amendment requires the bill to secure 117 votes to again pass it, whereas, under our present Constitution, a less number may make two-thirds of a quorum and pass the bill over the veto. One hundred and seventeen members make a quorum in a full House composed of 233 members; a majority of this quorum, or 59, may pass a bill. If it is vetoed, and only a quorum are present, 78 members may pass the bill over the veto, or 39 less than a majority of all the members of the House. Practically then, the proposition which I make gives the minority all the security they ought to have against hasty and inconsiderate legislation where provision is made that a bill to be repassed must have a majority of all the members elected and qualified in each House. It requires time and labor to bring the absent members here when questions of great importance are pending. A bill, therefore, which, on a rehearing, passes both houses by a majority of all the members of each, notwithstanding the President's objections, ought, in my opinion, to become a law.

From the organization of the government to this hour no one question has employed so much of the time and attention of the thoughtful statesmen of the nation as the danger incident to the use and abuse of the executive power. When our entire annual revenue from all sources did not exceed \$25,000,000, and the number of officers and agents employed



by the government did not number one-fifth what they do to-day, this subject engaged the attention for many years of the ablest men in Congress. Clay, Berrien, Badger, Ewing, White, Webster, and many other statesmen of national reputations and conceded abilities all concurred in the necessity of modifying the executive veto and limiting the use of executive patronage. To this last proposition Mr. Calhoun gave much thought and labor, demonstrating its necessity by able speeches and one of the most valuable reports ever submitted on that subject to Congress. No man can read the able reports made to Congress in 1835 and the discussion on these two questions in both houses of Congress, both before and since that time, without being deeply impressed with the great wisdom and foresight of the men whom I have named.

Some estimate may be formed of the vast patronage now at the disposal of the Executive by an inquiry into the amount of revenue annually collected and disbursed, and the number of officers and agents employed by the government in its collection and disbursement.

The Clerk will please read the tabular statement which I send to the desk, showing the amount in millions and tenths collected and expended by the government annually.

The Clerk read as follows:

Table showing the receipts and expenditures of the United States Government in millions of dollars and tenths from July 1, 1861, to June 30, 1868:

Fiscal year.	Receipts.	Expenditures.	Balances.
1862.....	612.6	565.7	46.9
1863.....	936.3	899.8	36.5
1864.....	1430.0	1295.5	134.5
1865.....	1940.4	1906.4	33.9
1866.....	1304.8	1139.3	165.5
1867.....	1263.2	1093.1	170.1
1868.....	1200.9	1069.9	131.0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total in seven years	8688.1	7969.7	718.4
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Average per year....	1241.1	1138.5	102.6

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. It will be seen by this table that

our average annual receipts for the past seven years were over \$1,241,000,000; that our annual expenditures were over \$1,138,000,000, and that there has been on an average during all that time over \$100,000,000 in the public treasury.

Mr. Chairman, if the ablest statesmen of the past generation were alarmed for the safety of republican institutions, because of the use which the Executive power could make of the patronage of the government when its entire revenue did not exceed \$25,000,000, and its officers were less than one-fifth of the present number, what would be their amazement could they look upon these figures and realize the enormous increase of power and patronage now claimed for the Executive and conceded to him by the leading men of the nation without a protest.

The OFFICIAL REGISTER for 1867 shows the number of government officers and employees in civil service to be about 75,000. The cost of the civil and miscellaneous list for the fiscal year 1867 was \$49,600,000, and for 1868, \$51,600,000. The expenditures of the War and Navy Departments for 1867 were \$126,300,000; for 1868, \$149,000,000. The number of non-commissioned officers and privates in the army for 1867 was 77,000, that of commissioned officers about 3,000. The number of officers and men employed in the navy in 1867 was over 11,000. So that in the civil and military and naval service of the government there are over 160,000 in the employ of the government, all of whom are practically subject to the order of the President and dependent for subsistence on the public treasury.

Startling as is this array, it does not include those who furnish supplies for the army and navy and for the Indian and other departments of the government, all of whom are more or less dependent on the government for support. Experience teaches us that this vast army of office-holders, employees, agents, and dependents are influenced more or less by the Executive will, and I am confident their power has never been overestimated.

Add to these, the innumerable number of office expectants, in every county, in every State and Territory, who are intent on securing the offices and places now occupied by others, and you may form some estimate of the many thousands in

the country now appealing to the Executive for a recognition of their claims. Of this great army a large majority stand ready to declare that every act and utterance of the Executive is the embodiment of wisdom and the perfection of statesmanship; indeed, they will not hesitate to say that the most imperceptible wink of the eye or nod of the head of his Excellency has behind it a meaning as full of significance as any of his utterances. So utterly abased and subservient has the public mind become because of the existence of this over-shadowing power that men are dumb in the presence of the Executive, and dare not so much as express an opinion, much less criticize unfavorably his official acts. It is well known to observers how devoid of all manhood men become under the practical workings of this pernicious system, which centres all power in the hands of the Executive.

Even the acting President, whose treason I regard as baser than that of Davis, had an army of apologists and defenders in the Republican party. It is well known that there were at one time in the Senate and House of the Thirty-ninth Congress over sixty men elected by the Republican party who stood ready to co-operate with Johnson in his work of usurpation if there could be but the certainty of success. How many of them were ready to go the whole length, as he did, and abandon the great central idea of the Republican party, will never be known. Nor will the nation ever know how much it owes to its faithful representatives who defeated this infamous conspiracy. There are members now within the sound of my voice, who know where these men met in secret in this city, to confer with a President whose apostasy was known to all men, and whose treason was as clear as the sun at noonday. No such meetings would ever have been held, no such infamous proposition would have been for a moment entertained by these men, but for the fact that the President had the veto and appointing power. Before this corrupting power men intrusted and honored by the Republican party abased themselves, and for a time imperiled the future of the republic.

ON THE PARDONING POWER.

Mr. Chairman, in order to prevent the abuse of the pardoning power now conferred by the Constitution on the Executive, section two of article two ought to be amended so as read:

And he (the President) shall have power, with the approval in writing of a majority of his Cabinet council, to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses committed against the United States after trial and conviction, except in cases of impeachment; but he shall grant no general amnesty or pardon to persons who are or who may have been engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the United States until he shall have first obtained the advice and consent of the Congress.

I suggest this additional proposition, because I believe that no one man in any government ought to be clothed with unlimited power to grant pardons. It is a power liable to great abuse in the hands of any man, however able or upright. In the hands of a bad man it is a power which defeats the ends of justice and gives immunity to crime. The acting President has been for four years a national dispenser of pardons. I do not now refer to the unwarranted assumption of power on the part of the acting Executive in pardoning all the responsible and most guilty leaders of the late rebellion, nor to the fact that it is publicly announced as by authority, that before he retires from office, he will probably pardon the last of the assassin conspirators who murdered Mr. Lincoln, and thus placed him in the presidential office. It is enough to refer to the fact that he has pardoned confessed criminals before trial, and to the still more startling fact that he has pardoned over one hundred men, after trial and conviction, for the crime of counterfeiting the notes and other securities of the United States.

I need not say to members of this House that counterfeiting is one of the most indefensible of all crimes. Successful counterfeiting requires a large outlay of money, a high order of intellect and great skill in the preparation of everything connected with it. It must be done deliberately and with great secrecy. No immediate or pressing want of the person engaged in it, nor of any one depending on him for support,

can be the impelling cause. No sudden impulse of passion; no motive such as often prompts men to commit crime under the pretext of retaliating for some actual or fancied injury; no cry of despair from wife and children because of hunger and cold, but almost every person engaged in the commission of this crime is a cultivated, deliberate, calculating villain, coolly weighing his chances and premeditating his every act. I am unable to divine the motive which has prompted the acting Executive to set at large almost every one of this class of criminals who during the past four years have been discovered, tried, and convicted at great cost to the government. The fact, I believe, is notorious and undisputed, and I can only account for the apparent indifference of the public to this shameless prostitution of authority, intended only for beneficent purposes, on the hypothesis that they feel powerless in the presence of the defiant usurper of the White House, who, having been acquitted by the Senate of greater crimes, may, without question and with impunity, commit the lesser one of turning hundreds of dangerous criminals upon the country to prey upon the ignorant and unsuspecting and again engage in depreciating the credit of the nation by counterfeiting its securities. If the approval in writing of a majority of Mr. Johnson's Cabinet had been required as a condition to the pardon of the counterfeiters whom he has released, I am confident that but few, if any of them, would have been set at large to prey again upon the country. At all events I am unwilling to lodge the power to pardon even common criminals in the hands of any one man. In short, I am against the one-man power in any form, in any department of the Government.

If the question were now submitted to me whether to continue the executive office with the power now lodged in the hands of the President, or abolish the office altogether, I would vote to abolish it. For years I have believed that the executive power was the rock on which as a nation we should eventually be broken to pieces. It is the province of true statesmanship to point out prospective danger and suggest the remedy, rather than delay it until a usurper, such as we now have at the head of the Government, forces a recognition of the danger. The greater our confidence in General Grant

the more anxious we should be to adopt an adequate remedy during the life of his administration. We ought not to forget that Johnson succeeded Lincoln, and that we may need protection from the successor to General Grant.

**THERE MUST BE ORGANIZED OPPOSITION TO EXECUTIVE USURPATION.**

After the important questions growing out of the late rebellion are permanently settled, and the question of citizenship suffrage is disposed of by the adoption of the constitutional amendment now before us, I CANNOT AFFILIATE WITH ANY PARTY WHICH, AS AN ORGANIZATION, PROPOSES TO MAINTAIN THE KINGLY AND DANGEROUS PREROGATIVES NOW CONCEDED TO THE PRESIDENT BY CUSTOM AND USAGE. If we are to continue the presidential office at all, it must be simply as an executive, and as no part of the law-making power. The duty of the President must be strictly limited to the execution of the law. The veto power, the appointing power, and the power of removal at pleasure and without cause are all kingly prerogatives, and at war with the theory of a republican and democratic government. As the national life is born of the will of the people, so the legislative representation of that will must be the national Congress. In all governments the ultimate power must somewhere have a lodgment. In a republic it is safest in the hands of the people's representatives. The nearer this ultimate power is to the people the more directly and easily it can be molded and controlled by them.

An absolute power in any government which is above and superior to the people is a despotism. It is a fallacy to assume that there must be lodged in some department of the government a despotic power such as the veto power. In any light in which I am able to view this great question I can see only danger in the constant encroachments and usurpations of the executive and judicial departments of the government, and safety and security for the people only by the lodgment of the ultimate power of the nation in the national Congress. To the danger inseparable from the lodgment of such kingly prerogatives in the hands of any one man as are now conceded to the President may be added

the danger of our present system of making nominations. The caucus and convention system and the manner of electing the President and Vice-President by electors, or by the House of Representatives when the electors fail to make a choice, all tend to exclude the people from a direct voice in the government of the nation, and enable a few to control the government and administer it, not according to the will of the people, but as decreed by nominating conventions and by irresponsible bodies unknown to the Constitution. All attempts to maintain the domination of the executive over the legislative department of the government must be defeated, and all efforts to clothe the Executive with new prerogatives or an increase of his present overshadowing power, must be met by prompt, vigorous, and organized resistance; and to this great work I shall in the future direct whatever of political influence I may have.

#### THE JUDICIAL AMENDMENT.

Mr. Chairman, I now submit an amendment providing for the better organization of the Supreme Court, which the Clerk will please read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Strike out section 1 of article 3, and insert the following: The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and district courts, shall hold their offices for twenty years: PROVIDED, That no judge shall act as a member of the Supreme Court nor of any District Court of the United States after he shall have reached the age of seventy years. After their appointment and qualification they shall be ineligible to any office under the National Government. They shall at stated times receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office. After the expiration of the term of service of each judge of the Supreme or of any District Court of the United States, the Congress shall, by law, provide such annual compensation as they may deem proper for each retiring judge during life, which compensation shall not be diminished.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, next to the dan-

ger inseparable from the use and abuse of executive power is the danger to be apprehended from judicial usurpation and judicial corruption. The history of judicial usurpations in the United States is a history running over many years of judicial "sapping and mining." The judicial power is all the more dangerous because ever silent and insidious. In all ages and countries its most diabolical crimes have been committed in the sacred name of justice and of law. Jefferson was right when he declared that—

"The germ of dissolution of our government was in the constitution of the Federal judiciary, an irresponsible body (for impeachment is scarcely a scarecrow), working like gravity by night and by day, gaining a little to-day and a little to-morrow, and advancing its noiseless steps over the field of jurisdiction." "The foundations are already deeply laid by their decisions for the annihilation of constitutional State rights, and the removal of every check, every counterpoise, to the engulfing power of which themselves are to make a sovereign part." "An opinion is huddled up in conclave, perhaps by a majority of one, delivered as if unanimous and with the silent acquiescence of lazy or timid associates by a crafty chief judge."

"It has proved that the power of declaring what the law is *AD LIBITUM*, by sapping and mining slyly, and without alarm, the foundations of the Constitution, can do what open force would not dare to attempt."

I have no time at this late hour to go into a history of the usurpations of the Supreme and District Courts of the United States. Such a history would present a long and black catalogue of unjust and infamous decisions. The first speech which I made in this House was devoted to an exposition of its betrayal of human rights and its shameless affirmation of the right of slavery. I have nothing to retract of what I then said of its indefensible subserviency to the slave barons and to the baneful spirit of party; nor can I modify, as I should be glad to do, what I then said of the undisguised personal and political ambition for the Presidency of some if not a majority of its members.

Years before the Dred Scott decision was delivered an attempt was made to prepare the way for that usurpation, or any other which might be deemed for the interest of slavery, by a studied and labored effort on the part of the slave



barons and their northern allies to impress the country with a greater veneration for that "august tribunal" known as the Supreme Court than for any other department of the government.

Its decisions were declared to be "finalities," from which there was to be no appeal, and its immaculate wisdom and purity were everywhere the theme of an enthusiastic partisan press and party leaders, who demanded that its decisions should be received as unquestioned law. Statutes were enacted which declared they were to be operative, provided they were in subordination to the Constitution as interpreted by a majority of this "august tribunal," composed of nine men, of whom five were a majority. So persistently did political demagogues press this point upon the country that the members of the Supreme Court began to act as if they were in fact, an "august tribunal," endowed with a wisdom unknown to the rest of mankind, and that they had an intuitive knowledge of the Constitution unknown to any other body of men. Those who knew the court when the Dred Scott decision was pronounced, will not hesitate to admit that whatever knowledge of the Constitution a majority of them had, was probably "intuitive," and that their legal endowments were of a character incomprehensible to the great body of intelligent men who read that decision. So thoroughly did a majority of this court believe in the infallibility of their assumed power, that they consulted with and gave directions for the guidance of their partisan friends, and were preparing to assume and to interpret without question, the Constitution, for both the executive and legislative departments of the Government. Justice Wayne, of Georgia, than whom there was no purer or better man on the bench in his day, believed, and so expressed himself to his friends, "that if the Supreme Court could be brought to make a unanimous decision in the Dred Scott case [in favor of slavery, of course], that it would settle that question for all time to come." This was the kind of immaculate judicial wisdom, to which the nation was called upon to submit without question.

It is now well known to all, that the Dred Scott decision was made on the demand of the slave barons. But for a supposed party necessity, there never would have been a Dred

Scott case before the court. It required years of unscrupulous partisan labor, to pack the court with men, who would consent to degrade the judicial office, by making such an atrocious decision. After the case had been finally argued and the court were ready to pronounce the required pro-slavery judgment upon it, and had authorized Judge Nelson to prepare the opinion of the court, dismissing the case on the only point which the slave barons then desired to have passed upon, namely, that Dred Scott being the descendant of an African slave could not become a citizen of the United States, and therefore could not bring a suit in the courts of the United States against a slave master, the court were brought to an unlooked-for point in the case by the announcement of Judge McLean that he should deliver a dissenting opinion, and review at length the status of the slave under the Constitution, thus going into the whole question of slavery.

It is conceded by all who are familiar with the inside history of this case, that but for the fact that there were men then upon the bench of the Supreme Court, as there are now, with a mania for the Presidency, which can only be given up at death, we should never have had the Dred Scott decision. Judge McLean, whose purity of life and great ability no man who knew him will question, had for years been an aspirant for the Presidency. He saw an opportunity to make political capital out of a general review of the slavery question, from a judicial standpoint, and when he announced his purpose to his associates on the bench, he caused a panic among them, such as does not often overtake that "august tribunal." It was on the eve of the presidential campaign for 1856, and the pro-slavery party could not afford to have such a bomb-shell thrown into their camp. The court, therefore, or a majority of it, reserved the decision of the question, and ordered the case to be reargued in order to gain time and to await the result of the presidential election. They did this in order that they might know positively, whether they could rely on the executive arm of the Government, to enforce with the army and navy their contemplated usurpation.

The points to be made in Judge McLean's dissenting opinion were well known to his partisan friends; and the fact that he was to deliver such an opinion was publicly used

with a view to secure for him if possible, the Republican nomination at Philadelphia for the Presidency. The opinions of the majority of the court were also known to the partisan friends of the court. After the presidential election, the public mind was prepared for the forthcoming decision by skillful manipulations, such as were never employed before. President Pierce in his last annual message apprised the country of the fact that this Dred Scott decision had been agreed upon, although at that time it had not been officially announced from the bench, and that the court "had finally determined the pending question in every form in which it could arise." Mr. Buchanan in his inaugural address referred to the forthcoming Dred Scott decision in these words.

To their decision, in common with all good citizens, I shall cheerfully submit, whatever it may be.

These declarations of the outgoing and the incoming Chief Magistrates were demanded by the slave barons, so as to strengthen the purpose of the court, and to give official notice to all applicants for office under Mr. Buchanan, that they must endorse one of the most startling and indefensible decisions ever delivered by any judicial tribunal in the world, before their claims for official positions could even have a hearing before the Executive. So successful did the plotters work, that the partisans of the court succeeded in many of the free States in procuring an endorsement by their party State conventions of this monstrous decision. Then the office-seekers of the nation, with an alacrity and baseness which no language can describe, bowed down in submission before the slave barons, kissed the hands that smote them, and accepted menial positions as a reward for their infamy. All this because the Supreme Court had been molded into a political tribunal, and had upon its bench political partisans and aspirants for the Presidency. I wish the court were altogether what it ought to be now. I regret as much as any man that it is not. I need not dwell upon the painful exhibitions which may be witnessed any day gentlemen will take the trouble to go into the room of the Supreme Court. There they will find men upon the bench, passing upon questions of the greatest magnitude, who are entirely unfit

for the discharge of such responsible and important duties as are almost daily devolving upon them.

It is painful for me to say this, and I do so only because I believe it to be an imperative duty. It is proper that the people should know the facts, so they may demand of their representatives a remedy for the admitted defect in our judicial system. I presume the members of the present court are substantially like their predecessors, no better, and I hope no worse.

It is well known that for some time before Judge McLean's death, his associates on the bench, at the request of friends, relieved him from all responsible labor in the preparation of opinions. Though sleeping upon the bench during the greater part of the time the court was in session, and dying with age, he was almost daily voting upon and aiding to decide questions of the gravest character, and even then was not without hope of ultimately reaching the Presidency.

Mr. Chairman, it is a sad sight to see such a body as the Supreme Court ought to be, WITH ONE-THIRD OF ITS MEMBERS SLEEPING UPON THE BENCH AND DYING WITH AGE, AND ONE-THIRD OR MORE CRAZED WITH THE GLITTER OF THE PRESIDENCY. I need not say how utterly this condition of body and mind unfits men for the proper discharge of the judicial office. If there is one body of men more than another in this country who ought to be financially removed from temptation, and intellectually to be clear and unclouded, as well as free from all partisan ambition, it is the members of the Supreme Court.

Our experience with this branch of the government has been a sad one. I will not attempt to go into a history of its usurpations, its perversion of law, its criminal injustice, its political chicanery. It would employ more than the entire time allowed me, and then I could not present one-half of the enormities of which it has been guilty. The people have been compelled more than once to disregard and reverse its infamous and unjust decisions, and they must be prepared to do so again. They were not long in comprehending the extent of the danger in the Dred Scott usurpation. They knew that the power which had the conceded right to pass without appeal on the constitutionality of the nation's laws would

soon become the nation's master. If this doctrine could have obtained, the sovereignty of the nation would, sooner or later, have been usurped by the national judiciary. Congress might have enacted laws, but the court would have annulled them at pleasure. Thanks to the intelligence and virtue of the people, it required but few years to reverse the Dred Scott decision and break in pieces the ebony image of slavery which this "august tribunal" had set up, and demanded that the nation should worship. The people of this country could not be made to cry out, great is the Diana of slavery; immaculate and wise is this "august tribunal;" its interpretation of the Constitution shall be a "finality," "binding upon the executive and legislative departments of the government and all the officers and agents thereof."

This attempted usurpation on the part of the court not only failed, but ignominiously failed, and the individual members of the court were arraigned at the bar of public opinion, and put into history with the men, who in all ages have disgraced and dishonored the judicial office. If the proposition which I have made, had from the organization of the government been a part of the Constitution, every man will concede that no such decision as the Dred Scott decision would ever have been made. Let us, then, provide for such a reorganization of the Supreme and District Courts of the United States as experience teaches to be necessary. Let us also restrict their jurisdiction to the fewest possible questions consistent with the administration of the National Government, and we may hope to see the organization of a judicial tribunal which shall command the respect of all Americans, and also the respect of intelligent men throughout the world.

**THE MINORITY MUST HAVE PROPORTIONAL PERSONAL REPRESENTATION IN THE GOVERNMENT.**

Mr. Chairman, the proposition which I now present is, in my opinion, one of more importance to the future peace and unity of this nation than any new proposition which has ever been suggested, involving as it does the whole question of representative government, and presenting the question of

the right of minorities to proportional representation in the government equal to their numerical strength at each election. The Clerk will please read.

The Clerk read as follows:

ARTICLE —.

In the election of Representatives to the Congress of the United States, whenever more than one Representative is to be elected from a State, Congress shall by law designate the manner in which such additional Representatives shall be chosen, and shall provide for securing to the qualified electors in such State proportional personal representation in Congress as near as may be.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, under our system constituencies are often compelled to intrust to representatives, especially to Senators, the settlement of questions of vast importance which have arisen after their election. Unless some system can be devised by which the opinions of a constituency can be obtained on any new and important question which may have arisen after an election of a Senator or Representative, the people must continue to intrust, as now, the settlement of such questions to men over whom they can have no control until the next regular election. The number of Senators and Representatives who have served in Congress since I came into public life, and have openly and defiantly betrayed or misrepresented the constituencies which elected them, is far greater than is generally supposed, and until the time came to fill their places by a new election such constituencies have been powerless in the presence of their own chosen servants. It will be conceded by all that if the voice of betrayed or misrepresented constituencies could have been authoritatively heard, great questions which have been passed upon within the memory of us all, would have been disposed of otherwise than as they have been, and questions which have not yet been acted upon, would be settled otherwise than as they will be.

If in the past quarter of a century, the voice of every constituency in the nation could have been authoritatively collected, and their will obeyed, there would have been less of

compromising, less of patchwork in legislation, less defiance on the part of Senators and Representatives, and fewer betrayals of constituencies, either by Presidents, Cabinet Ministers or others. The people, however, are so wedded to our present system of electing Presidents and Senators and Representatives, that it is hardly probable that they can now be moved to adopt a plan so advanced AS THAT WHICH DEMANDS THE RIGHT OF EVERY CONSTITUENCY, AT ALL TIMES TO INSTRUCT OR RECALL THEIR PUBLIC SERVANTS AND SUBSTITUTE OTHERS IN THEIR STEAD. It therefore becomes all the more important, that a system should be adopted which will secure to every elector, the right to vote for such persons as in his judgment will best represent his opinions on the leading questions of the day, and to whose judgment and fidelity he is willing to intrust the disposition of all new questions which may arise, and on which, at the time of voting, he can have formed no opinions.

Mr. Chairman, in submitting this proposition, the object I have in view is to secure to every elector, no matter where he may reside in a State, the right to vote for any citizen in his State, whom he may prefer to represent him in Congress, so that the free exercise of his individual judgment shall not be restricted to the locality of his residence, or to accepting a candidate imposed upon him by local caucuses and local conventions. Experience, I think, has demonstrated the necessity of devising some improvement in our electoral system. WE MUST ADOPT A SYSTEM, NOT ONLY FOR NOMINATING AND ELECTING THE PRESIDENT BY A DIRECT VOTE OF THE PEOPLE BY BALLOT, WITHOUT THE INTERVENTION OF CAUCUSES AND CONVENTIONS AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS, but we must inaugurate a system for electing Senators and Representatives in Congress and for State Legislatures, which will secure a more equitable representation and give greater protection to the interests and rights of minorities. The despotism and injustice of the majority has been felt with fearful power in this nation. For more than three-quarters of a century in the name of Christianity and of liberty the majority have enslaved millions of men. DURING ALL THAT TIME DEMAGOGUES CLAMORED FOR THE RIGHT OF THE MAJORITY TO ENACT VILLAGERY INTO LAW. Compromising with slavery was then re-

garded as the highest statesmanship. The right of the minority to a voice in the Government or even to a hearing was imperiously denied, and bars and bolts and dungeons, mob law and social and political ostracism was the lot of those who in the land of Washington came pleading for the liberty of the human race. Experience warns us of the fatal consequences of such injustice and of all compromises with wrong and of all temporary and superficial legislation. Put the propositions which I have made into the Constitution, and they will become the crowning glory of our fundamental law. We shall thus abolish the kingly prerogatives of the President, and recognize the supremacy of the people by making it the imperative duty of the Government to see that the rights of minorities are respected and protected. "The office of government," says one of the ablest women of America, "is to represent the rights of all, not the will of all."

True representation is the corner-stone of the republic; without it democracy surrenders to the minority, and a ruling minority in any government will always become an aristocracy. Democracy cannot be maintained by any people simply by declaring for a government of the majority, unless it recognizes the divine law, which commands all to "do unto others as they would that others should do unto them." The "golden rule" is the foundation-stone of true democracy, and the nation which builds upon any other foundation, though by the consent of the majority, builds upon the sand. What I want to secure in the administration of the government is not the absolute domination of the majority, but to have the enlightened "will of the majority constituted guardian of the rights of all." MY PURPOSE IS TO SO REORGANIZE THE GOVERNMENT THAT IT SHALL RECOGNIZE THE DIVINE LAW OF LIBERTY AND JUSTICE, AND BE ADMINISTERED BY THE CONSENT OF ALL, IN THE INTEREST OF ALL, AND WITH REPRESENTATION FOR ALL. This cannot be done by concentrating so much power in the hands of the President or in the national judiciary; nor can it be done by refusing to recognize the right of minorities to proportional representation in the State legislatures and in the national Congress. The system which I wish to see inaugurated is based upon the fundamental idea that every legislative body should reflect



the sentiments and convictions of the whole people which it is chosen to represent. Adopt this plan, and every constituency sufficiently numerous in a State to entitle them to more than one Representative in Congress or to any number in a State legislature, can secure such Representatives.

Under our present system the minority in half the States are often without a voice in the National Government. The legislative power of Ohio to-day is in the hands of the minority of the electors of that State. This could never happen under the system which I hope some day to see adopted, not only by the States, but by the National Government. The system so ably presented by Mr. Hare, of Great Britain, commends itself to me because of its admirable simplicity and its absolute security to the interests and rights of minorities. It would be mathematically impossible under that system for the minority in any State to obtain control of its legislature, or the minority of the nation to obtain a majority in Congress, while at the same time it would secure to minorities a just representation in proportion to the number of votes which they polled at each election.

I have not time to dwell, as I should be glad to do, at greater length upon the inestimable value of this most admirable system; a system which has the approval of John Stuart Mill and many of the ablest statesmen of Europe and America. With some modifications it could be adopted by every State. But if custom and the ambition of local party leaders render the adoption of Mr. Hare's plan impossible, I am confident that a discussion of the question of minority representation which it presents will result in an amendment to our present indefensible system. For the sake of illustration, let me state the manner in which the voters of Ohio are clothed in unequal political power. I do not now speak of the entire disfranchisement of minorities, which is done in almost every State by gerrymandering, but the unequal apportionment of States into senatorial and legislative districts, as in Maryland and Delaware.

In addition to this I refer to the great power which in certain localities in many States is conferred upon one voter and denied to another. For instance, in Hamilton county, in my State, each elector votes for nine representatives and

three senators to the State legislature, making twelve members of the State legislature for whom one elector votes on one ticket.

In the county in which I reside, and indeed in a majority of the counties in the State, they elect but one member of the House and one senator in each district, so that each elector outside of Hamilton county can vote for but one representative and one senator to the State legislature, except in such years as a few of the districts or counties have one additional senator or representative, which we call "a float." Every voter, therefore, in Hamilton county has a large increase of political power over a voter in Lucas in the choice of members of the State legislature. This inequality and injustice, all will agree, ought not to be maintained. The political power of the State as represented by the number of votes cast by each party can be fairly distributed and the minority secured its proportional representation without an entire abandonment of the district system to which custom and the interests of local politicians so much attach us.

To illustrate, suppose we should alter our State constitution in Ohio so that the Senate should be composed of forty-eight members and the House of ninety-six members, and that in making the apportionment in the constitution as it is now the State should be divided into eleven senatorial and twenty-two representative districts, electing four senators and four representatives in each district, each senatorial district being divided into two representative districts; and that the remaining four senators and eight representatives should be elected as we now elect FLOATS, except that they be elected for the State at large. This would place every voter in the State on an equal footing as to the number of members of the State legislature for whom he would be permitted to vote.

If, after such an appointment the electors were permitted — as I think they ought to be — to adopt the cumulative and alternate system of voting, the minority if they numbered a fraction above one-fourth of the voters in any district could secure one senator and representative, or if they numbered a fraction above one-eighth of the voters in the State they

could secure one senator and two representatives for the State at large.

If the electors in any district were dissatisfied, as they often are with one or more of the candidates nominated by their party, they ought to be permitted to cumulate and alternate their votes on any one or more candidates, either for the State at large or in their own district, designating on their ballots their first, second, third and fourth choice, so that their votes should not be lost by a larger number being cast for any one candidate than would elect him, or for a candidate who would not receive enough to elect him. Under this system each party would be compelled to present its best and ablest men or suffer defeat. Each elector having the right of alternate and cumulative voting, he could vote for any one or more of the candidates, either for the State at large or in his district, and would do so rather than vote for an objectionable and unworthy man of his party merely because he was the caucus nominee, if in doing so he thereby increased the vote of his favorite candidate.

Let me illustrate this point, so that I shall not be misunderstood. I would provide that each elector should vote one ballot. On that ballot he should name his choice for State and county officers as now. State and county officers being ministerial and not legislative, and each voter being entitled to vote for but one of such officers, the right of alternate and cumulative voting cannot be provided for. Only where the elector has the right to vote for two or more candidates for the same office — like members of the legislature or Congress — can the system of cumulative and alternative voting be applied. For example, every State has but one governor, and every county but one clerk of the court, and each elector must vote for but one, if he votes at all. Hence this system which I propose recognizes the supremacy of the legislative department in the Government, and provides for the proportional representation of the minority, so that that minority may have a voice in prescribing by law the mode and manner in which all ministerial officers of the Government shall discharge the powers and duties of their respective offices. If any system

can be devised which will give more absolute power to the people I am for it.

In voting under this system the ballots would be made up substantially as follows:

**REPUBLICAN STATE TICKET.**

—————  
For Governor,  
-----

For Judge Supreme Court,  
-----

For Secretary of State,  
-----

For Attorney General,  
-----

For Board Public Works,  
-----

For School Commissioner,  
-----

*County Ticket.*

For Auditor,  
-----

For County Clerk,  
-----

For Probate Judge,  
-----

For Sheriff,  
-----

For Commissioner,  
-----

*Legislative Ticket.*

**For Senators—State at Large,**

1. -----,
2. -----,
3. -----,
4. -----.

***For Representatives—State at Large,***

1. -----,
2. -----,
3. -----,
4. -----,
5. -----,
6. -----,
7. -----,
8. -----.

***For Senators Tenth District, composed of the Counties of-----,***

1. -----,
2. -----,
3. -----,
4. -----.

***For Representatives Twentieth District, composed of the  
Counties of-----,***

1. -----,
2. -----,
3. -----,
4. -----.

*Congressional Ticket—For Representatives in Congress,  
State at Large,*

1. -----,
2. -----,
3. -----

*For Representatives in Congress, Fourth District, composed  
of the Counties of -----,*

1. -----,
2. -----,
3. -----,
4. -----

In electing Representatives to Congress I have provided that the same system should be adopted which I have suggested for electing members of State legislatures. Every State entitled to less than eight Representatives in Congress should elect them on one ticket for the State at large. In each State entitled to eight members and over, the number to which they are entitled should be divided by four, and the State apportioned into as many districts as there are products of such division, the additional number of members to which they are entitled, if there be any, to be elected for the State at large, as General Logan is now elected by the State of Illinois. Thus in Ohio we should have, until a new apportionment was made, four congressional districts, in each of which four Representatives to Congress would be elected and the remaining three members would be elected by the State at large. Under this system every voter in Ohio would vote for seven Representatives in Congress; or, if he preferred to do so, he could, by alternative and cumulative voting, give his seven votes to any one candidate. Thus a minority in Ohio, if they numbered a fraction above one-seventh of the voters of a State, by uniting on one candidate,

could secure one Representative in Congress, and in no event could they elect a greater number of Representatives than they would be entitled to by the number of votes which they were able to cast.

If it be suggested that the electors in States having but one or two Representatives would not have equal political power with electors in the larger States, I answer that they are more than compensated by the two Senators which represent a small population in the Senate. It requires no argument to show that this system would do much to destroy the baneful effects of party spirit; that it would check the use of money at elections, and prevent the great frauds which are yearly becoming more and more alarming. In addition to this, it would tend to secure the services of the ablest men in Congress and in State legislatures. The men who were nominated and elected to the Senate and House for a State at large, as a rule, would be the ablest men each party could select in the State. So, also, of Representatives to Congress; the people of the whole State having a right to vote for one, or two, or three Representatives to Congress for the State at large would be careful to select gentlemen of well-known ability and fidelity. In this way able and faithful and experienced men would be retained in public life, because local factions and the local ambitions of aspirants could not be so successfully used as now to defeat them. More would be expected of a man who was nominated and elected to the legislature for the State at large than of a local candidate from almost any county, and so of a man nominated and elected by a State at large as a Representative to the Congress of the nation.

This plan is so just and fair that it must sooner or later commend itself to the great body of thinking men in the country. Each voter should have the right to say on his ballot, "I desire to be represented by the candidate whose name I have placed opposite No. 1. I therefore cast all my votes for him. If he should obtain more than the quota of votes necessary to elect him, or if he should fail to obtain a sufficient number, and thus cannot become my Representative, I direct that my vote be transferred to the candidate which I have designated as No. 2, he being my second choice;" and so

on, under the same conditions, to the number of candidates for whom each elector is entitled to vote.

If the system of electing the President and Vice-President by the appointment of electoral colleges is to be maintained, then they ought to be elected by districts and States as I suggest in case of Congressmen, and not in single districts as proposed by the constitutional amendment which has just passed the Senate and is now on our table. One of the amendments which I have suggested to that amendment is in my opinion far preferable, and yet I do not intend to vote for it, even if adopted as an amendment to the Senate proposition; I mean the amendment which I offered a day or two ago, which provides for the appointment of electors of President and Vice-President by the legislatures to represent the will of the voters as expressed by them at the general election. I would be very glad, however, to have the opportunity of voting for the proposition which I made at the last session and again at this, which provides for the NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT BY A DIRECT VOTE OF THE PEOPLE BY BALLOT. IF WE ARE TO HAVE A PRESIDENT AT ALL, I WANT HIM ELECTED DIRECTLY BY THE QUALIFIED VOTERS OF THE NATION. I am opposed to the single district plan, because it does not secure an equitable representation to the voters of the nation. Under that system a minority of the whole people have elected a President and would be able to do so again. It is true, as my friend [Mr. Williams, of Indiana] suggests, that the minority have and may again elect the President under our present system. I prefer, however, to retain that system, imperfect as all admit it to be, until we can adopt a better one. The scene which transpired in this House on Wednesday, when counting the electoral vote, ought to be a warning to the statesmen of the nation. It developed in a practical manner the weak and dangerous point in our system of electing the President. If the rejection of the vote of a State by Congress should at any time happen to change the result of a presidential election the consequences would be fearful.

Suppose, when counting the vote the other day, there had been three or more candidates for President (as there have been several times), and that each candidate had received a



sufficient number of electoral votes to have defeated an election by the electoral college, and the friends of the defeated candidates had united and thrown out the vote of one or more States, so that it would defeat the person having a majority of all the certified votes returned, and thus have defeated an election by the Electoral College and brought the election into this House. Can any man contemplate such a contingency without alarm? In a full House of 233 members, thirty-eight men from the small States, by uniting, could elect the President, and, if they saw fit to do so, they could select of the three candidates before the House the person having the smallest number of electoral votes. Do gentlemen suppose the people of the country would submit to such injustice without a fearful struggle? Of course no sane man pretends to defend a system which invites such conspiracies, and which makes such scenes as we witnessed last Wednesday possible when counting the electoral vote. Let any Congress assume to throw out votes enough to change the result of a presidential election, and they will inaugurate revolution.

I am asked by gentlemen around me if I would sit here and count the vote of a State if the certificate was a forgery, or if the election in the State had been carried by force or fraud. I answer certainly not. If compelled to vote, I must vote for what I believe to be right and let consequences take care of themselves; but if I voted to reject one or more States, and their rejection changed the result of the election, I would be voting for that which would inaugurate revolution. And I will say, in passing, that no question of contest as to the validity of the presidential election should ever be permitted to come before Congress. If frauds are committed or force is employed in any State, the question should be settled in the District Courts of the United States for the district in which the fraud or force was alleged to have been practiced. The District Courts in each State are the courts before which such questions should be determined. The question of the validity of any election being thus adjudicated and passed upon by a national judicial tribunal, in the State where the alleged frauds were charged, Congress would have no other duty to

perform than to count the vote as returned, and officially proclaim the result.

But, Mr. Chairman, all this is a digression into which I have been drawn by the suggestions and questions of gentlemen around me. Let me now go back to the question of representation which I was discussing. I was speaking of the unfairness of the plan of electing presidential electors in a single congressional or electoral district. There is hardly a State in the Union which elects four or more representatives to Congress in which the minority party could not, if they had a majority in their State legislatures (as the Democratic party have to-day in Ohio, and the Republican party in New York), so gerrymander the State into electoral districts as to secure a majority of presidential electors in the State to the candidate of their party. If electors should be appointed as I propose Representatives in Congress shall be elected, a proportional representation would be secured to the minority in each State in exact proportion to the number of votes cast by each party, and all motive for gerrymandering would be removed. If the single district system should prevail, the Republican party, having a majority in the legislature of New York, could, and probably would, so district the State as to secure a majority of the electors of President and Vice-President to their party candidates, although the State should go largely Democratic. The Democratic party in Ohio could so district the State as to secure a majority of the presidential electors to the candidate of their party, although the State might be carried largely by the Republican party.

Of course, such a plan is entirely indefensible. The fact that Mr. Lincoln and General Grant received a larger number of electoral votes than the Republican party carried congressional districts, including the senatorial electors, is no argument in favor of the district system. No system is defensible which defeats the will of the majority, or which fails to secure to the electors of the entire nation proportional representation. No man who has given this subject proper reflection will claim that the electors of the nation have ever had their proportional representation in the Electoral College for the choice of President and Vice-President from the organization of the Government to this hour. The Republican represen-

tation in this House for the past eight years has been out of all proportion to the vote cast for that party, as everybody admits. In the Senate the inequality and injustice to the minority has been far greater. In 1824 Jackson had a larger popular vote than both Adams and Crawford combined, yet they secured 26 more electoral votes than Jackson, which carried the election into the House of Representatives, where Jackson was defeated. At that election Jackson had 99 votes, Adams 84, and Crawford 41. Of course all remember that Mr. Adams was elected by the House of Representatives.

In 1832 Jackson was elected over Clay, having a majority of the popular vote, as also a majority of the Electoral College. But if any one will divide the total vote by the number of electors, he will find that Clay, who only secured 49 electors, ought to have had 119, making a difference of 70 votes, and double that number as between Jackson and Clay, as the 70 were taken from Clay and given to Jackson. In 1852, the candidates were Pierce, Scott and Hale, and the popular vote and the number of electors which each received was as follows (this statement also shows the ratio for each elector chosen):

**PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION. 1852.**

	Popular Vote.	Electors.	Ratios.
Pierce.....	1,585,545	254	6,242
Scott.....	1,383,537	42	32,846
Hale .....	157,296	—	—
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	3,126,378	296	

Pierce had 254 votes, Scott 42 votes and Hale none. The injustice of this must be very apparent to every one. Divide the whole vote, 3,126,378, by 296, the whole number of electors, and the ratio necessary to elect one elector at that election was 10,562 votes, and yet the Pierce electors were elected by a ratio not exceeding 6,242, while the ratio for the Scott electors was 32,846, or more than five times the number required to elect the Pierce electors, while Hale, with 157,296 votes, did not secure one electoral vote. If the vote had been equi-

tably divided, as I propose, Pierce would have had 150 votes, Scott 131, and Hale 15 votes. Pierce having a majority of the popular vote over both Scott and Hale would, of course, have a majority over both of the electoral votes, and would have been the President. The inequality and injustice to the electors in 1860 is so glaring that I desire to call special attention to it:

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1860.

	Popular Vote.	Electors.	Ratios.
Lincoln.....	1,866,452	180	10,369
Douglas.....	1,375,157	12	114,596
Breckinridge...	847,953	72	11,777
Bell.....	590,631	39	15,144
	4,680,193	303	

Mr. Lincoln did not receive a majority of the popular vote, yet he had a large majority of the electoral vote. Douglas had but 12 electoral votes, with 1,375,157 votes, while Breckinridge and Bell together had 111 electoral votes, although their combined popular vote was less than 64,000 more than the popular vote for Douglas. Each of Douglas's electors had 114,596 votes, while each of Mr. Lincoln's electors had but 10,369 votes. If the electors had been apportioned according to the popular vote, Lincoln would have had 121 electors, Douglas 89, Breckinridge 55, and Bell 38.

At the election for 1864 the vote was for —

	Popular Vote.	Electors.	Ratios.
Lincoln.....	2,223,035	213	10,436
McClellan.....	1,811,754	21	86,274

The mean ratio is 17,224 for an elector; Lincoln therefore ought to have had but 129 electoral votes, and General McClellan should have had 105 electoral votes.

ELECTION FOR PRESIDENT IN 1868.

		Electors.	Ratios.
Grant.....	3,016,353	214	14,090
Seymour.....	2,706,631	80	33,832

The mean ratio at this election is 19,499. This would have given General Grant 155 electors, Seymour 139 electors.

With these facts before us, the injustice and danger of our present system must be apparent to all. Under it the minority have and may again elect the President. The same inequality and injustice will be seen if the returns for the election of members of this House are examined. If the electors who voted for Grant and Seymour were equitably represented in the next House, the Republican majority would be far less than it will be. For these reasons I oppose the proposition to elect the President by appointing presidential electors in each State by single districts. If this system should prevail the motive for gerrymandering would increase, and the legislatures of the several States might provide, as was done in Maryland, I believe, in 1824, when they provided that the senatorial electors for that State should be elected in the third and fourth congressional districts. The legislature of Ohio, if Democratic as now, could provide that the two senatorial electors should be elected in the two strongest Democratic districts in the State; and the Republican legislature of New York could provide that her senatorial electors should be elected in the congressional districts in which her Senators actually resided. Any system which encourages the perpetration of such frauds upon electors must be met with prompt and unyielding opposition. If, as I have said, the Electoral College system is to be maintained, then I feel warranted in saying that the statesmen of the country will prefer the adoption of some plan which will secure to the electors of each State an equitable representation in the Electoral College. This cannot be done by electing them in single districts, nor as now by the State at large.

It is not necessary for me to repeat what I have heretofore said in this House and elsewhere, that I am utterly opposed to the present mode of electing the President, either by electoral colleges or by the House of Representatives. The honest and fair way is the one which is easiest and freest from complications, and that is to nominate the several candidates for President under the safeguards and protection of law, and elect by a direct vote of the qualified electors of the entire nation by ballot.

Mr. Chairman, I desire to see Mr. Hare's system adopted in this country, because I believe it to be the most philosophical ever presented for securing an equitable division of political power in a republican commonwealth. John Stuart Mill, in his work on representative government, says:

“Of all modes in which the national representation can possibly be constituted, this one affords the best security for the intellectual qualifications desirable in a representative. At present, by universal admission, it is becoming more and more difficult for any one who has only talents and character to gain admission to the House of Commons. The only persons who can get elected are those who possess local influence or make their way by lavish expenditure.

“In no other way which it seems possible to suggest would Parliament be so certain of containing the very ELITE of the country. Not solely through the votes of minorities would this system raise the intellectual standard of the House of Commons. Majorities would be compelled to look out for members of much higher calibre. When the individuals composing the majorities would no longer be reduced to Hobson's choice of either voting for the person brought forward by the local leaders or not voting at all, when the nominee of the leaders would have to encounter not only the candidate of the minority, but of all the men of established reputations in the country who were willing to serve, it would be impossible any longer to foist upon the electors the first person who presents himself with the catchwords of the party in his mouth, and £3,000 or £4,000 in his pockets.”

Mr. Chairman, nothing has been more successfully used in this country by small demagogues to defeat able representative men than the clamor of the spoils-hunter for “available candidates” and for “rotation in office.” These men demand party success at whatever cost of manhood or consistency. With this cry, party discipline has been successfully invoked, and constituencies have voted to place men in office who were known by them to be intellectually and morally unfit for any honorable public position.

Is the candidate “available?” asks the time-server. If so, that is enough. No spoils-hunter is so indiscreet as to inquire about the character or ability of his candidate. Every person of experience knows that as a rule the “available man” has no individuality, and that political availability is everywhere a synonym for political mediocrity, and that

nothing so delights the heart of respectable conservatism as stupid mediocrity.

Let any man make careful inquiry into the character of all the men who for the past quarter of a century have been members of this House, and he will find, to speak within bounds, that more than one-third of the entire number have been, as Mr. Benton says, "mere birds of passage," whose entrance here was often as great an astonishment to themselves as it was to the statesmen of the nation. He will also find that a large proportion of these "birds of passage" came here by the force and power of party machinery and the cooperation of the Executive, who desired the presence of such men that they might do his bidding, after which, by common consent they were to be "rotated out," and receive as a reward for their fidelity to the "powers that be" some petty office; or he will find that they were nominated and elected because they were the representatives of money-bags rather than the representatives of ideas, or that they were political nondescripts, without intellectual ability enough to form or express one distinct political idea, but with low cunning enough to follow the programme prescribed for them by wily party managers.

I am sure no man who has looked into our political history will say that I overdraw the picture. Of course all know that as a class these are the men who have always deceived or betrayed constituencies; and yet in every congressional district in the United States where the party majority is small and the district doubtful, stupidity with money can win the day at the next election, against brains with ideas. In Great Britain, at the late election, John Stuart Mill, one of the ablest and most philosophical statesmen of that country, was defeated by a mere popinjay, whose only recommendation for a seat in Parliament was his money-bags. Mill was known and respected in all parts of the civilized world, while the man who defeated him was not known beyond the circle of the clique which nominated him, and undoubtedly never would have been but for his money.

In this country money is being successfully employed more and more every year to elect "political nondescripts" to Congress. The system I propose will, if adopted, secure

the election of the ablest men in the nation and banish the baneful spirit of partisan bigotry.

Mr. Chairman, defective as our representative system is admitted to be, and faithless as have been many of the people's chosen servants, I can testify to the fact that, though this is called a money-loving and a money-worshipping age, I have been associated here in the past ten years with men in the administration of the government, who believed in something higher than the god of Mammon.

Since the war of the rebellion I have been associated with a party a majority of whose members have been free from all schemes of public plunder or speculation; a majority of whom have also been as true as the needle to the pole in their defense of human rights. Beset as they were on every hand by apostasy and treason, by temptation and the allurements of power, they have kept the faith and made a record which will grow bright with time.

A great battle has been fought and a complete victory won for the establishment of a real republic. In this grand battle soldier and civilian alike have participated, and are entitled to equal honor. The one was a necessity to the other. Without the unselfish heroism of the soldier, and the fidelity of Abraham Lincoln, and his faithful co-workers in the national Congress, defeat would have been inevitable.

During these memorable years I count it a great honor to have been intimately associated with some of the grandest men who ever represented any people. To their fidelity and to the heroism of the soldier we owe our redemption as a nation. To this same class of men we shall owe in the future our progressive development as a people in moral power and material grandeur. Much has been accomplished; much also remains to be accomplished. The history of the past is not without its encouragements. There is a place for all, and labor for all. Let no effort be relaxed, and let no man grow weary or turn back in despair. He who battles unselfishly for the right, ever and always grows stronger and stronger. To-day the nation begins to realize that the divine command embodied in the "golden rule," and coming to us down the centuries, is breathing its spirit into the hearts of millions, quickening the faith and strengthening



the heroic purpose of every noble man and woman. With this quickening faith the old anti-slavery guard went forth strong in heart and brave in purpose, to battle for the rights of mankind. In that great conflict they were as true as the law of gravitation, and labored long and faithfully for the reorganization of the government on the basis of complete justice. Free from selfishness, without concealment, and without compromise, inspired with this great purpose, they patiently endured mob violence and the persecutions of maddened men. Though often assailed they were assailed not again. In their lives they were as beautiful as the morning, tolerant as charity, and gentle as the spirit of peace. I can never tire in my praises of these grand men and women. In our anti-slavery triumph and national regeneration behold the fruits of their labor, which transcend even the hopes and expectations of enthusiastic poets and philosophers. To them we owe a country redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled from the despotism of slavery, a country which to-day is presided over by the genius of universal liberty and universal peace.



Letter from Hon. C. L. Maxwell, Xenia, Ohio, U. S. Consul to San Domingo.

Through this volume, in every one of Mr. Ashley's speeches, there is a philosophy as liberal as it is broad and sincere. In all he says, there is a calm hopefulness and a quiet dignity, eloquent for its simplicity. No effort is anywhere apparent at sensational oratory, but there is always a clearness and strength of statement which commands attention and carries conviction. His appeals for the rights of labor are earnest and hopeful, and appear in many speeches in this volume. Every one who reads them will learn how persistently Mr. Ashley has for years been pleading for the rights of all races of men, and for the uplifting of the human race. In one of his poetic quotations, he says, that "In the Majesty of Nature, he would teach the Majesty of Man." C. L. MAXWELL.

HON. JAMES M. ASHLEY

ON

GREELEY AND GRANT.

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THE GREELEY CAMPAIGN OF 1872.

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The Liberal Republicans of Toledo held a large meeting last night at White's Hall, to ratify the nomination of Horace Greeley, their foremost anti-slavery leader.

At an early hour, the hall was filled to overflowing with enthusiastic old-time Republicans.

William E. Parmelee, one of the early abolitionists, was made chairman.

After a few pertinent remarks he introduced the orator of the occasion, who was received with hearty and prolonged cheers, and spoke as follows.

ADDRESS OF HON. J. M. ASHLEY.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: A remembrance of the many cordial greetings which I have received in the past, when standing before you on this platform, and the enthusiastic and cordial welcome which you have extended to me to-night, fills my heart with emotions which I will not undertake to express. I can only say that I thank you most sincerely for this generous and flattering welcome. [Applause.]

If, in what I shall say to you to-night, in discussing the questions of the hour, I shall deal with them dispassionately, I hope I shall not disappoint you.

Twenty years ago, this coming fall, I left the party of my choice and voluntarily went into the minority, casting my first presidential vote in this city for Hale and Julian, the

Abolition candidates of that year, for President and Vice-President of the United States. I need not say to you that I then knew, as everybody knew, that the gentlemen for whom I cast my vote could not be elected. I intended that my vote should be counted with other votes as a silent, but earnest protest against the crime of slavery and the attempted subordination of the National Government to the imperious demand of the slave barons. [Loud cheers.] At that time the old Democratic party to which I belonged had possession of the National and more than three-fourths of all the State Governments, including Ohio, and every county in this Congressional District. In going into that apparently hopeless minority I simply followed my highest convictions of duty, not stopping to count the cost to me politically or personally. I was content then, as I am now, to leave the consequences to Him who has promised to overturn and overturn until every wrong shall be put under His feet. [Loud applause.]

It was then said, by those who believed themselves to be my best friends, that I had very foolishly thrown away the brightest political prospect of any young man in Ohio. I had been schooled in the old Democratic party, and substantially agreed with it on all political questions of statesmanship, except that of state-rights and slavery. I believed then, as I do now, that a large proportion of the people of the Northern States were as true to freedom as I was, but I believed, as they did not, that the national Democratic organization had proven untrue to the fundamental idea of a true democracy; that it had been taken possession of by the slave barons, who had perverted it and made it the foe of the laboring man and the enemy of the human race. [Cheers.] Believing this with all my heart, I could not stay with it. The allurements of office, and the brilliant vista which ambition pictured, did not blind me, and I could not be induced to be either indifferent or silent. [Applause.]

#### THE FIGHT WITH SLAVERY.

For twenty years, as you all know, I fought this great crime of the centuries with a vigilance which never tired

and a perseverance that never faltered until victory perched upon our banner. That victory having been won, as history has recorded, I say, as you can, all honor to the memory of the true and great-hearted men who never failed in that matchless struggle, whether they were in the halls of Congress or on the tented field; all honor to them, wherever at the present hour their interests or convictions may carry them, they shall ever have my grateful remembrance. In this great battle which is now upon us, many of the men with whom we were then associated will necessarily be divided, but neither ambition nor disappointment ought ever to be permitted to make us unmindful of the great victories which, by their joint efforts with ours, have been achieved in the past.

With this hope I am prepared to go into the minority again, if so be when the votes are counted out we are once more in a minority. As I gave twenty years of my life to battle with the capital and oppression that owned its laborers, so am I prepared to give twenty years of my maturer manhood to battling for the rights of the working-man, convinced that in so doing I am maintaining the true democratic idea of government against centralization and military despotism. [Loud applause.]

#### THE GREAT ISSUES OF THE CAMPAIGN.

Gentlemen, you will see by these preliminary remarks that I have not come here to-night to ask you to abandon any one of the great ideas for which we have fought, nor have I come here to retract any of the principles for which I have battled, but rather to ask you to join hands in making our fight for the success of these principles on the Cincinnati platform. [Applause.]

Now, gentlemen, I desire, first, to call your attention to the two parties which are in the field and to the two platforms announcing their ideas. And I ask every man here who has been a Republican as long as I have, and would like to ask and require of those who have been Republicans as long as I have, and who have voted unflinchingly as long as I have, to at least deal honorably with their brethren who now differ with them in opinion. I ask you, gentlemen, to take

these two platforms, and in a thoughtful mood analyze them, and tell me as honest men, divested of party spirit, which of the two commends itself to you and most deserves your votes. As independent thinkers I venture to say that four-fifths of you will determine that the Cincinnati platform is far in advance of any platform previously adopted by any party in this country! [Cheers.]

I take it that nine-tenths of the thinking men of the land, when they come to give these two platforms their honest, thoughtful consideration, will say that of the two, this Cincinnati platform best represents the old ideas of the Republican party.

#### LOOK ON THIS PICTURE AND ON THIS!

Then as to the men! And here I am compelled to depart from the course which I have always followed in discussing political questions, to wit: to omit all mention of names. I am compelled to be more personal, as there are two Republican candidates, and I must present to you the points in the character of one candidate at least — if I say nothing of the other — so that you may form some judgment as to the relative merits of the men and the ideas which underlie this conflict.

Among the silly campaign charges brought against us, is that every man who is supporting Greeley is a sorehead and a disappointed man. [Laughter.] Now it would have been a very easy thing for me not to have been a sorehead, if I had chosen to accept the positions tendered me by President Grant. But as I had made up my mind to oppose his reelection, I could not honorably accept office at his hands. I said this to him kindly but frankly during the last interview I had with him at the White House. And this interview, I may say, was on his own invitation, through Secretary Delano. I do not believe that General Grant is a corrupt or bad meaning man, as many of our blind partisans charge, but I do believe that the corrupt rings, which now dominate and control his administration, must be driven from power — and I do not believe that General Grant can or will do it, so long as he is President.

The whisky ring, the post-office ring, the Indian ring, the Washington City ring, and last though not least, the army ring, make a formidable combination of plunderers, which General Grant seems powerless to resist.

These rings have made open or secret war upon all the old anti-slavery guard, from Sumner and Greeley down.

I have often, when speaking to Sumner and others of General Grant's administration, quoted, more than half approvingly, the declaration of Henry Clay against Jackson when in his wrath he exclaimed, "War, pestilence and famine, in preference to a military chieftain for the Presidency." [Applause.]

. . . . .

Fellow-citizens, you will bear me witness, I know, that I have never failed either in Congress or out of it, to denounce and to vote against all measures which I regarded as dangerous to the country, or unjust to the black man! And I have never hesitated to antagonize men, however able, whatever their official positions, if I believed them wrong, or intending wrong. [Applause.]

When I introduced the resolutions for the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, I did it as a public duty. Personally, I had no cause of quarrel with Mr. Johnson, as his bullet-headed claqueurs and the chickadee statesmen have ignorantly assumed, and with brazen tongue, charged. What I then did, was done without undertaking to count the cost to myself personally, or to determine what its effect might be upon me politically. You who know me, understand that I have never been governed in my public acts or utterances, by that rascally virtue, called "discretion." [Applause.] The record I then made will stand, and I do not believe that the loyal men of the nation will ever be ashamed of my actions in connection with the impeachment struggle. [Applause.]

When General Grant surrounded himself with unworthy and objectionable men, who both openly and secretly made war upon Sumner and Chase, Greeley and Trumbull, Schurz and Julian, and nearly all the old anti-slavery guard, and permitted his administration to be dominated in all its departments by ring rule, they were forced, and the old anti-slavery

guard all over the country, in self-defense, were forced to protest, and oppose his re-election. [Applause.] We may not be able to defeat General Grant in this contest, and probably shall not. But it is none the less our duty to protest, and to protest in earnest, by voting for Greeley. [Applause.] And I am glad to be able to tell you to-night, that in this "Liberal Republican" movement, we have protesting with us, nearly all the old anti-slavery guard. [Applause.]

We have not only such men as our friend on my right, who is presiding over this great meeting, but we have with us such recognized and manly leaders as Chief Justice Chase and Senators Sumner, of Massachusetts, Doolittle, of Wisconsin, Trumbull, of Illinois, and Carl Schurz, of Missouri, who never bowed the knee to the Moloch of slavery. [Applause.] We also have with us, Whitelaw Reid, of the "New York Tribune," Chauncey M. Depew, Governor Fenton, Frederick A. Conkling, and many other able and eminent Republicans in the great State of New York. Then, there is Julian, of Indiana, Abolition candidate for Vice-President on the ticket with John P. Hale, in 1852, and for whom I then voted; and so on, in all the Northern States, you will find that the old anti-slavery guard are, as if by intuition, with us, for that safe, wise, clear-headed, great-hearted, matchless anti-slavery leader, Horace Greeley! [Great applause.] And here let me ask, why should an old anti-slavery man vote for General Grant, and against Horace Greeley? All his life Greeley has been one of the ablest and truest leaders, in our great anti-slavery struggle, never hesitating, never doubting, never faltering; a forerunner, as it were, like John the Baptist in the wilderness; a man of pure life, unselfish purpose, a faithful friend and manly enemy; a man without guile and without hypocrisy. [Applause.]

General Grant, during all his early life, was a pro-slavery Democrat.

In talking to me one day, soon after his election in 1868, he told me, that in 1856 he voted for that recognized Northern representative of the slave barons, James Buchanan, and of course against John C. Fremont, the Republican candidate for President. He did not say, in so many words, that he regretted that vote, but I inferred from what he did say, and the way

he said it, that he did regret it, and we all hope that he has always regretted it since. [Applause.]

In 1860, I am credibly informed that he voted against Abraham Lincoln and for Stephen A. Douglas, and it is openly stated by well-known Illinois Republicans in Washington, that not until after General Grant was nominated for President by the Republican party did he vote the Republican ticket, or support the Republican party, or its representative men, except it was reported that he favored Mr. Lincoln's election in 1864, in preference to McClellan. And I have no doubt that is true.

Fellow-citizens, this presidential canvass is unlike any in our history. Greeley, who was nominated at Cincinnati by the old Abolitionists, and in fact by a new party, which in their national convention, they called the "Liberal Republican Party," has been nominated as you know, by the regular national Democratic convention at Baltimore, and thus Greeley, who never was a Democrat, is made the Democratic candidate, and General Grant, who was all his life a regular Bourbon Democrat, and never a Republican, until after he was nominated by that party for President, is a candidate of the machine Republicans. From a philosophical standpoint, and as I look at the situation, this unprecedented condition of national affairs, is not bad for the nation, nor for the people, however undesirable it may be for the machine politician, or for the office-holder and office-seeker. [Applause.]

The old anti-slavery guard believe that the negro, in all his rights and interests, will be in far safer hands if Greeley is elected President, than he would be under General Grant. If I thought otherwise, I would not vote for Mr. Greeley, much as I admire him. [Applause.] And when I tell you, that from my first introduction to him, before I was twenty years old, to this hour, he has been my loyal, steadfast friend, you will not wonder at my confidence in him, nor at my active enthusiastic support of him now. [Applause.] I would vote for him if I knew that he would not receive a single electoral vote. I intend to do just as I did in 1852, when I protested against the slave barons, by voting for Hale and Julian. My



vote this year will be a protest against ring rule and military domination. [Applause.]

. . . . .

Fellow-citizens, however highly I may have esteemed General Grant as a military man, I did not desire to see him made Chief Magistrate of this nation four years ago, nor do I now. I did not want him nominated in 1868, and was only compelled by circumstances to vote for him then. The majority of the men in this Liberal Republican movement are not only not soreheads, but are men who never asked for nor held office under this Administration, either by election or appointment. [Cheers.]

I aver, further, that the majority of the men in power who are now denouncing us, from the highest down to the lowest tide-waiter, were the most unscrupulous pro-slavery men in the nation, some of them even stabbing us in the dark, until the triumph of the anti-slavery cause made their attacks useless. [Loud cheers.]

#### WHO ARE THE SOREHEADS?

I claim, gentlemen, that we come to you and present you with a platform, framed and upheld by as disinterested a set of men as can be called together for the discussion of national affairs. Why, sir, if no man were permitted to speak whom the Executive of the nation had assailed or stricken down, then, all that the Executive would be called upon to do, would be to assail and strike down a man in order that he should be made dumb. So should Sumner be dumb; so should Trumbull and Schurz, ex-Governor Cox and every independent thinker in the land. Why, sir, the cabals and rings charge every man that goes out of their ranks and fights the battle on his own hook, with being a sorehead. I have no doubt that Pharaoh said Moses was a miserable sorehead when he undertook to lead the children of Israel out of Egyptian bondage. [Laughter.] So with all the grand men that have battled for ideas all along down the whole line.

The men in power are disturbed by it, and they say, "What does that fellow want now?" [Laughter.] When

a man attempts to organize a Greeley club, the charge is at once made that he is seeking some office, and the worst of it is, that in partisan newspapers the best and purest men are basely assailed, and the most unprincipled men are often lauded the highest.

#### MORTON, THE MANY-SIDED.

Let me look at some objections made to Mr. Greeley. And first, the charge made by Senator Morton at Indianapolis the other day, in a speech of which I have, I am sorry to say, only a synopsis, that if Greeley is elected, financial ruin and all kinds of disaster will come upon the country. What Mr. Morton thinks and says may not be of any very great weight, and if I had his political history, I am certain I would not be upon this stand to-night. He is a man who held back during the struggles of the anti-slavery party, and denounced us in the vilest manner. He defended Johnson till he saw we were going to bring him to the bar of the United States, and then he became one of his bitterest accusers! He was the man who at first advocated Pendleton's greenback theory, and abandoned it as soon as he saw the wave was receding and would leave him on the strand! This is the man who comes unblushingly forward before the citizens of Indianapolis and says if Greeley is elected the country will come to financial ruin.

Let us show a little common-sense in this matter. Let us see of those who have been President for the last twenty years how many have been remarkable for financial ability. Can you tell me, if you were a member of any great commercial corporation, if you would invite any one of them to be head of it?

#### GREELEY AND GREENBACKS.

What does the present head of the government know about finances? [Laughter.] The assumption that he knows anything about it is preposterous.

Let us look at what Greeley has said. He has said no more about a return to specie payment than has Chief Justice

Chase—and you will all admit that he has some financial brains. Mr. Chase said, “that the way to resume specie payment was to resume;” Mr. Greeley said the same thing in his paper, by which he meant that all means should be employed, consistent with the law and the safety of the financial relations of the country, which would lead to that result. It is an easy matter for me, or any man, to say that the right way to do such a thing is to do it; but when you come to doing it, there may be some mechanical or physical difficulty to be encountered, which only discussion and mature judgment may enable us to overcome. The duty of every officer of the government is to execute the laws.

Neither the Executive of the nation (unless he entirely disregards law) nor the Secretary of the Treasury can do aught in the matter of administering the financial affairs of the country, except in strict accordance with the law. So if Mr. Greeley goes into the White House, and selects a new Secretary of the Treasury, the financial ripple will not make a half-cent difference, except in favor of the people. [Applause.]

#### BOUTWELL AND BULLION.

Now I undertake to say that the policy pursued by the present Secretary of the Treasury is disastrous to the best interests of our country; it is disastrous to the West; and Greeley has insisted from the first, that this disastrous policy should not be pursued. What is that policy? To keep locked up in the Treasury \$112,000,000 in gold, when every man understands, who knows anything about finance, that the country can go along safely with \$40,000,000 in the Treasury. I have repeatedly said to Governor Boutwell, Secretary of the Treasury, that I could sleep very soundly as Treasurer, if I had locked up \$112,000,000 of gold all the time, and knew that under no possibility could I be called on for half of it. Not only Chief Justice Chase, with whom I have talked repeatedly, but Mr. Greeley, and every man who has given the subject careful thought, knows that there are \$70,000,000 which could be safely used in taking up the

bonds, on which we pay interest, and burn them. [Applause.]

In taking up that \$70,000,000 of six per cent. bonds, you would save over \$4,000,000 a year in interest and not only so, but in distributing the money over the country it is worth six per cent., and the people would gain \$4,000,000 more, to say nothing of the immense advantages which these \$70,000,000 would be annually to commerce and to the people. This taking up the bonds and burning them, instead of greenbacks, on which no interest is paid, and thus reducing the price of grain, leather, etc., would be very gratifying to me if I was a bondholder and indifferent to the rights of others. Greeley demands that the policy of the government shall be so far modified as to take in the bonds on which we pay interest, and thus reduce the necessity of buying gold every year to pay the interest. If Horace Greeley goes into the White House, he will see to it that no such vast amount of the people's treasure is locked up there as is now in the vaults, to the detriment of commerce, to the injury of business, and from which the West is suffering, as a consequence. [Applause.]

#### GREELEY, PEACE AND PROSPERITY.

What objection is there to Horace Greeley? Why, these men say that Greeley is going to be elected by the Democrats! [Laughter and cheers.] And, therefore, all the anti-slavery men are compelled to be Democrats in order to have him elected. I saw a letter the other day from an old Quaker lady, in reply to one written to her about the Cincinnati movement, and telling her that the charge was made of coalition and selling out on the part of the Liberal Republicans, and she wrote back to this effect: "The charge of selling out and coalition is preposterous; the old issues which kept the Democratic party alive are dead, and new issues must be adopted. If they take our ideas, I am not ashamed to take their name." [Applause.]

Now, gentlemen, I do not fear the Democrats, and if Greeley can unite all the people of this country who have been in antagonism to each other, and they can go upon that Cincinnati platform and strike hands, it will be one of the grandest moral revolutions that this nation, or the world,

has ever witnessed! [Cheers.] And that is to be the result. Therefore, I say to you, that nothing could happen in this country more calculated to give it quiet and peace, order, security and prosperity, than for those who have been in antagonism to these great ideas, to come up and adopt them, and elect a man to the Presidency of the United States who, for thirty years, has marched to the tune of liberty and the rights of man! [Cheers.]

#### GRANT'S SHORTCOMINGS AND USURPATIONS.

Now, gentlemen, for a moment let us see what we shall gain. There will no longer be that centralization of power which you now see in the hands of the National Executive, the Executive becoming, as it were, the law-making as well as the appointing power. If Greeley goes into the presidential office, he goes there pledged not to use the veto power he goes there pledged not to use the appointing power for personal ends. And, gentlemen, we shall have civil service reform; we shall have that kind of reform which is democratic in truth and in fact, that the Executive shall no longer be any part of the law-making power. This Government of ours is to-day in its executive department a government of materialization and force. Under this administration they believe that force and office can do anything, and therefore, they do not hesitate to stalk into the Senate of the United States, and dismiss Charles Sumner from its highest and most important committee, the oldest, and most honored and distinguished Senator, and put in his place a man whose name I need not mention. [Applause.] So of all their movements.

#### THE MILITARY VS. THE DEMOCRATIC IDEA.

Mr. Chairman. The spirit of war, and the spirit of democratic institutions, must forever remain in antagonism. Force, when skillfully directed by a single military chief, gives success in war. In peace reason must rule. In the councils of the people, under a true democracy, free discussion, manly criticism, and a strict adherence to the Constitution, are the

triest safeguards for the preservation of a democratic government. Discipline and unquestioned obedience on the part of the soldier, gives strength and efficiency to armies, but when this nation yields its civil administration to the spirit of war, it surrenders the lawful rights of its citizens and imperils constitutional liberty. Whenever the military power shall have complete dominion of this country, its authority will become absolute, and the Chief Executive of the nation will be a dictator. [Applause.]

#### OUR INDIAN NO-POLICY.

The Indian policy on which the Grant Administration seems disposed to plume itself is also a failure. According to its own reports the expenditures are over seven millions of dollars annually, whereas, in Buchanan's time, it was only a little over two millions, and this, too, in face of the fact that the Indians have been constantly decreasing in numbers and strength. While we have been spending these vast sums of money, we have failed to secure safety to life and property, and large numbers of our people have been cruelly massacred since the inauguration of this stupid policy, which assumes to treat savages as civilized men, and recognizes their right to make treaties, to make war, and to hold our citizens as prisoners of war on our own territory. [Cheers.]

In addition to this expenditure, large sums really expended upon the Indians are charged to the War Department, the amount of which I have no means of estimating. Our troops are moved over the plains, marched and counter-marched to distant points, where transportation for every scrap of supplies for man and beast costs from ten to twenty-five cents per pound, and all of which goes into the item of expenditures for the army, and can not be ascertained as a separate item, which ought to be put down to the so-called Indian policy.

#### HOW THE BRITISH LION WEEPS.

Talk about the efficiency of the present Administration, indeed! Look at our foreign policy, and say if it is not so

muddled that no man who was not muddled could have landed us in such a labyrinth of stupidity. Think of the humiliation to which we have been subjected! The organs of the Administration have treated us to some caricatures in which Secretary Fish looks big and stands on the tail of the British lion, and the poor lion is shedding tears in its humiliation and distress. Now, it would be vastly more true to history if Grant and Fish were down and the lion, having ceased weeping, had its paw upon them. [Loud laughter and cheers.] In most of the caricatures that I have seen of late there is about as much truth as in this one.

So long as we shall adhere to the present two-term policy instead of adopting the one-term — so long as the President is eligible to re-election — just so long shall we witness such a convention as assembled at Philadelphia, and just so long will such men be nominated for the highest offices in the gift of a free people. [Cheers.] Gentlemen, look over the acts of this Administration, commencing with the appointment of the first Cabinet, and you will see abundant reason why this great Republican party to which you and I belong has been divided and broken.

#### GRANT AND HIS CABINET.

In an unfortunate hour, to prevent our opponents from taking this man, who never belonged to our party, we took Grant and elected him; and one of his first acts was the selection of a Cabinet that was a surprise and an offense to the American people. With an exception or two he has continued in the same course until he has surrounded himself with men who have been a trouble and a disgrace to the nation. Not one of the Cabinet ministers — save the Secretary of the Interior, and his affairs have not been examined into — but has been convicted of a violation of the law. [Cries of "That's so."] And the paltry excuse which they give for violating the law is that they thought it was for the best interests of the country that the law should be violated. [Great laughter.] That was the excuse which Secretary Boutwell gave when he negotiated our bonds in Europe, and spent more money than he was authorized to spend by law.

That was the excuse Secretary Robeson gave when he took ninety-three thousand dollars out of the Treasury, which he was not authorized to take, and so much more than Congress, by special resolution, provided. So with the Post-office Department and so with the War Department. But, gentlemen, this is inevitable when men without character, without ability, without antecedents, are called in to administer the affairs of the nation. Under such a REGIME rings will be formed, incapacity dictate, and corruption rule the hour. [Cheers.]

TIME FOR A CHANGE.

Now, gentlemen, we propose to change all this by putting a man at the head whose integrity has never been questioned. A man who as a poor boy went to New York, and had the brains, the ability and character to build up a paper that is worth a million of dollars to-day. A man, too, who has had the good luck or sense to call around him other men of character and ability, and that which a man does in his private life you may, as a rule, expect he will adhere to when he is called upon to perform public and official acts. May we not therefore expect that if Greeley comes to the presidential chair he will call around him men who will be of like quality with himself, men of culture and experience, and that he will scrupulously eschew your mousing politicians whose notions of public duty are confined to their own aggrandizement, unless they are cowardly as well as base, in which case they form a ring. [Loud laughter and cheers.]

A Cabinet officer lately said to me, "If Greeley is elected he will be compelled to select some rebel for his Cabinet." I replied, "If he does he will select a rebel of brains whom he will not be compelled to kick out in six weeks." [Laughter.]

If he does select one who has been a rebel, it will be because he has brains for the position, and such an act would show a disposition to strike hands over the past—to forget the past—and over the memories of the fallen dead to pledge ourselves to the future weal and glory of our common country. [Loud cheers.] And do we not want peace, and union, and forgiveness of the past? [Applause.] I repeat what I



said in Congress, in 1865, that we would gladly welcome the returning prodigal, and kill the fatted calf, if he would only return to the Union, and swear fidelity to the flag.

#### GREELLY THE MAN OF THE PEOPLE.

Is not this the feeling that inspires the great body of the people? This is the spirit which, throughout all this country, demands that Mr. Greeley should be elected. Has he not always been on the side of the poor man, and on the side of the oppressed, trying to lift them up to better possibilities? The people feel that if we elect Horace Greeley we shall have an era of good feeling in this nation, which we shall not, and can not have under an Administration that is indifferent to every sentiment of justice and right.

#### THE UNHAPPY SOUTH.

When you look over the South to-day, and witness the terrible condition of her people, you see how they were impoverished, not only by our armies, but you see how they are robbed by a swarm of carpet-bag thieves, retained by the Administration, or who have at least been permitted to sail under the banner of the Administration, until almost every State, except Mississippi [which had a Southern man for governor], has been impoverished and bankrupted by these men.

So, also, in the custom-houses in New Orleans and New York; indeed, all over the country you find this same irresponsible class of men called into the service of the Government, to administer its affairs and to maintain and stand by the Government.

If you and I had been Southern men should we have submitted to be treated as they have been? Take South Carolina, for instance. Without a call from the governor, without a call from the legislature, in a State where they have a colored majority of from twenty to thirty thousand, the President, at somebody's beck, issues a proclamation proclaiming martial law and suspending the writ of *HABEAS CORPUS*, and so eager was he to issue this proclamation that he included several counties in which no disorder existed. Thus was the

bayonet put to the throat of these people, who could be carried off from their families at night, or at any time, and thrust into prison, where no process of any court could reach them, and where they could be dealt with only by the army, and not by the law, which should be their protection and support. The idea of a free Government like this, with an executive at its head reaching out into every locality, undertaking to control it, when a majority of the people belong to its own party and can control it as well, if they choose!

#### THE COLORED RACE.

Now a word to the black man. NO MAN CAN PUT HIS HAND UPON A WORD EVER DROPPED, OR WRITTEN BY ME, OR A VOTE EVER GIVEN BY ME, THAT WAS NOT FOR HIM; if he can let him speak, and let the blatant demagogues who fought against his rights, and struck him in the back when I was fighting for him, hold their peace.

I appeal to every black man, not only here, but everywhere in America. This ticket that has been nominated is composed of old anti-slavery men, who were guardians of that thought at a time when it required pluck and faith and fidelity to be so. Where is the black man who would be afraid to follow the benign face and benevolent heart of Horace Greeley? Where is the man who would hesitate to follow that gallant Kentuckian who, when I was a boy, was as strong an anti-slavery man as Cassius M. Clay? Where is the man who would be afraid to follow the distinguished and able Senator from Massachusetts, Charles Sumner, the foremost man of this people? [Applause.] Of the grand army of men who compose this Liberal Republican movement, you find four-fifths of all the men who, in the early struggle in forming the Republican party, constituted its advance guard, while the camp-followers and thieves, who came in afterward and took possession of it, were fighting us till victory was achieved. [Cheers.]

#### CONCLUSION.

And now, gentlemen, I would say that in coming to this

conclusion, I have not done so without careful thought and long and anxious study. It is not an easy matter for a man with the strong personal attachments that I have, to sever his political connection from a majority of those with whom he has been acting for twenty of the most eventful years of his life; but I do it from the highest convictions of duty, and though I went out alone, I should be compelled to go, as I did in '52. But I thank Heaven that instead of having the small number, as then, we have had a kind of Pentecost all over the land.

Recently I was in Illinois, and there, as in Ohio, I saw men come up and stretch hands towards each other who had been parted for years. [Cheers.] They are going to bury the past; they are going to forget and forgive the past, and to say that in the future, come what may, intervention, foreign war, never again shall fraternal blood be shed in our land; never again shall the dark shadows of civil war overhang our homes; but this country shall be one in sentiment, one in fraternal faith, one in nationality, one in promise of unlimited grandeur; that we shall stand shoulder to shoulder, and swear by Him who liveth forever that come what may, no other flag shall ever float above our homes or graves. [Great cheering.]

The organization of a campaign Greeley Club and the appointment of officers terminated the proceedings.

## CENTENNIAL ORATION.

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WOOD COUNTY CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION, JULY 4, 1876.

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At a meeting of the Wood County Board of Agriculture, held in Tontogany on Friday, February 18, 1876, it was resolved to adopt the suggestion of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture in relation to holding a centennial celebration on the county fair grounds, at Tontogany, on the 4th of July next, and the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, The Centennial authorities at Philadelphia have recommended the celebration of the coming 4th day of July in each organized county in the United States, and that a competent person be selected to prepare an historical address to be delivered on that occasion, etc.

. . . . .

E. TULLER, President.

W. H. WOOD, Secretary.

Honorable James M. Ashley was selected, and the following is his oration:

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, FELLOW-CITIZENS,  
ALL:

On this, the one-hundredth birthday of our national independence, we meet to commemorate the heroism and matchless deeds of those who lived, struggled and died that a free and beneficent government might be established, and liberty have a secure resting-place on earth. We meet to call up the memory of the great and the good, whose hearts conceived and whose brains molded the ideal republic of the world, a symmetrical, beautiful temple of human wisdom, and of human brotherhood, within whose sacred portals,

every race, and kindred, and tongue, and people, MAY AT LAST, enjoy life and liberty, security and peace. [Applause.]

#### NORTHWEST OHIO.

I cannot repeat to you the names of all the heroes of the Revolution, nor need I attempt to recount to you the toils, the privations and the sacrifices, of the noble men by whom this Government was founded. It is a story familiar to you all. Neither need I speak of our second war of independence, nor do more than refer to the fact that we whose homes are in Northwestern Ohio, and in the adjacent territory of Michigan and Indiana, live in a locality made classic by the splendid military achievements of the early frontier settlers, under the leadership of Anthony Wayne in 1794 and of General Harrison, Colonel Dick Johnson and the gallant Croghan in fighting the British and their Indian allies in 1813 and '14. At that time all this beautiful region of country was a vast wilderness, and the spot on which we are celebrating to-day, was then an unbroken solitude, undisturbed as yet by the hardy pioneer, the stillness of the prairie and forest being broken only by the howl of the wolf, and the terrific yell of the wild man. [Applause.]

#### OUR NATIONAL GROWTH.

As a nation, our material growth, in the first century of our existence, is unparalleled in history. Beginning with THIRTEEN States, we to-day number THIRTY-EIGHT, and our territorial jurisdiction spans the continent from ocean to ocean, and extends from the tropics to the frozen regions.

Within one hundred years, the mightiest republic the world ever saw has grown to manhood, and numbers at least 40,000,000 of freemen who are at peace with themselves and with all the world. Over this vast expanse of territory the benign power of the best government ever devised by man, is fully recognized, and a nation comprising a sisterhood of commonwealths, is presided over by a National Government, organized for the special protection and defense of all. It is impossible to overestimate the blessings of such a govern-

ment and the value of the public and private institutions which are the legitimate outgrowth of it. It is only a comparison with other nations that the priceless value of our inheritance becomes apparent.

Only when we compare our condition, material and social, with that of other nations, can we begin to estimate its value. Nowhere else can be found such a combination of soil and climate; nowhere productions so abundant for the same labor; nowhere human industry so richly rewarded; nowhere such liberty and independence for the citizens. He who, having been born beneath that flag, does not love his country and government, is an unnatural monster, WHO IS UNFIT TO LIVE, and unfit to die, and ought to be cast out to join Victor Hugo's "Wandering Jew," or to become a companion of the "Man without a country." [Applause.]

#### OUR FATAL BLUNDERS.

Wonderful as were our military triumphs in the war of the Revolution, in the war of 1812, and in the Mexican war, our material achievements have eclipsed them all. Only in our political administration, have we fallen short of the ideal grandeur of which the young republic gave bright promise. Notwithstanding the earnest warnings of Washington and Jefferson, of Franklin, Payne and others, the fatal blunders in our civil administration finally culminated in the late terrible war.

Fellow-citizens: The judgment of history has already been pronounced, touching the war of the rebellion, and I need only refer here and now to the verdict which the world has so generally accepted; that slavery was the cause, and that the North was right and the South was wrong. We all know now that but for slavery no such rebellion would have been possible. But for the mad effort of the minority to make might right, by substituting the cartridge-box for the ballot-box, and the bayonet for the will of the majority as constitutionally and honestly expressed in the election of Abraham Lincoln, there could have been no war of the rebellion. At this distance from the scenes of that great conflict, we can see when and where we blundered, and see also clearly

enough the great mistakes which we made all through our national history. We now see that had unselfish and able statesmen enacted our laws and administered our government, instead of mere politicians, who began by apologizing for slavery, and ended by unblushingly justifying it as a divine institution, slavery by the mere force of the Constitution would have peaceably ceased to exist on the North American continent. After the organization of the National Government, slavery could not long have endured with an honest and unperverted interpretation of that great charter of human liberty. Only because the national Constitution was grossly misinterpreted by courts and by all national and State officials who were personally and pecuniarily interested in holding slaves as property, would it have been possible to pervert the Government from the fundamental purpose of its founders, to one justifying and affirming the legality and rightfulness of human slavery. Time, which exposes the weak points in every man's life, exposes also the weak points in a nation's life. It is now easy enough to see that slavery was our fatal sin. Around the neck of the new-born nation, the men of policy permitted to be forged the chains of human slavery, and thus inoculated it with a virus which in time was sure to have eaten out all national life unless entirely extirpated. [Applause.]

#### A FATAL COMPROMISE.

In laying the foundation of this Government we had Egypt, Greece and Rome and all history for our guidance, yet how little did we profit by their fate and their warning! Jefferson and other clear-brained statesmen of the Revolution with prophetic vision saw and declared that slavery was the tempter in our political paradise, and sought to teach us that freedom and slavery could not be chained together and be made to walk forever, hand in hand, on this continent in peace. All thoughtful men knew that if as a nation we sowed to the wind we should reap the whirlwind; they knew that if we stultified the national conscience and sold our birthright, we should ultimately pay the penalty, and yet the lust of ambition and the selfish greed of gain combined, and for a long

time made slavery the nation's master. Hoping that the day of retribution might somehow be avoided and the nation escape the penalty fixed by the higher law, they consented for the promise of temporary peace to all the exacting and monstrous demands of the slave barons; and thus handed us over as a nation to the impartial judgment of history, and to the avenging hand of justice to be scourged by fire and sword as we were in the late war of the rebellion. [Applause.]

From the day the Government was established to the beginning of the war, compromise succeeded compromise and surrender followed surrender, until the serpent of slavery had at last coiled itself around the very vitals of the nation, and the time had come when our "policy" statesmen could no longer yield to the "tempter" with a new compromise, and the nation escape the consequences, by some new scheme of evasion, devised to circumvent the plainly written decrees of Omnipotence, and so at last we came to realize that as our fathers had "sown to the wind we must reap the whirlwind."

This is the history of men and of nations in all the centuries. If as a nation or as individuals we postpone from day to day and from year to year the correction of abuses and the rectification of errors; if we stifle conscience, and compromise with wrong; if we are false to truth and evade our present duty, hoping for a more convenient time in which to discharge that duty, that time will never come, until we are overtaken by the avenger, justice, and all the world are bewildered with amazement at our criminal folly, as they were when the war of the rebellion burst with such fury upon us. [Applause.]

#### THE LESSON TAUGHT.

But our great struggle shall not have been in vain if out of the sorrow and suffering which the war brought upon the North and South alike, we shall all come to learn, that in the cause of injustice and oppression, "they who take the sword shall perish by the sword," and the additional lesson, that in this nation, so long as speech is free, and the press is free, and the ballot is free, "no revolution is worth the shedding of one drop of human blood," but that a rebellion of **FORCE**



against the honestly expressed will of a majority at the ballot-box as provided for in the Constitution—is treason against the democratic idea of government and a crime against the human race. [Applause.]

Fellow-citizens, do not imagine because I thus speak of the late war of the rebellion that I propose on such an occasion as this to open afresh the terrible wounds which are now being so gratefully healed. I refer to it only to show our blunders which are now historic, and as a lesson and a warning, and also to show before I shall have concluded, that the class legislation in favor of human slavery was the beginning and strength in America of all monopoly legislation, and grants by the Government of special privileges to the few at the expense of the many. [Applause.]

#### OUR FIRST DUTY.

To-day I feel that our first duty is, to make our peace an enduring peace. To do that the reconciliation between North and South must be open and magnanimous and without any mental reservation or evasion in us whatever. In this centennial year let us remember that "Justice and mercy are the eternal habitations," and that we want no war cries to disturb the national pacification; we want no taunts to the vanquished; we want no shouts of victory over fellow-citizens; we want no inscription on our flag of stars to be flaunted in the faces of our brethren as a reminder of defeat. The great Senator from Massachusetts was early inspired with the true spirit when he declared that "Victory over fellow-citizens should be known only in the rights it secures and assures." Neither on our flags nor on pictures at the national capitol, do we want to recall our victories over the members of our now reunited family. What we want is unquestioned reconciliation, concord in fact as well as in name; forgiveness and generosity and not animosity and hate. The rule that is best for the family is best for the state. Friendship does not grow by force, nor confidence by acts of distrust. The Bible says that "He who would have friends must first show himself friendly." We must learn that this is as true of nations as of individuals. Good-will comes with good-will, friend-

ship for friendship, and hate for hate. I know of no better way to maintain our free institutions unimpaired and preserve our territorial integrity forever, than by recognizing the fact that behind our Constitution and beyond the compact of written law, there is the necessity of union in sentiment and sympathy between the North and the South, if we would have this nation great and permanent, and prosperous and free. [Applause.]

Acting upon this sentiment, so soon as the war was over I joined with Sumner, and Chase, and Greeley, and nearly all the leading abolitionists of the North, in demanding amnesty and conciliation for the South. I was for "killing the fatted calf," and welcoming back to the old mansion every erring brother, and for rehabilitating at the earliest moment consistent with national safety, every sister commonwealth with all the rights, dignities and privileges which had been forfeited by mad rebellion. I felt it to be a necessity that we do this if we did not want an Ireland or a Poland in America. [Applause.] But if it was a necessity I felt that it was right, also. By doing it we elevated our free republic to new heights of moral grandeur, and thus taught the world, that while we could conquer the most formidable rebellion of all the ages, we could also in the hour of victory restrain and control ourselves. If this wise rule of statesmanship can be inaugurated and continued for one administration we shall have a completely restored Union, with the rights of all persons sacredly secured, and our national name untarnished by a single act of vindictive punishment, so that above the din of battle and above the shouts of victors will shine out forever in history this glorious conquest, a conquest in which during the very hour of our triumph we go forth with the words of the immortal Lincoln upon our lips, and exclaim in our welcome, "With charity for all and malice toward none." [Applause.] These broad and liberal views would, ere this, have been accepted by the North and the South but for a class of men who insist on maintaining peace by force. Need I say that if the ring masters, the selfish party managers and ignorant partisans did not dominate so generally in each party, there would be less injustice and less corruption in the administration of the Government? So long as "rings" control all nomina

tions, you know that just so long we shall have blind partisans, ignorant pretenders, and sharp schemers in charge of the Government. So offensive has this ring system of management become, and so general the disgust at its working, that on an average not one voter in ten, especially in cities, attends his party caucus. The rings therefore manage with but little opposition. Hundreds of good-meaning citizens do not even vote, while a still larger number will have nothing to do with men whom they call politicians, regarding all as schemers, tricksters and dishonest. [Applause.]

**MEN WANTED.**

Fellow-citizens, it is a great misfortune for the nation that this feeling is so general, and that so many have come to think that the mere fact of a man giving his time and attention to political questions, is dishonorable and disreputable. Political men we must have; men tried and trained in statesmanship are to-day one of our greatest needs; cultured men, pure men, practical men; men whose lives, public and private, will stand the test of any crucible, and from whose presence thieves and knaves will shrink as vice will flee from the presence of virtue. In this centennial year, we ought to be able to join with one heart and one mind in the aspirations of the poet who exclaims:

God give us men! a time like this demands  
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands;  
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;  
Men whom the spoils of office can not buy,  
Men who possess opinions and a will;  
Men who have honor; men who will not lie;  
Men who can stand before a demagogue,  
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking;  
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog  
In public duty and in private thinking;  
For, while the ringleaders with thumb-worn creeds,  
Their large professions and their little deeds,  
Mingle in selfish strife, lo! Freedom weeps,  
Wrong rules the land, and waiting Justice sleeps.

[Applause.]

ONLY THE CAPABLE FOR POSITIONS OF TRUST.

And here may I not ask you why a man cannot be as pure, as heroic, and unselfish in political life as in any of the learned professions? Why should there not be arts that are as honest in politics as in law, or medicine, or in collegè professorships, or even in the pulpit? A true statesman never despises the honest arts of politics. Those who affect a dislike of honorable political men, and sneer at politicians, are either very innocent and thoughtless persons or weak and silly demagogues. Would any sane person select for his lawyer, in a critical case, which if lost, would sweep away all he possessed, a man who had never looked into a law book? Would he select for his physician a man who knew nothing of anatomy or medicine? Would he vote to call a minister to take charge of his church who could not read the Bible? Would he intrust the education of his child to an ignorant pretender? To ask these questions is to answer them. Who would put an unknown and untried man in charge of a steamer or a train of cars freighted with human life? Who so reckless or so blind as to wish to put a man in charge of the ship of state, even in a time of peace and dull routine, who was ignorant of the arts of statesmanship? I do not hesitate to say that to call such a man to pilot the ship of state, whether in a calm or in a storm, would be an act of indefensible folly; and as you would not voluntarily, if left to your individual judgment, intrust the Chief Executive office of the nation to an ignorant, incompetent or corrupt man, so you would not deliberately fill any less responsible position in the Government with a man unfitted by character or education for the trust. Why then is this outrage on decency and on the public honor, repeated year after year in every State and county? Why have thousands of good men everywhere, voted to put men into the most honorable and important offices, whom they would not intrust with any matter of business, however unimportant, for themselves? Is it not, fellow-citizens, because they are slaves to the caucus and convention system, or because they are blinded by partisan zeal? Has not our experience taught us that the nation ought to be so educated on this subject, that it would smite

the ring politician and the ignorant or corrupt official as it would brand an infamous malefactor? A man who accepts a public trust for which he is in no way qualified by natural ability, or education, inflicts a wrong upon a community which may be more detrimental to the public welfare than the commission of a revolting crime. If he is ignorant or corrupt he may do acts more dangerous to the safety and stability of the state, than any one individual criminal can commit, however bold or bad. The criminal act of one man in private life can affect but one, or at most but a few citizens, while the criminal is always in danger of arrest, conviction and punishment. But the acts of an incompetent or dishonest official may often affect disastrously, and for many years, whole communities, and yet, as a rule, such a criminal cannot be punished except by dismissal from office at the end of his term, and even this cannot always be done, so long as the caucus and convention system remains to dictate for whom the members of each party shall vote. Therefore I believe such a public sentiment ought to be created, that any man who either thrusts himself forward, or who permits his friends to present him for nomination to an important public trust, for which he has no qualifications, either natural or acquired, should be everywhere branded by public sentiment as more dangerous and dishonorable than a public malefactor. [Applause.]

Fellow-citizens, our greatest achievement in political reform during the century just closed, and the one which to me overshadows all others in its benign influence upon government and people, is the overthrow of slavery and the abolition of the privileged class which it created. FORTUNATELY THIS ACT WILL ULTIMATELY ADVANCE THE INTEREST AND BENEFIT THE SOUTH MORE LARGELY THAN THE NORTH. It is of inestimable value to the people of the entire Union, but its economical and moral worth is underestimated even here and now. We have not all yet learned that a "privileged class," created or maintained by act of government, IS A THREE-FOLD WRONG, IN THAT IT ENDANGERS THE STABILITY OF THE STATE, VIOLATES THE DEMOCRATIC IDEA, AND ENCROACHES UPON THE RIGHTS OF LABOR. A moment's reflection would teach that one privileged class soon begets another; and nat-

urally enough, during the continuance of slavery, men said if the government can authorize a few thousand persons to own and appropriate to themselves the labor of four millions of men, why may it not grant special privileges to us, so that by securing a monopoly or with organized wealth protected by law, we can also live upon the half-paid labor of the toiler. And so the governments, national, state and municipal, beginning with "class" legislation, have gone on making new grants of power and authorizing the most gigantic monopolies, until to-day the national, state and municipal governments of the entire Union, are administered specially in the interests of corporations, "rings," political partisans and personal favorites; and these governments are in turn manipulated and controlled by the very organized power which they have created. Turn which way you will, in all this broad land to-day, and you will find that organized wealth with its special grants of power is master of government and people. [Applause.]

This formidable power favors from interest and of necessity, A CONSOLIDATED GOVERNMENT AND AN ADMINISTRATION OF FORCE. It controls the National and State Executives when elected, and nominates their successors; it fills Congress and State legislatures with its paid agents and Cabinets and Courts with its retained attorneys. It works in secret, and by the aid of a subsidized and venal press, strikes down all public men who oppose its grasping power and schemes of plunder. It manages in turn by bribery and corruption, a majority of the caucuses and conventions of each party, and nominates the candidates for whom the elector is forced to vote or subject himself to ostracism by his party and thus the people whose interest and purpose is to fight these monopolies, are oftener than otherwise co-operating with them, and in the name of party and at the dictation of "King caucus," vote for and elect the retained agents or attorneys of these very monopolies. I need hardly add that the tendency to foster all kinds of monopolies, strengthen privilege and consolidate the National Government into an overshadowing central power, in which the Executive shall be supreme, was never so strong nor so dangerous as now, since the government was organized. You all know that monopoly in the shape

of class legislation, or special grants of power to the few, has preyed like a hungry vulture upon the labor of every age, that it has eaten out the substance of every people and destroys the life of every free government, and that it will eat out our life and destroy our free institutions unless the system is squarely confronted and made subordinate to the interest of the people by the restraining power of the Government. [Applause.]

#### CORRUPTION.

The growth and corruption of cities, the increased power of corporate wealth and the continued monopoly of land, in my opinion is seriously endangering our democratic theory of government, and menacing the solution of the labor problem in this country as never before.

As a necessity of self-preservation the laborers and toilers of all countries are considering and adopting methods of industrial organization, and co-operation. This is a healthy and encouraging sign. [Applause.]

I have given more thought to this industrial question than any other social problem, and watched with interest and sympathy every movement favorable to co-operation and the organization of labor, not only in this country, but in Europe, and I am constrained to admit that in Germany they are far in advance of us in the practical working of their unions and co-operative associations. But our labor unions, and co-operative societies, the "self-assurance associations," the Patrons of Husbandry and Grange organization, have each in them much to commend them to the hearty approval of all thoughtful men, who see and comprehend the formidable power which day by day and year by year, increases in strength, and on every hand imperils the rights and interests of labor. To you, who are members of the agricultural society of the county, and on whose invitation I am here to-day, and to all who make up the farming and laboring population before me, I may with propriety speak of the rights of labor and the interests of agriculture.

Agriculture is the natural employment of man. "In the sweat of thy face," spake the voice in the garden. The oc-

cupation which feeds the human race, and gives vitality to all commerce and to all other industrial pursuits, ought to be esteemed the most honorable among men. Human life and human progress draw their sustenance from it. When the agriculturist fails, all other industries languish. Our farming population outnumber all other classes combined. If united, their vote would be a majority in nearly every State. I see a harbinger or prophecy of better things in the various movements of the farmers for co-operation and organization. If they can also draw into a common union with themselves the working-men of the country, whose interests are identical with their own, they will be invincible, and, under the leadership of sober, intelligent, faithful men, they can accomplish whatever may be their deliberate and well-settled purpose. Demagogues may mislead; unwise methods may for a time hinder; blind zeal may postpone, but an honest and persistent endeavor will, in the end, enable them to triumph. [Applause.]

#### DANGEROUS TENDENCIES.

Of late the unmistakable tendency of many public men is to favor capital and pervert the National Government from the purpose of its founders, into a government representing an aristocracy of wealth, instead of maintaining a real democracy and fostering economy and republican simplicity in an honest civil service. If we would preserve our government free and pure we must see that every department—national, state and municipal—is administered as a wise and prudent man would manage his personal affairs. We must see to it that the people administer it instead of rings or privileged classes. We must no longer act upon the assumption that the government will maintain and perpetuate itself. We must abandon the insane delusion that a dishonest man or an ignorant pretender may safely be entrusted with the duties of an honorable and responsible public office. In short, we must see to it that candidates for all positions are qualified by natural ability, or by special training, to fit them for the office for which they may be candidates.

In order that the dangerous tendencies of which I have



spoken may be arrested, there ought to be a free and untrammelled movement of the people to rescue the government from the greed of spoilsmen and from the grip of the corporate agencies which modern legislation has created. [Applause.]

#### OUR REMEDY.

Organization, free discussion, then intelligent action at the ballot-box, must be our weapons of protection and defense. In addition to this our Constitution ought to be so amended as to restrain the executive, legislative and judicial functions of the government, and more clearly define their delegated powers. If three-fifths of all the functions now claimed by law and custom, and Constitution for our national, state and municipal governments were denied them in our organic law, and all special legislation prohibited by express provision of the Constitution, as also all authority to incur an indebtedness — bonded or otherwise — in any one year for any purpose (except defensive war) beyond a limited percentage upon commerce and value of taxable property in any state or county or municipality, we might congratulate ourselves upon having a government approaching more nearly the democratic idea. Denying, as I do, the MORAL right of an accidental majority, either in our National Congress or State Legislatures or county and municipal government, to mortgage the toil and labor of future generations to enrich or benefit the present, I can confidently appeal to all who hear me, to unite in demanding of their respective parties such promises of reform in this respect as will give assurance of better things in the future. For if indebtedness without limit can be incurred and special legislation is to continue, with all the assumed and conceded functions of government, the time is not far distant in which this will be a happy country only TO THOSE WHOSE WHO HAVE LARGE INCOMES, AND A COUNTRY OF SORROW FOR ALL WHO LABOR. [Applause.]

#### NATIONAL REFORMS SUGGESTED.

In addition to the constitutional limitations already sug-

gested, the new century upon which we are about to enter will demand new and important reforms in every department of the public service. We must have a better administration in all the executive, legislative and judicial departments of national, state and municipal governments.

AND FIRST AND MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL, WE MUST NOMINATE AND ELECT THE PRESIDENT BY A DIRECT VOTE OF THE PEOPLE BY BALLOT, WITHOUT THE INTERVENTION OF CAUCUSES, CONVENTIONS, PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS, OR THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. [Applause.]

Second—The veto power of the President must be modified so that the Executive shall form no part of the law-making power, and a majority of all the Senators and Representatives elected to Congress, and at the time qualified, shall have authority to pass a bill over the Executive veto. This modification of the veto would give the President an opportunity to secure a reconsideration of any bill hastily passed by Congress, and thus secure all the check which it is safe or prudent to give an Executive, as a restraint upon improper or inconsiderate legislation.

Third—We must have an honest civil service reform, but this cannot be had, so long as caucuses and conventions dictate for whom the people shall vote for President and all officials to be elected in the National or State Governments.

Fourth—We must have reform in the mode and manner of conducting all popular elections so as to secure more perfectly the purity of the ballot-box, but so long as the caucus system (where ballot-box stuffing was invented) is maintained, such reforms are impossible.

Fifth—We must have reform in National and State legislation, but this cannot be obtained without constitutional restraints, substantially such as I have named, together with the right of the minority to an equitable representation in all law-making bodies.

Fifth—We must have reform in the government of all cities, so as to defeat ring management and ring plunderers, but this cannot be without radical changes in our municipal codes.

Seventh—We want and we must have local self-government for local purposes, in every State or municipality, free

from the intermeddling of the National Government, either through its civil or military departments, recognizing only the authority of the courts for revision, and that of the Executive for repelling or suppressing force as provided in the Constitution.

When these reforms are secured, as I am hopeful they will be, early in this new century, we shall have a government free from the obvious and glaring defects of the present; a government embodying more nearly than any other known in history, the perfection of the democratic idea—a government that shall make liberty, equity and peace a living fact. [Applause.]

#### THE DUTY OF EVERY CITIZEN.

If democracy is to come during this century in its fullness and completeness, as the fathers of the Constitution contemplated it would come ere this, we must have these reforms, for the nation cannot endure forever the corruption and conspiracies of corporate wealth, and the monopolies of the present. If we would faithfully follow in the pathway which the men of the Revolution “blazed out” through our political wilderness for us, we cannot afford to fold our arms with indifference, and say that the government may take care of itself. Nor should any citizen attempt to escape his fair share of the responsibility, but all must dedicate themselves to the noble task of vindicating the memory and purposes of the men who made the Constitution and sought to establish the truest and best government on earth, a real ideal democratic republic. [Applause.]

#### WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN.

While the century just closed has given our country many extraordinary men, men who have been recognized leaders and benefactors of the human race, there are two names which stand out with clearer distinctness than all the rest and around which there will be forever a brighter halo, names that will live as long as human liberty is prized and

human history is preserved. No other nation can present within a century two such illustrious names as Washington and Lincoln. One was the child of fortune and privilege, the other the child of poverty and toil. One is recognized by all the world as the Father of his Country, the other will yet be recognized by all as its Savior. One led us triumphantly through the stormy struggle of our Revolution to independence, the other brought us safely through the dark and troubled night of our Civil Strife to the haven of union, liberty and peace. [Applause.] Never before in human history did two men employ their great opportunities with more unselfish heroism or consecrate their lives to a higher or nobler purpose. If the true greatness of a nation consists in the noble types of manhood which it produces, America may, without undue boasting, present the names of Washington and Lincoln as types of men pre-eminently entitled to mention among those who honor and adorn the world's history. To honor such men and the cause they served, and to commend their example to the present and future generations, patriotic rejoicing and public demonstrations, corresponding to our own, are taking place to-day, not only in all parts of our own country, but wherever around the globe an American citizen may be wandering and two or three can be gathered together beneath our radiant flag of stripes and stars. [Applause.] But naturally enough to-day the great heart of the nation, all who are at home and all who are abroad, turn to Philadelphia and to old Independence Hall, where more than a million of her children from all parts of the republic, from Virginia and the Carolinas, from Massachusetts and New England, from the golden shores of the Pacific and from every State and Territory, with uncovered head are now gathered around the old homestead to offer up with reverence and gratitude their thanksgiving for the restored Union, and to exchange pledges of fidelity for its enduring unity, prosperity and peace. [Applause.] Of the material grandeur of the nations which have risen and fallen much might be said had I the time and you the patience. Their material and martial glory, which for a time dazzled the world with its splendor, might to-day be contrasted with the true glory of America.

Greece and Rome, in succession mistress on the land and on the sea, each rich, powerful and luxurious, into whose laps the Orient poured its exhaustless treasures and built their palaces and monuments which even now, while crumbling to decay, tell the story of their greatness and grandeur more eloquently than human words when clothed in the golden thoughts of a master. But each in turn neglected or rejected the highest and best interest of the state. They made monopoly and privilege the rule, and disregarded the rights and liberties of the citizen by degrading and enslaving their working-men. They thus exalted the material above the ideal, and attempted to make "might" more than "right," and in so doing built up a materialistic civilization which finally wrought their decay and death. How closely we as a nation followed in the paths which they had trodden in wrong and in blood, you and I, alas! know, to our shame and sorrow. [Applause.]

#### OUR REPUBLIC'S FUTURE.

With us, as with all nations, history has been repeating itself, and so we have learned that only

"Through weary march and blinding tears,  
And passion heats and battle's din,  
The hoped-for boon, for coming years,  
So long delayed, is ushered in."

And now, as we enter upon the new century, charged with new obligations and higher responsibilities, let us each for himself, resolve to consecrate some portion of his life to the noble work of preserving the unity and perpetuity and glory of his country. With heart and soul let everyone write upon the tablets of his memory the aspiration and the invocation of Whittier's immortal Centennial Hymn, and make its peaceful, patriotic prayer, his living and his dying faith:

"Oh, make Thou us through centuries long,  
In peace secure, in justice strong;  
Around our gift of freedom draw

The safeguards of Thy righteous law,  
And cast in some diviner mold,  
Let the new cycle shame the old!"

And thus shall the new century of the Republic transcend in glory and grandeur the splendid achievements of the past. [Long continued applause.]



Letter from Rev. T. W. Stringer, D. D., Vicksburg, Miss.

When reading Mr. Ashley's speeches, it is easy to determine from whence he drew his poetic inspiration. In writing of Whittier, Mr. Ashley says, "that he touched my heart and quickened my life as no other man ever did," and then adds, "Whittier, as I saw him, approached nearer my conception of the Divine Teacher of Galilee than any man I ever knew." This is high praise to give in behalf of any man, and tells us why he quotes Whittier in his speeches oftener than all others. That there should be profound thought and a wealth of simple pathos in any man's orations or stump speeches,

T. W. STRINGER, who walked in the moral and political sunshine and shadow of Whittier's pure life, is but natural. Mr. Ashley's speeches all bear internal testimony, that like Whittier and the men who made up the advance guard of the abolition army, his aspirations were, "to break up the surfdom of the world." For pure Americanism, for broad and liberal statesmanship and historic accuracy, we are confident the speeches and orations in this book will stand the test of time, and prove a valuable text-book for students who seek ideal manhood in moral and political philosophy.

T. W. STRINGER.

CORRESPONDENCE.

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VICKSBURG, MISS., December 9, 1892

HON. J. M. ASHLEY, Toledo, Ohio.

DEAR SIR: Reference is made in some of the speeches already stereotyped, to resolutions adopted and addresses delivered by you on the Slavery Question, of an earlier date than we find in the papers and speeches now before us.


As our purpose is to make a complete historical compilation of your early and more important anti-slavery campaign and congressional speeches, we request you to have sent to us, as soon as possible, such addresses as you may be able to find, of a date prior to those we now have in type.

We also request copy of pamphlet containing your plan of "Co-operation and Profit-Sharing," of which we have read something in railroad papers. Please send with it such of your papers and addresses as may have been published, on the relation of Capital and Labor.

Our people are greatly interested in that and kindred questions, and your views on that subject would be eagerly read by them.

Trusting that you may find it convenient to comply with our request, I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully yours, for God and the Race,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Benjamin Arnett". The signature is written in dark ink and is underlined with a double horizontal line.

Chairman.

TOLEDO, OHIO, December 19, 1892.

MY DEAR SIR: In answer to your favor of the 9th inst., I have to say: That after the destruction of all my books and papers by fire, I gathered up from friends a number of my early anti-slavery campaign speeches, intending to use the facts in them, should I write a book, as I then proposed doing, on "The rise and fall of the slave barons."

I abandoned the idea of writing that book for the reason that a second fire destroyed nearly all the papers then collected, together with the notes I had prepared, and damaged by water (as you will see on examining them) the greater portion of the remaining papers and newspaper clippings, which I now send you. I did not send these with the first installment of pamphlets and papers, because I did not want to trouble you with the task of assorting them. Personally, I had no time to put them in shape for the printer, nor did I think them of importance enough to reprint and preserve. If, however, you find anything in them which you may regard as worthy of preservation, do so, and consign the remainder to the waste-basket, as do I not now propose to use them myself.

These speeches and fragments of speeches, are all old-fashioned anti-slavery appeals, such as in those days were everywhere made by our anti-slavery leaders against the crime of slavery. The speeches now sent you were made during the Fremont and Lincoln campaigns in New York, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and as you will observe, they are educational speeches, and deal with historic facts and the opinions of eminent men. They were intended to answer the vulgar and blind partisan charges made against us, and for the purpose of making proselytes to the Republican faith.

I also send you as requested a pamphlet, which contains my plan of "Co-operation and Profit-Sharing," and an address prepared by me on the invitation of the Train Dispatchers' Association of America, which was read at their International Convention in Toledo, June 10, 1891.

I also enclose two other papers of mine on the same subject. You will see by reading these papers, that for many years I have favored the organization and co-operation of all



kinds and conditions of working-men. But I never have and am certain that I never shall, favor such combinations as make war upon any class of wage-earners, who, for any reason, do not see fit to voluntarily become members of any of our present labor organizations. I favor a co-operation that shall not be secret and oath-bound, or be dominated by one or more selfish leaders, but an organization that shall be open and manly, and just enough to recognize the brotherhood of the human race. I favor this broad and liberal co-operation of labor, because I recognize the fact that the law of our life provides, as it is written: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread, till thou return unto the ground." From the beginning this has been the law governing the conditions of human life, and so far as I can see, that condition must continue for all, unto the end. Those who eat the bread of idleness, are the only exception to this law. Of necessity, therefore, everyone who eats the bread of idleness becomes a burden to honest industry, and are either imbeciles, drones, parasites or criminals, of whose existence government must take cognizance, and so guard and restrain them as to protect society individually and collectively from the danger and crime inseparable from the existence of the classes named.

I therefore want to see all labor so organized that there shall be fewer criminals, and fewer men who eat the bread of idleness, so that capital will everywhere be glad to co-operate with, and to secure the aid of all manly wage-workers of ability and character, and be ready to divide with all such workers an equitable proportion of the net profits produced by the SKILL and TOIL of EACH.

In this age of labor-saving inventions and industrial machinery, with steam and electricity for motive power, nearly all of which is owned by associated capital, it becomes a necessity for the wage-workers of the world to co-operate with capital on a stipulated agreement for a portion of the net profits, and thus secure beyond question an equitable division of the wealth produced by the united efforts of labor and capital.

As I see it, "co-operation and arbitration" is the sign in which the wage-worker of the world is certain ultimately to win.

In any business requiring the joint labor of ten or more men, the result outlined can with certainty be secured, and with mathematical accuracy, to every worker without his investing a dollar of cash capital. He can do this by joining others in organizing the business in which he desires to engage, on the plan of profit-sharing which I propose in the pamphlet I now send you.

The adoption of any of the recognized plans of profit-sharing will make strikes inexcusable and practically impossible among intelligent, honest men.

With intelligent co-operation on the lines indicated, together with the use of reliable savings banks and the aid which properly organized building and loan associations can give, there is no danger in this country of any sober, industrious wage-worker becoming poorer, while everywhere a prudent man may with reasonable certainty earn and own his own home. Let every colored man live within his income, and in a short time he can own his own home.

In all my speeches, beginning with our early anti-slavery struggle, you will find that I uniformly made my appeals for the rights of all labor, black and white, and demanded for each an equitable share in the property which his toil created. You will also find that all the speeches of our early anti-slavery leaders were logical and unanswerable appeals for the rights of labor, without regard to nativity, nationality or race.

Yours truly,

J. M. ASHLEY.

REV. BENJAMIN W. ARNETT, D. D.,  
Chairman Publication Committee.

## EXTRACTS.

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CLOSING PORTION OF STUMP SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE GROVE  
NEAR MONTPELIER, WILLIAMS COUNTY, OHIO,  
SEPTEMBER, 1856, BY JAMES M. ASHLEY.

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And now, fellow-citizens, I know you will agree that I have said all that need be said at this time, in condemnation of the Kansas-Nebraska infamy and its authors, and in denunciation of the efforts of the slave baron conspirators to nationalize slavery, and to make it constitutional and perpetual in the land of Washington.

Nor need I say more than I have said, in behalf of the election of General Fremont, our candidate for President, or for the re-election of our worthy candidate for Congress, Hon. Richard Mott. And I have said all that is necessary in defense of Governor Chase and his administration.

But for the fact that each of the gentlemen named have been so coarsely and offensively assailed during the canvass all over the State, and especially in this congressional dis-

*Letter from Hon. Charles S. Morris, New York City.*

This is by far the boldest and ablest of all the anti-slavery stump speeches of the Fremont campaign which we have read. It was delivered when Mr. Ashley was not yet thirty years old. At the time of its delivery, the pro-slavery hatred of the negro in the North raged with fanatical madness. Slave pirate-ships were then fitted out in the city of New York, and under our flag plied their man-slavery trade with comparative safety, and sometimes landed their cargoes of human chattels, direct from Africa, at our Southern ports in broad daylight, in defiance of law and government.

To deliver such a speech, at such a time, required a high order of both moral and physical courage.

We have never read an argument, so clear and strong, against the right of Congress to pass a fugitive slave law.

CHARLES S. MORRIS.

trict, by the opposition newspapers and stump speakers, I should not be warranted in taking up your time and mine to-day, in answering them, as I have felt constrained to do.

[At this point, some one in the audience shouted out, "You have not explained the corrupt bargain and sale by which Chase was elected to the United States Senate over Tom Ewing. Suppose you try your hand at that."]

Mr. Ashley stopped, and turning to the Chairman of the meeting, said, "Do you wish me to answer such questions?" The Chairman nodding assent, said, "As we have nothing to withhold or conceal, I think the people would be glad to have you answer."

"Well, Mr. Chairman," continued Mr. Ashley, "if you and this audience desire me to answer the challenge just made, or to answer any other questions, even though they are not pertinent to this campaign (as the one in hand is not) I shall do so. As our Chairman has very properly remarked, 'we have nothing to withhold or conceal.'

Mr. Chairman, without reserve and without qualification I deny that there was a corrupt bargain and sale when Mr. Chase was elected to the Senate of the United States. [Applause.] I was present in Columbus and participated in the conferences which were held by the anti-slavery Democrats and the Free-soilers prior to the election of Mr. Chase, and I can say to you that so far from there having been a corrupt bargain between the Democrats and the Free-soilers, that it was one of the fairest and most honorable political agreements ever made in this State or in any State. [Applause.]

You all remember that the "Free-soilers" held the balance of power. It is no secret that these Free-soilers were willing to make an alliance with the Whigs and elect Hon. Joshua R. Giddings, an anti-slavery Whig, or with the Democrats and elect Mr. Chase.

Dr. Townsend, of Lorain, and Mr. Morse, of Ashtabula, held the balance of power. One of these gentlemen was a "Whig-Free-Soiler" and resided in Mr. Giddings's district, and the other a "Democratic-Free-Soiler" from Lorain County, and each stood ready to vote for any reliable anti-slavery man of character and ability, who could be elected Senator, whether he was of Whig or Democratic antecedents.

The Whigs would not vote for Mr. Giddings, and the Democrats agreed to vote for Mr. Chase, who was a well-known anti-slavery Democrat. And that was all there was of that so-called "bargain and sale." [Applause.]

The Democrats did the same thing in Massachusetts, and elected Charles Sumner, an anti-slavery Democrat, to the United States Senate, and John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and other well-known anti-slavery Democrats in other States.

I know all about the so-called "bargain and sale" which was made at the time Mr. Chase was elected Senator, and I declare to you that it was as manly and unselfish a political agreement as was ever entered into by the leaders of any party. And I am glad to be able to say, that the agreement then made was honorably and in good faith carried out by the Democrats. [Applause.] At that time, I was in full fellowship with the Democratic party, and it was then well known that I was an anti-slavery Democrat, and as hostile to slavery as I am now. And there were, in those days, thousands of Democrats of my way of thinking. A majority of the Democratic party in Ohio, and in all the free States, were outspoken anti-slavery men, as witness the platforms adopted by all the regular Democratic State conventions in every Northern State, except Iowa, denouncing slavery as a crime, and demanding, as we did here in Ohio, that the evil be "eradicated."

But for Democratic votes, the Wilmot Proviso, which prohibits slavery in all our national Territories, could not have been passed by the lower house of the Congress of the United States. [Applause.]

And but for the passage of the infamous compromise measure of 1850, into which the North was betrayed by her faithless representatives of both parties, I believe that the Democratic party of the free States would to-day have been the great anti-slavery Jeffersonian party of this country, as it ought to have been, and in my opinion would have been, but for our betrayal at the hands of professed Democrats. The humiliation of both the old parties to-day is awful, and their abasement appalling. But to go back to the Chase election.

The Free-soilers agreed to vote with, and secure to the

Democrats, substantially, all the offices which the legislature under the old Constitution was authorized to appoint or elect, on the single condition that the Democrats would vote with the Free-soilers for the repeal of the infamous black laws of this State. [Applause.] Perhaps the person who interrupted me, would like to have those villainous statutes which were then repealed, again re-enacted into laws. But whether he would or not, I brand him, or any man who makes the charge of corrupt bargain and sale in connection with the election of Mr. Chase to the United States Senate, as either an ignorant or vicious calumniator.

I put this plaster on the foul lips of every such calumniator, confident that when removed, it will take the skin off with it. [Laughter and applause.]

Fellow-citizens, you know that I am not a candidate for any office, and I do not propose to be a candidate for some years to come, if ever. I certainly shall not be a candidate until I am older and have more experience than I have to-day.

In view of the fact that I am not a candidate, and not likely to be, I should perhaps be justified, if I passed by in silent contempt, the unscrupulous and persistent assaults, which have been made upon me personally, wherever I have spoken in the district. Indeed, I should have passed them by without a word, but for what occurred yesterday and to-day. A number of vicious and ignorant braggarts, who with an assumption of knowledge which they have not, and a cheek as brazen as that of a professed saint when assuming the livery of heaven, have here on the ground to-day, in my hearing and in language most foul, charged our candidates and all our leading public men with being disunionists, and men who as often as they took an oath to support the Constitution committed the crime of perjury.

I have also been charged since I came upon the ground, with being a "disunionist, an abolitionist, an agent of the underground railroad and an amalgamationist, who loved the black race better than I did my own race, and that if I had the power, I would liberate at once and without compensation to the slave barons, all the slaves of the South and turn them loose, so that they might come up here into Ohio, if they pleased, and into other Northern States, and compete with

and displace all white men who labor." And to this kind of loud-mouthed blustering, there has been added a deluge of that coarse and vulgar vituperation which is born of ignorance and hate, and a brutality so gross and devilish as to excuse, if not to justify, a belief in the doctrine of total depravity. [Applause.]

I will be pardoned, therefore, if when stating the position of our candidates, I also state clearly and distinctly my own position.

First, then, as to our candidate for President. General Fremont is a man who might properly be classed with the most conservative Republicans. He states frankly, that he does not propose to interfere with slavery in the States where it now exists, but simply pledges himself to resist its spread into new Territories, nothing more, nothing less. [Applause.]

Mr. Mott, as you all know, is a Quaker, and his religion makes it imperative that he be an anti-slavery man, and without concealment and without compromise to stand firmly in opposition to slavery the world over. [Applause.]

As for myself, I am free to say to you and to all who care to know my opinions, that I am opposed to the enslavement<sup>4</sup> in any country on God's green earth, of any man or any race of men, however friendless or poor, whatever their race or color, and I do not admit that the Constitution of my country recognizes property in man. [Applause.]

When John Wesley denounced slavery "as the sum of all villainies," it was to me a living truth, uttered in as few and fitting words as a clergyman could employ, and I who am but a layman, brand it as the blackest of crimes and denounce it as the most revolting infamy that ever afflicted mankind or cursed the earth. [Applause.] It has filled the world with injustice and indescribable suffering and sorrow, and its crimes are now moving all unperverted human hearts to a united and determined effort for its destruction and the banishment from our country of this execrable commerce in the bodies and souls of men. [Applause.]

Often and often when a boy in Kentucky, it has moved my heart to rebel against it; and when involuntarily forced to witness its frightful punishments and shocking brutality, there has come up from my heart to my lips the pathetic

couplet of Burns, and in my helplessness I have cried out,  
“O Lord, how true it is that

‘Man’s inhumanity to man  
Makes countless thousands mourn.’”

[Applause.]

During my speech at Hicksville, over in Defiance County, yesterday, when presenting an abstract proposition of interest, as I believed, to all Americans (and to the negro if he is a man), a cross-roads statesman impudently cried out, “I see wool in that fellow’s teeth,” although up to that moment I had not uttered one word about the negro.

The northern sleuth-hound of the slave baron was on the watch, and true to his blind partisanship and brutal instincts gave the recognized yelp. [Applause.] So here to-day, the babbling cross-roads statesman is on guard, ready blindly to defend the supposed interests of the slave barons of the South who are his political masters. [Applause.] And I affirm, and do so slowly and deliberately so that there shall be no misunderstanding what I say or mean, that all such men, whether they know it or not, are allies of the conspirators whose crimes against humanity and our democratic government are at this very hour laying broad and deep the conditions which are certain to ultimate in a revolution of fire and blood that must end, either in the destruction of this Union and Government, or in the abolition of the institution of slavery which the slave barons are to-day madly attempting to fasten upon the nation for all time. [Applause.] Morally and logically, there is no escape from this result. As I see it, submission to the slave barons or revolution is as inevitable as death. I pray that it may be a peaceful revolution, with ballots instead of bullets. [Applause.]

Let us not deceive ourselves, nor attempt to deceive others. “God is not mocked, and his judgment will not sleep forever.” [Applause.]

I often wonder how your northern-born men can show such hostility to the black man. Singularly enough, I find here in the North, as in the South, that the hatred of the



negro is not that he is black or of mixed blood, but because he is a slave. It is the hatred born of the spirit of caste, and not the hatred of color. Wherever the negro is free and is educated and owns property, you will find him respected and treated with consideration by the slave barons of the South, and by Northern men as well; especially is this so in the South, if the black man is himself the owner of slaves.

When a boy, I knew two free negro planters in Louisiana who owned a number of slaves. One of them, I was informed owned over a hundred, some of whom would easily pass for white men as readily, certainly, as some of the Bourbon leaders whom I know in this county. [Laughter.] When these black planters came to New Orleans they were greeted by the wholesale merchants, with whom they dealt, as cordially as if they had been white men. A well-filled decanter of old Kentucky bourbon (with a show of tansy in it) was as invariably set out for them as for the white planters, and there was no pretext of being shocked because they were black. One of these negro planters was said to be the owner of a man who was known to all the surrounding planters to be a pure white man, without a drop of negro or mixed blood in his veins; yet no white slave baron interfered to question this black planter's right to hold this white man as a slave, for the simple reason that the raising of such a question might bring up in court, where the common law prevailed, the ticklish and technical legal question, as to the "title" by which other human beings of all colors and shades were held as slaves in the State.

An examination of the trials in cases where white persons, through friends, had brought suit in the courts of Southern States, to obtain their freedom from slavery, and the judicial decisions reported, will disclose the startling fact that many white persons, without a taint of mixed blood, have been seized by the slave trading land-pirates and branded and sold into slavery, and that when once in the hands of the slave barons, they resisted in courts and everywhere their surrender, even when knowing them to be white and free-born. So you see, that as Hosea Bigelow has it

“Slavery aint o’ nary color,  
’Taint the hide that makes it wus,  
All it kers for in a feller,  
’S just to make him fill its pus.”

Northern mercenaries, especially Northern slave owners (of whom there are more in our great cities than we know), do not act differently.

Not long ago, a merchant of Bangor, in the State of Maine, walked into church one Sunday morning with his wife and daughter, and a big six-foot negro, as black as the ace of spades, whom he deferentially passed into his pew and seated next to his wife. A sanctimonious Bourbon in the seat behind him was greatly shocked at this defilement of the church, and reaching over whispered to his neighbor and said, “How dare you bring a damned nigger into this church and seat him in your pew next to your wife?” His friend, turning to him, quietly whispered in his ear, and said, “He is not a nigger, he is a Haytian and worth six millions.” As soon as this negro-hating Christian could recover from the surprise of this unexpected announcement, he whispered back to his neighbor and said, “After the services are over please introduce me.” [Laughter and applause.] So you see, that in the North and South alike, circumstances alter cases. [Laughter.]

The flunky Bourbons in this country would do just as their brother Bourbon in Maine did. [Laughter and applause.] So long as any man or woman can be held as a slave, even though just imported from Africa, they are not offensive to the closest contact, and to the most intimate relations, as is evidenced by the hundreds of thousands of half-breeds and octoroons in the South. [Applause.] And then, nearly all the slave barons were, themselves, nursed and cared for while children by black slave mothers. While slaves, the odor arising from any negro — on the hottest day in August — is to the delicate nostrils of the slave baron like the perfume from the attar of roses; but if these same black persons are free, that moment the odor arising from them congests the

sensitive olfactories of every slave baron, and paralyzes his palpitating heart. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. Chairman, when any one quotes the Bible, as it has been quoted to me here to-day, in an attempt to excuse, or justify, the enslavement and chattelizing of men, for whose salvation the Man of Sorrows died, I simply recognize and treat such a man as I would a person who was insane or a convicted malefactor. [Applause.]

The clergyman, who, in Boston, announced "that he would send his own mother back into slavery if she were an escaped fugitive, and the Constitution required it," is a fitting representative of that class of pious parvenues, who thus quote the Bible, and "steal the livery of heaven to serve the devil in." [Applause.]

With shame I am compelled in this year of grace 1856 to confess that this bastard clergyman has his disciples in Ohio. Can you conceive, fellow-citizens, of a blacker villainy, or one more brutal and vile, than the sending of one's own mother back into slavery, law or no law, Constitution or no Constitution? ["We can't."] And yet I have seen with my own eyes, the well-known half-brothers and half-sisters of slavẽholding families, sold on the auction block to the highest bidders by professedly Christian men. ["Shame!"] Do you wonder that the hearts and consciences of the best men and women of our country are outraged and shocked at such infernal crimes? ["No."] The only wonder to me is, that the nation does not rise in overwhelming force and abolish such diabolical villainy, and properly punish the monsters who are guilty of such fearful wrongs. [Applause.] And there are other crimes inseparable from any form of slavery, quite as brutalizing and revolting as the selling of half-brothers and half-sisters; but I will not now attempt to describe them. It is enough for you and me to know that such frightful crimes are but part and parcel of a system which demands the enactment of such inhuman laws, touching the ownership and government of slaves, as you will find in the statute-books of all the Southern States. Let me read from a book which I hold in my hand, a few paragraphs (and not by any means the most offensive). These paragraphs are from some of the so-called

State laws and judicial decisions of slave States. They will give you a partial conception at least of the venality and brutality of slavery, and I hope a clearer insight into its moral degradation. Such laws and their interested judicial interpretation, by judges who themselves are slave owners, present, as I see it, a compilation of villainy enacted into law, without a parallel in the history of any civilized people. Listen to this, and you will not wonder at what Jefferson said, when he declared "that he trembled for his country when he thought of the negro, and remembered that God was just." [Applause.]

Let me read what the slave barons have enacted into law.

"Slaves shall be deemed, sold, taken, represented and adjudged in law, to be chattels personal, in the hands of their owners or possessors, and their executors, administrators and assigns, to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever."—Laws of South Carolina, 2d Brev. Digest 229, Prince's Digest 446.

"Slaves cannot make a contract, cannot own or hold property, cannot even contract a marriage."—Prince's Digest, page 28.

"The cardinal principle of slavery is, that the slave is not to be ranked among sentient beings, but among things, as an article of property, a chattel personal, and these facts obtained as undoubted law, in all these States."—Stroud, page 23.

"It is plain, that the dominion of the master is as unlimited as that which is tolerated by the laws of any civilized country, in relation to brute animals and quadrupeds."—Stroud, page 24.

"In case the personal property of a ward shall consist in specific articles, such as slaves, working beasts, plate, books, and so forth, the Court may at any time pass an order of sale."—Laws of Maryland.

And, as if this diabolical villainy, in the form of law, were not enough, there was added to it, on demand of the slave barons, enactment after enactment, in all the slave States (and I blush to own it, here in Ohio and in a number of the so-called free States), which denied to the negro, or to

any persons with negro blood in their veins, the right to testify in any court of justice against the most brutal and degraded white man—even if he had committed the most revolting offenses against life or property, or the sanctity of their wives and daughters.

We had just such barbarous enactments on our statute-books, here in Ohio, placed there on demand of the slave barons. These laws were very properly called the “black laws” of Ohio, and these accursed laws might have been on our statute-books to-day, but for the demand of the old anti-slavery guard for their repeal, and the honorable agreement, of which I have spoken, that which the manly Free-soilers made with the anti-slavery Democrats, at the time Chase was elected Senator, and thus secured their repeal and removed forever this foul blot from the name and fair fame of our State. [Applause.] And I do not believe that there lives within our fair borders to-day, a creature, claiming to be a man, however brutal and brazen, who would dare to rise in the legislature and propose to re-enact into law, the villainous black statutes which we then repealed. [Applause.] Even the cross-roads statesmen, whom I encountered yesterday and to-day, would not have the unblushing effrontery to do such an infamous act—although they have had the hardihood to say to me, that they would aid in hunting down and capturing an escaping slave. [Applause.]

The land-slave pirate knew, that he could not safely nor successfully carry on his infamous kidnapping trade of stealing free persons and selling them into slavery, if the persons he was kidnapping were permitted to testify, even before a slave baron’s court and a jury on which, as a rule, there would be secured one or more silent partners of the kidnapper.

For this reason the land-slave pirate had such so-called laws as I have described enacted in all the slave States and in a majority of the free States, and in both Northern and Southern States he had these infamous laws supplemented with others, such as would facilitate and render more secure his execrable traffic in the bodies and souls of men. Thus they had laws passed in all the slave States, which invited every unhung villain, to arrest any person of so-called African descent whom he might decoy within the jurisdiction of the right kind of a

court and county officials, where he could have the free persons so seized, thrown into jail without a hearing, under the pretext that the person thus arrested was an escaped slave. After he was safely landed in prison, he would be advertised as the law directed as "a runaway slave taken up," as you advertise stray cattle in here Ohio, in which advertisement the owner of said person would be "officially notified" to come forward within the time named in the advertisement, claim such person, prove property, pay charges and take him away. This advertisement was often no more than a written notice posted upon the prison door, because in many counties of the Southern States there are no newspapers published.

In this notice the so-called "owner" and the public would be bluntly informed that the person so taken up on suspicion, would be sold into slavery for life to pay his "jail fees."

Mr. Chairman, the theory on which this blackest of crimes is sought to be justified is, that the person so arrested is the slave, or ought to be the slave of some one, and if not, that it is dangerous to slavery as an institution, to permit such a free person to be at large. The example would be bad, and might result in other slaves escaping. He is, therefore, taken up as you would take up a stray horse, with this difference, that the horse is not sent to the county jail, while in all the slave States the human being is. After he is kept in jail the length of time prescribed by law, he is publicly sold into slavery for life — and his posterity after him — to pay his involuntary indebtedness to the State in the shape of "jail fees" charged for keeping him. ["Horrible! Infamous!"] A majority of the persons thus sold, so far as my observation went, were free persons (and I have seen a number of such cases), and they were sold, as a rule, to the very land-slave pirates who caused their arrest. In this way, thousands of persons, born beneath our flag and as free as you or I, have been seized and sold into slavery for life, and to-day are toiling for slave barons in the rice- and cotton-fields of the South; and if you or anyone for you, or for them, should go down there with the conclusive proof of the freedom of any such person held as a slave, under color of a sheriff's title such as I have described, and attempt by legal process in any court to

have them released, you, or those you sent down there on such a mission of justice, would be fortunate if you got away with your lives. [Cries of "Horrible! Infamous!"]

True, as your hearts involuntarily cry out, the crime of enslaving men is "horrible and infamous," for slavery is the spirit of piracy, the spirit of avarice and the spirit of despotism combined. It is a heartless and soulless trinity, and "the sum of all villainies," as declared by the great and good Wesley. [Applause.]

During the Revolution and in the early days of the republic, a majority of all the great men of the South, who battled on the field and in the forum for our independence, especially the great men of Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina, were outspoken in their opposition to the institution of slavery. [Applause.] And yet, within a few years, this monster wrong, this crime of the centuries, has fastened its fangs into our national life, and strengthened and grown, until it has demoralized and debauched a large part of the entire nation, north and south. [Applause.] In truth, we have reached such a depth of moral degradation, that the Chief Executive and our highest judicial tribunals, state and national, are known to be the open apologists and defenders of this revolting villainy. [Applause.] In the eyes of all civilized peoples, we are, to-day, regarded as a nation of liars and hypocrites, professing devotion to the principles of liberty and justice, while pirating on the land and on the sea for men, women and children, with the avowed purpose of reducing to slavery all the weak and defenseless who can labor, whether Africans, South Sea Islanders, Chinese Coolies, Indians or white men. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I must not forget to state that by the laws and judicial decisions of all the slave States, the child follows the condition of the mother. It would have been fatal to the legal ownership of half-brothers and sisters, and ultimately to the institution of slavery, if the law had provided that the child of a slave mother should follow the condition of the father. With such a law, in a hundred years or less (as the amalgamation of the races now going on in the South shows), there would result universal emancipation. [Applause.] Let me read one more paragraph:

“Two hundred years have sanctioned and sanctified negro slaves as property. The moment the incontestable fact is admitted that negro slaves are property, the law governing movable property attaches itself to them, and secures to the owner the right of carrying them from one State to another, where they are recognized as property.”

Can two hundred years, or any number of years, “sanction and sanctify” oppression and wrong, so as to make oppression just, and wrong right? [Applause.]

This monstrous and indefensible proposition was deliberately affirmed, in the language just quoted, by a no less person than Henry Clay, of Kentucky, in a speech delivered by him in the Senate of the United States, February 7, 1839.

If then, a slave is property and a chattel, and not a man, he cannot make a contract, and so cannot at law be in default for service. If, as a chattel, he can be legally in default for any service required, then the slave baron may legally go into court and sue his mule for services, whenever his mule balks and kicks, or runs away and refuses to render the “service” which his owner claims. [Laughter and applause.]

The confounding of the word “person” as used in the Constitution, with the word “slave,” which is not once used in the Constitution, has from the first given the slave barons much trouble. And but for the fact that national and State judges, claiming to own “persons” as property, were carefully and craftily selected by the slave barons for all officials, and especially for all judicial positions — State and national — no such perverted and dishonest construction of our national Constitution would have been possible. [Applause.] On the contrary, I affirm, that if our national Constitution, together with the preamble and the debates in the great convention which framed it, including the Declaration of Independence, had at any time, within the first half-century of our national life, been submitted for judicial interpretation to a commission, impartially selected from the most eminent jurists and lawyers in the world, say one or two each from France, Germany, Australia, Italy and Switzerland (omitting England if you will), no such perverted and rascally interpretation as we have had from our courts, affirming the right



of property in man, could have been given by such a court, or judicial commission. [Applause.]

Fellow-citizens, having deliberately perverted and judicially misinterpreted our national Constitution, the slave barons next proceed to debauch and degrade the Christian church by perverting and misinterpreting the Bible, so as to make the church the bulwark of American slavery, and the Bible its most formidable citadel.

The sight of a slave pirate captain on a ship in mid ocean crowded with slaves just captured in Africa, calling his pirate crew together on his quarter deck Sunday morning, and reading and expounding the Bible to them, and proclaiming (between drinks) that slavery was a divine institution, would be a spectacle less revolting than that of the Boston clergyman, of whom I have spoken, and not a whit more revolting than many of the acts which may be witnessed every day of the year in all the Southern States. [Applause.] But I deny that the Bible anywhere authorizes or justifies the crime of American slavery. Whatever injustice and oppression may have been, and perhaps was authorized, or tolerated, under the Mosaic dispensation, it was, as I read and understand the Bible, abolished and prohibited under the dispensation and teaching of Christ. But if the Mosaic code is still in force, then I demand that "cities of refuge" shall be established all over this broad land of ours, as numerous and as near each other, as the cities described in the books of Numbers and Deuteronomy, and that when an escaped slave reaches any of such cities, he shall not be given up to anyone who may claim to own him as he must now be given up here in Ohio, or in any free State, if we obey the infamous fugitive-slave law; a law which I never have obeyed, and by God's help I never shall. [Applause.] And then, if you will turn to Leviticus, you will find, in every fiftieth year, under the Mosaic code, that there was a year of jubilee, in which year every slave was free. [Applause.] If the Mosaic code is to be maintained, then I demand that we have a year of jubilee in this country now. [Applause.] We have never had a year of jubilee since the first slaves were landed at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1620, more than two hundred years ago, in which time we should have had four distinct half-century years of jubilee, if

the Mosaic code is to hold. [Applause.] I need hardly tell you, fellow-citizens, that if I had the power, we would have a general jubilee in this year of grace 1856. [Applause.] The gentlemen on my right, who good-naturedly interrupts me, says, "there is no danger of such a jubilee in this country during his or my lifetime." That is more than probable, I must admit, but it is not impossible, and it is no less his duty and mine to work for it, though it may not be probable. [Applause.] I am an optimist, and a more hopeful man than my friend. I believe that the right is certain to triumph, and I hope to live to see the day when my country shall be free from the blighting curse of human bondage. I know not how nor when the time will come, but I have an abiding faith, that somehow, sometime, the end will be. The God-defying judgments of our Supreme Court must be reversed, and the declaration of the grand men, who founded this Government, that "the national Constitution did not recognize property in man," must be made universal law. [Applause.] If this can be done in no other way, it will become our duty to amend our national Constitution and all our State constitutions, so as to secure to every living human soul within our gates, their right to life, liberty and property, and it must also be amended so as to secure to all States, representatives in Congress, and in State legislatures — in proportion to the votes cast in each, to the end that all the people, white and colored, shall be fairly represented in State legislative assemblies and in the national Congress. [Applause.] If this proposition is now a recognized duty, touching an amendment to our national Constitution, it must also become a duty touching an amendment to the State constitution of Ohio, and all State constitutions, South as well as North. [Applause.] The time has gone by, when the Government of the nation, or that of any State, can, without protest, be dominated over by the minority, and be administered by organized force and fraud, in the interest of a privileged class. [Applause and cries of "that's so."]

For nearly half a century, less than three hundred thousand slave barons have ruled this nation morally and politically, including a majority of the Northern States, with a rod of iron. They have rode, and to-day are riding over

us politically, and, as it were, on horseback—booted and spurred—and appropriately armed, as the recognized champions of the barbarism which they so fittingly represent. Before the advancing march of these slave barons, with bloodhounds and shot-gun, the great body of Northern public men, claiming to be statesmen, the pulpit and the press, lawyers and judges, merchants and political camp-followers—including all office-holders and office-seekers—have bowed down, and are to-day bowing down, with their hands on their mouths and their mouths in the dust, with an abasement as servile as that of a vanquished, spiritless people, to their conquerors. [Applause.] This domination of the slave baron is to-day so demoralizing and so servile, that I fear we are doomed to see, in this year of grace 1856, the election to the Presidency of that prince of all Northern Janus-faced politicians, James Buchanan.

[At this point Mr. Ashley was again interrupted and asked, “why he did not, as a delegate to the Philadelphia convention, vote for the nomination of Judge McLean, if he had any doubt of Fremont’s election.” In reply, Mr. Ashley said:] I answer you frankly, that I do not believe in nominating a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States for the Presidency, nor do I believe in nominating the judge of any court of record—national or State—for a political office. I know Judge McLean personally, and regard him as among our ablest and purest public men, but I did not want him nominated by the Republican party for President. [Applause.] Had Robert Rantoul, of Massachusetts, been living, I should have voted for his nomination as soon as Mr. Chase’s name was withdrawn. As it was, after it became clear that Governor Chase could not be nominated, I voted for the nomination of General Fremont, because I felt confident that he would best unite all the elements of opposition to Buchanan. [Applause.] Here Mr. Ashley was again questioned and asked, “Is not Fillmore a better representative of the South than Buchanan?” Mr. Ashley said: I answer you without reservation or qualification, that he is not. Mr. Fillmore is nothing but a “decoy duck,” and is simply being used by the slave barons to catch Northern doughface suckers and political eunuchs. [Applause.] His abasement

and self-stultification became so complete, when, as the acting President, he approved the fugitive-slave bill, that the slave barons know he can no longer be of service to them, except as a "decoy duck," and they are now working him for all he is worth, just as they used and worked Daniel Webster without scruple and without a blush. [Applause.] From the day he delivered his 7th of March speech, the slave barons did not pretend to use Webster even as a "decoy duck," but simply treated him as a "dead duck," and as he deserved to be treated for his betrayal of Massachusetts and the North. [Applause.] No, sir, do not deceive yourself, the slave barons know their men; they know that Mr. Buchanan is the safest, most compliant, and most available Northern man for their purposes. They tested him as United States Senator, as chief of the conspirators who signed the Ostend Manifesto, when he was minister to England, and again when he was Secretary of State. In no position ever held by him did he once disappoint, on the slavery question, his exacting masters. [Applause.] All his life he has been a suave, putty-man, ready and willing to be molded and stamped with the brand of the slave barons. [Applause.] Shame and sorrow must come to us as a people, and overwhelm us with disgrace and dishonor as a nation, if such men as he are charged with the administration of our Government. [Applause.] Let no man be deceived. We cannot escape forever the doom that awaits us, if, as a nation, we deliberately continue in our present guilt and infamy. [Applause.] But, thank God, I know that we shall not continue in our present guilty, downward course. I have an abiding faith that the hour of our deliverance is nearer than the world knows, or dreams. With God on our side, I have often said, that one is a majority. [Applause.] And you and I know that to-day we have millions of true and brave men on our side, such as old Governor Ritner, of Pennsylvania, who officially refused to deliver up a fugitive slave, and of whom Whittier sung in words that will never die:

"Thank God for the token, one lip is still free,  
One spirit untrammelled, unbending one knee,  
Like the oak of the mountain, deep-rooted and firm,

Erect, when multitudes bend to the storm;  
When traitors to freedom and honor and God  
Are bowed at an idol polluted with blood;  
When the recreant North has forgotten her trust,  
And the lip of her honor lies low in the dust,  
Thank God, that one man from the shackles has broken,  
Thank God, that one man as a freeman has spoken!  
O'er thy crags, Allegheny, a blast has been blown,  
Down thy tide, Susquehanna, a murmur has gone  
To the land of the South, of the charter and chain —  
Of liberty sweetened with slavery's pain;  
Where the cant of democracy dwells on the lips  
Of the forgers of fetters and wielders of whips!  
Where 'chivalric' honor means really no more  
Than scourging of women, and robbing the poor!  
Where the Moloch of Slavery sitteth on high,  
And the words which he utters, are,  
    'Worship, or die!'

[Applause.]

Fellow-citizens, I do not class all men who are the owners of slaves, as "slave barons," or pro-slavery conspirators, hostile to democratic government. Many men hold slaves who got them by inheritance, and circumstances beyond their control compelled them to remain slave owners.

I personally know a number of slaveholders who are better men than you would suppose possible under the slave system which environs them. Their acts told me, more forcibly than their words, that their hearts were not in accord with the accursed system under which, by birth, education and surrounding conditions, they were compelled to live. Such men would always give their worthy and trusted slaves a half day to themselves on Saturday, and sometimes all of Saturday, with the right to own and hold such personal property as they might earn during their holidays. Such men would permit their slaves to have their marriage solemnized by a regularly ordained clergyman of any church they might select. Of course such men could not be induced to purchase newly imported African slaves from a slave dealer, nor purchase a person whom they had reason to suspect was a free

man, who had been kidnapped, either in a free or in a slave State, as has often been done by slave dealers. Such a slave master would no more be guilty of buying and holding as a slave, a free white man, or Chinaman, or black man, than he would think of buying and holding a stolen horse. So I say, that such slavemasters are better than the American slave system, under which thousands of men, white men, mulattoes, Chinamen and foreigners, as free born as you or I, are to-day held as chattel slaves, and there is, practically, no escape for them or their children but in the grave. [" Horrible! Infamous!"] But the men whom I have just described, are no more believers in slavery than was Thomas Jefferson and thousands of Southern men, who were born to this dangerous and degrading inheritance. [Applause.] Such slave masters frequently permitted their slaves to buy their freedom and that of their wives and children. I have known personally of a half dozen instances of that kind.

Now let me give you a clear view of a fellow who is a "slave baron" at heart, and I regret to be compelled to say that I have known of more than one such "slave baron." I have known an instance where slaves bargained for their freedom with masters who at heart were "slave barons," and after the price had been nearly all paid, the poor negro without notice was seized and sold South, from his family and all the home he had.

Under the American slave system, the law declares, as I have read you, that a slave cannot own property, cannot make a contract, cannot even enter into a contract of marriage. He, therefore, can be seized and sold at any time, like a brute beast, and there is no escape in any slave State from this terrible condition. [" That's so. "]

When about eleven years of age, I was greatly shocked and my feelings outraged by this occurrence. Two slaves belonging to two different owners, each made a bargain with his master to purchase his freedom. One was to pay a thousand dollars, and be free as soon as he paid it, with no limit as to time. The other was to pay eight hundred dollars, if paid within five years. If the time went beyond five years, the price was to be eight hundred and fifty dollars. Many of the neighbors knew of these agreements. Each of these slaves

worked in season and out of season to earn the money for his ransom. As fast as each got a few dollars ahead, they paid it over to their master, trusting to him to keep the account honestly. In something over three years' time, one had paid his master nearly nine hundred dollars, and the other over five hundred dollars, when, without notice, and without an attempt on the part of the masters to conceal the perfidy and the infamy of their acts, both slaves were sold, and unceremoniously seized by the slave trader, manacled and chained in a coffle-gang and driven off South and were never more seen or heard of by their families or friends, so far as I know. [Cries of "Shocking! Shameful!"] Do you wonder that I was outraged at this indescribable villainy? [Cries of "No, we do not."] And I am glad to be able to tell you that there were many honest, pure-minded men and women in that neighborhood, some of whom were slaveholders, who looked upon this dishonoring, God-defying act, as simply infamous. [Applause.]

This horrid occurrence so worked upon me, that I have never forgotten it, and my heart has never ceased to rebel against a system which tolerates and makes possible such diabolical crimes. [Applause.]

Before I was twenty years of age, I had drawn up a plan to aid slaves to purchase their freedom, and to provide by statute law against a repetition of such villainy as I have described. [Applause.]

There are a number in the audience who have heard me more than once explain the plan, and my boyish hopes in connection with it, and how those hopes were defeated and blasted. So I will not repeat it now. [Someone spoke up and said, "There are many here who never heard it, and who we know would like to hear it."]

"Well," said Mr. Ashley, "the afternoon is slipping away and I have not the time. It will give me pleasure to tell you about it, the next time I am with you for a speech. [Applause.]

Fellow-citizens, in what I have said, I have sought to make my purpose so plain, that he who runs may read. I am determined that no honest man shall misunderstand my appeal. I therefore repeat, that I am unutterably opposed to

the ownership of labor by capital, either as chattel-slaves, or as apprentices for a term of years, as Chinamen are now being apprenticed in Cuba and in this country, ostensibly for seven years, but in reality for life.

I do not agree that capital shall own labor, North or South, nor in any country on God's green earth. [Applause.] I do not care whether that capital is in the hands of one man or in the hands of many men combined. Neither the state, nor a corporation (which is an artificial person, and often a soulless one at that, created by the authority of the state), must be recognized as having the right to deprive any person, however poor, whether white or black, of his life, or liberty, or property, except in punishment for crime, of which he must be duly convicted in open court by a jury of his peers. [Applause.] This protection I demand for myself and mine, and that which I demand for myself, I demand for the humblest of God's poor, of whatever kindred, tongue or people. I demand for every human soul within our gates, whether black or white, or of mixed blood, the equal protection of the law, and that everywhere beneath or flag, on the land or on the sea, that they be protected in their right to life and liberty, and the secure possession of the fruits of their own labor. In short, I demand that all of God's children shall have an even chance in the race of life. [Applause.] You will, I know, agree with me, that it is the duty of a civilized state to protect the weak and defenseless against the aggressions of the selfish and the powerful, to protect them against the heartlessness of greed and the brutality born of the infernal spirit of caste. [Applause.] Whatever the pretext or excuse, I am opposed to all forms of ownership of men, whether by the state, by corporations, or by individuals. The ownership of men, as chattels, by the state, would be the most brutal and degrading form of slavery which the devilish ingenuity of man could invent. If I must be a slave, I would prefer to be the slave of one man, rather than a slave of a soulless corporation, or the slave of a state. But I protest in the name of that liberty which is the birthright of the human race, against the enslavement by individuals, by corporations, or by the state, of any of God's children, however poor or defenseless, whether white or black. [Applause.]



Fellow-citizens, you will readily understand, from what I have said, that I do not believe slavery can legally exist in this country, a single hour, under an honest interpretation of our national Constitution.

I differ with my friends Garrison and Phillips, on this point, and do not admit that our national Constitution is a "covenant with hell and a league with death." [Applause.] On the contrary, I hold that if our national Constitution was properly interpreted, that a slave could not breathe anywhere, on the land or on the sea, beneath our starry flag. [Applause and "that's true."]

I was asked to-day by a defender of slavery, whether if I were a judge, I would obey the command (as he expressed it) of the Constitution, and return a fugitive slave, if one was brought before me, by his owner or claimant. I intended in what I have already said to have answered this question, but I am again asked, by my friend on my right, to answer specifically, and I reply now, as I replied then, that I would not; that were I a judge, I should interpret the Constitution for myself and not as others might interpret it for me. You know General Jackson said that he interpreted the Constitution for himself, as his oath required he should do, and that he did not recognize the right of any man, or body of men, to interpret it for him. This ought to be good law for my questioner, who is doubtless a professed disciple of "Old Hickory." [Applause.] In a case such as has been presented, I should follow in the footsteps of General Jackson, and interpret the Constitution as I understand it. I SHOULD HOLD, THAT UNDER OUR NATIONAL CONSTITUTION, NEITHER THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, NOR THE LEGISLATURE OF ANY STATE, HAD THE POWER TO MAKE A SLAVE ANY MORE THAN TO MAKE A KING. [Applause.] If, therefore, any person should present himself before a court, in which I was acting as judge, and claim a human being as his property, I should require him (as a just and upright judge of Vermont is said to have done), as a condition to making his claim good, that he produce a bill of sale from the Almighty, and if he could not do this, and produce a bill of sale with a genuine signature, I should cause him to be arrested as a kidnapper, and send him to the penitentiary for the full term

provided by law for kidnapping. [Applause and laughter.] If I am clear about any clause in the Constitution, it is the clause which is always quoted to justify the fugitive slave law. I deny that the Constitution anywhere, either in letter or spirit, confers on Congress the authority to pass a fugitive slave law of any kind. On the contrary, I claim, that an intelligent, honest reading of the Constitution, and the debates in the convention which framed it, will convince any fair-minded man, that Clause Three (3) of Article Four (4) of the Constitution, does not confer on Congress the power to pass any law for the return of fugitive slaves, and certainly no grant of power to Congress can be found in that instrument for the passage of such an act, as the infamous fugitive-slave law of 1850. [Applause.]

Let me read the clause relied upon by the slave barons and their Northern lackeys, for a justification of the present fugitive-slave law. Clause Three (3) of Article Four (4), Section Two, reads as follows:

Clause III. "No person, held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

This clause and each clause in Article Four (4), Sections One and Two, are simply a compact stipulation and mandatory on the States, and confers no authority whatever, direct or indirect, on Congress. [Applause.] When you go home read the Constitution and see if I am not right. Wherever power so important as this, is conferred by the Constitution on Congress, it is conferred, and intended to be conferred, by express grant, and in clear and unambiguous language, and not by implication. Turn to Section Eight (8) and read from Clause One (1) to Clause Eighteen (18), and you will find that all the grants of power to Congress are given in direct and unmistakable language. It reads, "The Congress shall have power, etc.," and Article Ten (10) of the Amendments distinctly provides that "The powers not delegated to the Congress of the United States, by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or the people." [Applause.] In no section of the Constitution is there a

grant of power to Congress to enact laws for capturing and returning persons held by the laws of any State to service or labor, either for a term of years or for life — nor is there any authority given for the capture and return of criminals escaping from one State into another.

The slave code of every slave State, denies that slaves are “persons,” and describes them as chattels personal, or as property. The words used in Clause Three (3) of Section Four (4) of the Constitution describes “persons held to service or labor,” and in Clause Three (3) of Article One (1), Section Two (2), as “bound to service for a term of years,” but nowhere describes them as slaves. The phrase, “held to service or labor,” and “bound to service for a term of years,” are legal technical phrases, and can only be applied to persons who are bound or held by a contract, which they themselves, or their lawful guardians, may have legally executed “for a term of years,” and cannot possibly mean slaves, because no person, black or white, or of mixed blood, can legally sell himself into slavery or make a contract, binding on himself for life, with a provision that his posterity shall be slaves and chattels forever. [Applause.] Nor can a guardian lawfully sell a minor into slavery.

The interpretation put upon this clause of the Constitution by the slave barons, is a forced interpretation, and an outrage on the meaning of language, and on all known rules of law. When this clause was under consideration in the convention, a proposition was made to insert a distinct provision for reclaiming fugitive slaves. It was promptly opposed by the ablest men in the convention, and abandoned without a vote, and the clause concerning “persons,” from whom service or labor may be due, was adopted unanimously and without debate. So you see, that the refusal of the convention to provide for the rendition of fugitive slaves, by national authority, is a historical fact. [Applause.] As the text of the Constitution which I have quoted, and the debates in the convention clearly indicate, the power to pass a fugitive-slave law was not conferred on Congress, and I am confident that no such power was intended to be conferred. All that can be fairly claimed for that clause, is that it is a com-

pact stipulation and simply mandatory, on the States. [Applause.] With the same parity of reasoning, it might be claimed, on the authority of Clause Two (2) of Section Two (2), Article Four (4), that Congress had the power to pass a law for the capture and return of criminals escaping from one State into another. If this claim were made, and Congress should pass such an act as the fugitive-slave law, including the denial of trial by jury, and the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, what a howl we should hear from the apostles of States' rights, and strict construction of the Constitution. [Applause.] And yet, Congress has precisely the same authority, under the grants of power in the Constitution, over escaping criminals, that it has over persons escaping from service or labor due under the laws of any State. [Applause.]

Mr. Madison, who by common consent, has by all parties been called the "father of the Constitution," repeatedly declared during the sitting of the convention, "that it would be wrong to recognize in the Constitution, the idea that there could be property in man." In view of this well-known fact, is it to be supposed that the intellectual giants in that convention, those men of brain and high patriotic purposes, intended to give, or thought they were surreptitiously giving, to the new government which they were creating, the power to keep up a perpetual slave hunt throughout the republic, for fugitives guilty of no crime but that of escaping from the most infernal despotism on earth? [Applause.] Is it conceivable that they intended to make all citizens of the republic slave hounds, and that the first and most important function of the free government, which they were establishing, was to be the catching and returning of fugitive slaves? [Applause.] Did they intend that this free government which they were organizing, should be dismembered and destroyed, as the slave barons and their northern allies now threaten to do, the moment the National Government failed to obey the insolent and infamous demands which they are to-day making upon us, that we capture and return to them, at public expense, all their escaping human chattels? [Applause.] Are we to believe, that a majority of the members of that memorable convention, who had just passed through the fire and blood of the Revolution — a revolution conceived and achieved to

establish the God-given rights of personal liberty—would have been so false to their principles and professions, as to induce them to voluntarily grant to Congress the power to force them and their posterity forever, to engage in an everlasting slave hunt, for the benefit of a few slave barons? [Applause.] Thank God, that not one jot or tittle of evidence can be found to sustain a change so monstrous and so infamous. [Applause.] But I am told by men who claim to be constitutional lawyers, and by cross-roads statesmen, who accept the acts of Congress and the adjudication of courts as “finalities,” that Congress has passed fugitive-slave laws, and that the highest court in the nation has affirmed their constitutionality. With shame and humiliation, I admit that Congress has passed such laws—laws which the prince of darkness could not make blacker—and I admit that the Supreme Court has affirmed their constitutionality. From this gross interpretation of the Constitution, I appeal to the hearts and conscience of the people, who can make and unmake courts and relegate to private life all so called law-givers who deceive and betray. [Applause.] An enlightened and patriotic people are certain at no distant day to abolish the infamy of slavery and consign its champions and apologists to the loathing and contempt which awaits them in history. [Applause.]

If the overthrow of slavery and of the slave barons can be accomplished in no other way, it must be done by an amendment to our national and all our State constitutions, and eventually, as I have heretofore said, we must go further than this, and amend our national Constitution, so as to provide for the election of the President and United States Senators by a direct vote of the people, and the election of Representatives to Congress, in such manner as to secure to the minority of the voters, in each State, their proportion of members in Congress, from every State entitled under any apportionment to three or more Representatives. [Applause.] And I hope to live long enough to see this democratic proposition become a national issue, and I am sure you will agree with me, that it is now a national duty to inaugurate such a movement. [Applause.]

Horace Mann once said to me, that he despaired of the

republic, when the so-called compromise measures of 1850 were passed by Congress. I answered him, that I did not despair, nor did I propose to surrender, and I tell you as I told him, that though our political sky is stormy and dark, I have an abiding faith, strong and clear, and I believe that I shall live to see the day when liberty and justice shall everywhere triumph in this fair land of ours. It cannot be that this long, dark night of shame and crime will endure forever. [Applause.] At any rate, I intend, by God's blessing, to keep this faith or none. [Applause.]

Fellow-citizens, as the great Roman Senator invariably closed every speech he made, either in the Senate or to his army, whether on questions of administration of finance or of war, with the declaration, "But Carthage must be destroyed," so I, for the hundredth time or more, close my speech to-day with the declaration, that come what may "AMERICAN SLAVERY MUST BE DESTROYED." [Applause and cries of "Go on."]

But, fellow-citizens, I find that I have spoken over two hours and detained you much longer than I intended. ["Go on, go on," came in chorus from many voices.] I would be glad to do so, if I were not posted to speak to-night in West Unity. Of course I must not disappoint our friends over there, and you see, if I go there to-night I shall be compelled to stop now. I thank you for the compliment implied in your request to "go on," no less than for the approving and generous applause you have given me during my speech.

In closing, let me ask that every earnest man and woman before me, shall each for themselves put on the simple but invincible armor of Truth, and with the sword of the Lord of Gideon, that you go forth conquering and to conquer. Not with the sword of Moloch, and the banner of sedition and blood, but under the spotless banner of the Prince of Peace. In the inspirational language of our beloved Quaker Poet,

"Not mine sedition's trumpet-blast  
And threatening word;  
I read the lessons of the past,

That firm endurance wins at last,  
More than the sword.

“O, clear-eyed Faith, and Patience, thou  
So calm and strong!  
Lend strength to weakness; teach us how  
The sleepless eyes of God look through  
This night of wrong.”

[“Amen! Amen!” and applause.]

*Letter from Bishop E. W. Arnett, Chairman of Committee.*

When we began the task assigned us, we decided to begin with the speeches and addresses delivered by Mr. Ashley after his first election to Congress, in 1853. But in reading a number of his campaign speeches made in 1853-54 (before the Republican party was organized), and in 1855-57, when Salmon P. Chase was elected governor of Ohio, we determined to add to the matter already stereotyped, at least one of his old-time abolition stump speeches, and selected the one made at Montpelier, Ohio, in 1856, because we happen to be personally cognizant of the historical facts stated, about the election of Mr. Chase to the United States Senate, and the repeal of the black laws of Ohio. We are confident that the reader will thank us for including with this collection this masterly old-fashioned stump speech and the extracts from the Bowling Green and Mt. Gilead speeches following.

B. W. ARNETT.

## EXTRACTS

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FROM SPEECH MADE BY HON. J. M. ASHLEY AT BOWLING  
GREEN, WOOD COUNTY, OHIO, DURING THE  
CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN OF 1862.

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. . . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have been asked to-day, as I have been asked before, why I did not reply to the deluge of slanders with which my personal and political opponents assail me in this canvass. I answer you frankly, that I do not, because I know by observation and reading that against the politically vicious and brutal, neither character nor integrity nor ability can successfully cope in any political campaign. As a rule the unscrupulous political maligner has the first and the last word, and men of self-respect cannot descend to a personal discussion with them. [Applause.] In my political campaigns I have attempted to follow the simple and practical maxim laid down by Washington, who, when questioned by his friends (as I have been questioned here to-day) as to why he did not answer his slanderers, said, "THAT TO PERSEVERE IN ONE'S DUTY AND BE SILENT, IS THE BEST ANSWER TO CALUMNY." And a higher authority has commanded those "who are reviled, to revile not again." [Applause.]

By my public and private acts, whether official or unofficial, I demand to be judged. My official acts and public utterances are matters of record, and cannot be altered or falsified except by fraud and forgery, and fraud and forgery cannot long be successful.

As the most reckless of my maligners have not, thus far,



assailed the integrity of my private life, I can afford to say to each and all of them as "Uncle Toby" said to the fly, which had for a long time exasperated and annoyed him. When he caught it, he walked deliberately to the open window and permitted it to escape, with the benevolent and philosophical remark, "Go, poor thing. There is room enough in the world for both thee and me." [Laughter and applause.]

Instead of entering into a controversy with the political plotters and conspirators who are assailing me, and have deliberately misrepresented and misinterpreted my official acts and public utterances, I have on more occasions than one said as I now say, that I prefer to treat all such reckless maligners with silent contempt and to walk backward, as I now do, with averted gaze [walks backward, with head turned], and with the broad mantle of charity cover their moral and political nakedness. [Applause.] I have lived long enough to learn that those who walk in the sunshine of fame must ever and always be followed by the shadow of envy. But life is all too short, and its mission too grand, for me to waste my time and strength in answering the slanders of the campaign maligner. I have therefore determined to so live, as to write my friendships on the granite, and my enmities in the sand. [Applause.]

. . . . .

Mr. Chairman, again I affirm, as I have often affirmed when addressing the Republicans of this District, that slavery is not only the foe of the human race, but that it is especially the foe of every working-man in all civilized lands; and I appeal to the working-men of America, to strike hands and aid us in crushing this slave barons' rebellion, and thus aid in preserving our national unity and in securing national freedom. Strike hands against disunion and for a war which, when successful, will bring unity and peace, a union which shall be free in fact as well as in name. Strike for the right of every man, whether white or black, to own himself and the fruits of his own labor, so that in all our broad domain, there shall not be a single slave. Strike for co-operation and against monopolies; for a free ballot for all, black as well as white, and equitable representation in Congress and in all

legislative assemblies, State or municipal; strike also against the one-man power in our Government.

Have faith in the future and in each other. Be assured that behind this slave barons' conspiracy, if successful, there is being prepared fetters for all working-men, and monster monopolies will then be organized which will reduce all laboring-men, practically, to the condition of chattel slaves. Be not deceived; slave labor degrades and cheapens the labor of every free man, and I do not hesitate to declare that from this hour, henceforth and forever, there can be no enduring peace so long as slavery dominates in the national or in any of our State governments.

The power in our hands for its destruction will be invincible, whenever as a unit, the working-men of America decree that it shall die. The gilded curtain which has so long dazzled but to conceal the great crime of the slave barons' rebellion, will be rent in twain by the breath of the enfranchised working-men of America, whenever they will it. If you but listen with me, you will hear, as I now hear, the measured and triumphant tread of an organized army of independent working-men, who with a freeman's ballot in their hands are marching with music and banners to battle and to victory. [Applause.]

And when that hour of victory for true democratic government shall come, as it is certain to come, what a change there will be in our national life, when contrasted with the dark conditions which overshadowed the republic when, as a boy, I first visited the national capital. Then, on all sides, the clanking fetters of the slave greeted one's ears. Now, the songs of liberty and hope everywhere cheer you with their welcome.

“When first I saw her banner wave  
Above the nation's council-hall,  
I heard beneath its marble wall  
The clanking fetters of the slave.

“In the foul market-place I stood,  
And saw the Christian mother sold,

And childhood with its locks of gold,  
Blue-eyed and fair with Saxon blood.

“The flag that floated from the dome  
Flapped menace in the morning air;  
I stood a periled stranger, where  
The human broker made his home.

“For crime was virtue: Gown and Sword,  
And Law their three-fold sanction gave,  
And to the quarry of the slave  
Went hawking with our symbol bird.

“On the oppressor’s side was power;  
And yet I knew that every wrong,  
However old, however strong,  
But waited God’s avenging hour:

“I knew that truth would crush the lie —  
Somehow, sometime, the end would be;  
Yet scarcely dared I hope to see  
The triumph with my mortal eye.

“But now I see it! In the sun  
A free flag floats from yonder dome,  
And at the nation’s hearth and home  
The justice long delayed is done.

“Not as we hoped, in calm of prayer,  
The message of deliverance comes;  
But heralded by roll of drums  
On waves of battle-troubled air!

“Not as we hoped; but what are we?  
Above our broken dreams and plans  
God lays, with wiser hands than man’s  
The corner-stones of liberty.”

[“Amen” and “Amen” and applause.]

## EXTRACT FROM SPEECH

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MADE IN 1865 BY HON. J. M. ASHLEY, AT GILEAD, WOOD  
COUNTY, OHIO.

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. . . . .

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** It is claimed by the unconditional Union men of the nation, and conceded by all thoughtful citizens, that the constitutional power of the National Government is ample for its protection and defense. But I go a step further and claim that under the Constitution, Congress alone has the power to determine what shall be the future relations of all who have been in rebellion against the Government, and also what shall be the future relations of the slaves whom it made free when Abraham Lincoln, by his Emancipation Proclamation, invited them to enlist in its armies and aid in putting down the slave barons' rebellion.

If this proposition be not true, then, indeed, as a nation are we powerless and defenseless in the future against organized conspiracy and internal public enemies. True, we have crushed the rebellion, and the clash of arms no longer resounds within hearing of the national capital, but our hour of victory is also our hour of humiliation and defeat, if the moment a truce is proclaimed by the generals in command of the contending armies, the vanquished may assume in defiance of the Congress of the United States all the political power and authority which they had in each of the rebel States, and in the legislative halls of Congress, prior to the rebellion. If this amazing claim should be conceded by us, then, indeed, will the joy of the loyal white and black men of the South be turned to sorrow and mourning! If we are

guilty of the folly and criminality of surrendering them to the tender mercy of their enemies and ours, we will be of all men most guilty. [Applause.] Can it be that after having emancipated four millions of human beings so that no person can hereafter hold and treat any man as a chattel slave, we are powerless to prevent his late master from making him the slave of the State? Heaven forbid. [Applause.]

. . . . .

Mr. Chairman, there comes a period in the lifetime of every man of individuality and strong convictions, when ideas take complete possession of his heart and brain, which, if conscientiously followed, will carry him far beyond the conservative line of prudence, and enable him, despite prejudice and hate, the selfish interests of men, and the formidable barriers of human law, to contribute something to the inauguration of needed reforms, and changes in society and governments. Such men are ever present in all nations, with the "higher law" written in their hearts. They come to us with an inspiration which causes them to live simple and pure lives, and to labor for others with an unselfish devotion which the world does not understand, and which none can appreciate who do not know something of the inner life of the leaders of men, who follow their own thoughts, with the sublime faith of a child. These are the men who intuitively know what is really right and best for the human race; men whose great thoughts and inspirations cannot be suppressed by the social or political regulations of society and governments, nor by unjust provisions of constitutions or the penal enactments of statute-books. That which they believe to be true they are ever ready to maintain, though they suffered the penalty of the law which killeth. [Applause.]

The musty precedents of governments, the regulations of society, the penal demands of law, may punish by fines and imprisonment or social ostracism, but the law of the Great Supreme breathes into the soul of such a man, a power which makes his thoughts outlive them all, and causes the development of a more perfect and better state of society and government. [Applause.]

Such were the anti-slavery men and women of America,

the latchet of whose shoes the mass of men of their day were not worthy to unloose. They came to us with the gospel of liberty in their hearts, and oppression fled before them. Like heroes divinely commissioned, when any one of them "blew a blast upon his bugle-horn 'twas worth a thousand men!" You can now all look back and know that each blew a blast which aided in destroying the oppressor and liberating the oppressed, so that to-day, within all our borders, the sun does not rise nor set upon a single slave. [Applause.]

All this has come to us because a chosen few dared to put God's law above all human law, and to give the best thought of their lives to the accomplishment of a great and holy purpose. You all know that I have been a humble and devoted follower and active co-worker with these grand men and women, whom we all affectionately call the "old guard."

During our great anti-slavery battle I have not been a "camp-follower," as many of you can testify. [Applause.] In the coming battle for the enfranchisement of the black man, I need not tell you that I shall not rest until he is clothed by constitutional provision, with an American citizen's cleanest and purest weapon—the ballot. [Applause.] As the ballot is the most formidable weapon of protection and defense for you and for me, I demand that the same weapon shall be secured to every black man, and that he be protected in his right to use it as freely and peaceably as we use it here in Ohio. [Applause.]

In doing this, we shall quit ourselves like men, and the gates of fortune shall open wide for us, as a nation. In doing right for the helpless, we shall gain strength ourselves. Self-exertion evermore gives fresh hope and a faith that endures and with patience waits. Then let us

“Seek for strength in self-exertion;  
Work, and still have faith to wait;  
Close the crooked gates to fortune;  
Make the road to honor straight.

“Follow out true cultivation;  
Widen education's plan,

From the Majesty of Nature,  
Teach the Majesty of Man.

“Feed the plant, whose fruit is wisdom;  
Cleanse from crime, the common sod;  
So that from the throne of heaven  
It may bear the glance of God.”

[Applause.]



Letter from Rev. S. T. Mitchell, President of Wilberforce University.

The foregoing speech, made at Montpelier in 1856, and the extracts following from speeches made in Wood County in 1862 and '65, reflect with clearness and power the advanced anti-slavery opinions held by Mr. Ashley at the date of their delivery, and make his anti-slavery record so complete that we have found "no word or thought which we could wish to change or blot." Observation teaches us

**S. T. MITCHELL.** that there are but few young men with character and ability strong enough to answer calumny by silence, and be able to live on a plane so high as to rebuke and answer, by acts, not words, all political falsehoods; and still fewer men, young or old, who in the midst of detraction, can declare as he did in the foregoing extract made from his speech at Bowling Green in 1862, that he had determined to so live as to silence the maligner and to quote his own language, "to write my friendships on the granite, and my enmities in the sand." We have never read anything grander in any speech.

**S. T. MITCHELL.**

## ADDRESS

OF HON. JAMES M. ASHLEY, OF OHIO.

---

DELIVERED IN THE U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
MARCH 31, 1864.

---

ON THE DEATH OF HON. OWEN LOVEJOY, OF ILLINOIS.

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MR. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, on Friday night last the immortal spirit of Owen Lovejoy passed from earth. This sad message, borne on the lightning's wing, carried sorrow to the hearts of millions. In his death the nation has lost one of its ablest, most accomplished and eloquent sons, the slave a faithful friend, and true democracy a cherished defender.

I was not at his bedside and cannot tell you how he died. The world knows how he lived; and such a life I am sure could only have a fitting close in a Christian death. Let us learn by his heroic example that

“We live in deeds, not years; in thoughts, not breaths;  
In feelings, not in figures on a dial.  
We should count time by heart-throbs. He most lives  
Who thinks most, feels the noblest, acts the best.”

Mr. Speaker, the death of our friend was not wholly unexpected by me. For more than two years, at our committee meetings, I have witnessed with anxiety, month by month and week by week, the fire of his eye grow dim and the vitality of his organization gradually yield to the approaching destroyer. Though not full of years, he was crowned with



honors, and descended to the tomb with the benediction of a nation upon his head. He lived to see the seed he had sown ripen into grain, ready for the harvest. He saw the dawning of the morn so long and so anxiously looked for by the friends of freedom in the United States; but he was not permitted to remain with us to join in the general song of joy which awaits the triumph that ere long shall regenerate the nation. That Providence which cannot err, has, for wise purposes, called our friend and brother to his reward.

While we sorrow for our loss and sympathize with his bereaved family in their deep affliction, we can truthfully and with exultation say:

“The great work laid upon his manly years  
Is done, and well done. If we drop our tears,  
Who loved him as few men were ever loved,  
We mourn no blighted hope nor broken plan  
With him whose life stands rounded and approved  
In the full growth and stature of a man.”

. . . . .

## ADDRESS

OF HON. JAMES M. ASHLEY, OF OHIO.

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DELIVERED IN THE U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
DECEMBER 17, 1868.

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ON THE DEATH OF HON. THADDEUS STEVENS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

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. . . . .

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, in the death of Thaddeus Stevens this House has lost one of its recognized leaders, and the nation one of her most distinguished sons. In his departure we shall miss another of the uncompromising heroes of our anti-slavery revolution.

Elijah and Owen Lovejoy are entombed, the one at Alton and the other at Princeton, Illinois. Adams and Pierpont sleep beneath the soil of their native Massachusetts; Theodore Parker at Florence, in Italy; William Leggett at New Rochelle, New York; Nathaniel P. Rogers by his native Merrimac; Gamaliel Bailey within the shadow of the national Capitol; Giddings and Morris and Lewis in Ohio; James G. Birney in New Jersey; David Wilmot and James Mott in Pennsylvania; John Brown at North Elba, New York; and there are others whose lives were as heroic and beautiful and unselfish, whose names I need not recall. To these must be added more than three hundred thousand, the fallen heroes and martyrs of our liberating army, who sleep on every national battle-field, from the heights of Gettysburg to the banks of the Rio

Grande. Pre-eminent among all this invincible army of heroes, prophets, and martyrs, is Abraham Lincoln,

“The generous, merciful, and just.”

With this grand army of unselfish patriots, his contemporaries and co-laborers, we have laid down to rest all that is mortal of our friend in the bosom of his beloved Pennsylvania.

The benediction of millions followed him to his tomb, and to-day in the free home of every black man, and of all men who love liberty, there is sincere sorrow and mourning.

Never again in these council halls will he deliberate with the people's representatives, nor awaken the nation from its lethargy by his genius and wonderful power.

The honorable gentleman whom his constituents have elected to succeed him on this floor, and those who have preceded me, have spoken so fully of his early life, his heroic struggles, and his personal history, that I need not add a single word.

Through some of the most eventful years in our history I have been intimately associated with him on this floor. During all that time, which included the darkest hours in the nation's life—hours which tested the constancy and courage of men—he bore himself with such unquestioned fidelity to the cause of human freedom, as to command even the respect of political opponents and the cordial indorsement of all liberty-loving men.

As we engage in the memorial services of this hour, and bear him again in our hearts from this Capitol and the scenes of his struggles and wonderful triumphs, let the nation stand with uncovered head and its bells peal forth the solemn sound of an anthem more appropriate than any words of mine:

“Toll, toll, toll,  
All mortal life must end.  
Toll, toll, toll,  
Weep for the nation's friend.  
Oh, the land he loved will miss him,

Miss him in its hour of need,  
Mourns the nation for the nation,  
Till its tear-drops inward bleed.  
Let bands of mourning drape the homestead,  
And the sacred house of prayer;  
Let the mourning folds lay black and heavy  
On true bosoms everywhere.

“Toll, toll, toll,  
Never again — no more —  
Comes back to earth the life that goes  
Hence to the Eden shore.  
Let him rest,— it is not often  
That his soul hath known repose.  
Let him rest,— they rest but seldom  
Whose successes challenge foes.  
He was weary, worn with watching,  
His life crown of power hath pressed  
Oft on temples sadly aching —  
He was weary; let him rest.  
Toll, bells at the Capitol,  
Bells of the land, toll,  
Sob out your grief with brazen lungs,  
Toll, toll, toll.

Mr. Speaker, though death come never so often, he casts at the portals of the tomb shadows ever new and mysterious, and ever and always hath for the living his admonitions and his lessons.

By the side of the grave we all realize that there are voices whispering to us out of the shadowy silence beyond the river.

In such an hour we see with the natural eye “as through a glass darkly,” but we have the promise that if faithful we shall see “face to face.” As there is no race of men without the idea of a God and a future life, so in the presence of death it is natural for all to pause and think of the life beyond.

What is to be the destiny of our friend in “that undiscovered country from whose bourn no traveler returns,” it is

wisely not given us to know. Let us hope that he has gone up into the presence of the God of nations and of men, bearing in his hands some of the broken fetters which have fallen from the limbs of our four million emancipated bondsmen. These shall testify of his fidelity to justice and to his love of the human race.

In that great day when the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed, I trust it may be said to him by the Father of all, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." And that this will be said, I may without presumption hope, for whatever may be the theories of men, whatever our hope for ourselves or for others in the life which never dies, let us trust that better than all our faiths, and more comprehensive than our grandest conceptions, an all-wise Creator has ordained a plan as broad as the universe, and as just as it is infinite, which will compensate in the future life every soul which has struggled and suffered for mankind in this.

Mr. Speaker, there are moments in the experiences of all when we cannot convey to other hearts the emotions of our own. To me such a moment is the present. So many reminiscences are crowding upon me, and so many wonderful scenes in which our departed friend was an actor are passing as a panorama before me, that I feel how short I should come of doing them or him justice were I to dwell upon them. No man who loves his country and has passed through those scenes in these halls can ever forget them. When I first entered this House, ten years ago, Mr. Stevens was one of the first to take me by the hand and welcome me. From that day until the day of his death he was my friend, and often my adviser and counselor. However often I may have differed with him, as I often did, there was one question about which we never differed: the question of the necessity of the immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery. Of the practicability and justice of destroying slavery he never doubted. I am thankful that he was spared to witness the end of that indescribable villainy. I rejoice to know that as the gates of the eternal world opened up before him he was permitted to look back upon the land he loved and nowhere behold the footprints of a single slave. Because of his

unwavering fidelity to the poor bondsmen, who, in the presence of a nation of oppressors, were manacled and powerless and dumb, I came to venerate him; and because I venerated him while living, I come to-day to cast a garland upon his tomb. In this selfish world there is nothing which so strongly enlists my sympathies and so much commands my admiration as a heroic and unselfish life spent in the interests of mankind. To me it is the most touching and beautiful of all human struggles.

In espousing the cause of the slave more than forty years ago, Mr. Stevens voluntarily accepted social and political ostracism, and patiently endured the persecutions of ignorant and maddened men, for whose highest interest he was laboring. He did this without fee or hope of political reward, simply because he believed it to be right; and because he was right we shall some day see the children of the men who stoned him, gladly join hands with the liberated slave, in bearing back the stones, in the shape of blocks of whitest marble, with which to build his monument.

I do not assume to write his epitaph. In a speech delivered in this House January 13th, 1865, he said — I read from volume fifty-four of the Globe, page 266:

“I will be satisfied if my epitaph shall be written thus: ‘Here lies one who never rose to any eminence, and who only courted the low ambition to have it said, that he had striven to ameliorate the condition of the poor, the lowly, the downtrodden of every race and language and color.’”

The grand blows which he struck in his great battle for liberty and justice will long survive him and leave their impress upon all lands, strengthening the purpose of the toiling and struggling millions of earth. His successful life-battle should teach us the value and self-sustaining power of a life consecrated to the best interests of his country and his fellow-men.

In this impressive hour, while reviewing his heroic and unselfish acts, let us renew our vows of fidelity to the great principles which he so long, so ably and so faithfully maintained. Let us, here and now, pledge our lives anew to the cause of human liberty and human progress, resolving that no obstacle nor selfish interest shall cause us to falter, so

that when we descend to the tomb, the benedictions of mankind shall bless us, as they now bless him for whom we mourn, and it shall be said of us as it is now said of him:

“He hath not lived in vain.”

After a long and stormy battle, with a record which the friends of freedom will ever cherish, full of years and crowned with honors, he—

“Has gone from this strange world of ours,  
No more to gather its thorns with its flowers;  
No more to linger where sunbeams must fade;  
Where, on all beauty, Death's fingers are laid.  
Weary with mingling life's bitter and sweet;  
Weary with parting and never to meet;  
Weary with sowing and never to reap;  
Weary with labor and welcoming sleep,  
In Christ may he rest, from sorrow and sin  
Happy, where earth's conflicts enter not in.”

## HON. JAMES M. ASHLEY'S ORATION

ON THE DEATH OF D. R. LOCKE.

---

A FITTING AND TOUCHING TRIBUTE TO HIS MEMORY.

---

FROM THE TOLEDO BLADE.

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There was deep silence when the speaker, in tones reverent and low, commenced his oration at the bier of the man who had for many years been his personal and political friend.

He said: My friends, we have come together to-day to testify our respect for the living, and discharge our last tender duty to the dead.

When the shadow of a great sorrow falls upon us, we naturally turn from the darkness which surrounds us, to catch a glimpse of the coming of the first rays of morning light. So by the side of every new-made grave, our hearts gladly welcome the thought of another and better life beyond.

Without assuming to have a knowledge of the hereafter, we come reverently to lay our friend down to rest, and we do not question that, "after life's fitful fever he sleeps well."

The last time I looked upon the face of our friend, I was impressed with the belief that his life's work was finished; that his last battle had been fought, and, I doubt not, that as soon as he became conscious of this fact, he desired to depart and be at rest.

It is as natural to die as to live, and because this is true, I do not look upon death as the arch enemy of man, but rather as his friend.

When, therefore, a friend pays the last debt of nature, I



would not clothe myself in sackcloth and rebel against the divine law which has set a limit to human habitation, and said to each and all: "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return."

No thoughtful man of mature years desires to live in this world of struggles and disappointments forever. Certainly I should regard it as a mercy, if the finger of death could be laid upon each one of us the very day our life's work was done, or whenever we became helpless and hopeless, or our sufferings and sorrows outweighed the pleasures and joys of life.

If Mr. Locke could never again have entered upon the active duties of life, it was a blessing that the merciful finger of death was laid upon him, and he called to that "bourn from which no traveler returns," where we all hope sorrow, disease and death can never come.

I have no wish to magnify the virtues of my friend, nor at the expense of truth to excuse his errors. The living ought to be able to learn by the faults, not less than by the virtues of public men, and when I add that he was human and like all men "prone to err as the sparks are to fly upward," I have said all that truth and duty bid me say.

Those who did not know Mr. Locke could not understand him. This is the fate of every man of genius, and because he was not thoroughly understood, his words and acts were often sharply criticised and sometimes unsparingly condemned. That he was a man of great ability and force of character, all concede; and his intimates know that he was always true to his convictions and faithful to his friends. It is true that he did not believe in, and could not subscribe to, any of the formulated religious dogmas of our popular churches.

He often said to me: "I cannot believe in such creeds, and shall therefore neither accept nor affirm any." And then he would quote from the "Sermon on the Mount:" "If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in Heaven give good things to them that ask him." With this faith, or no faith; this religion or no religion, "he wrapped the drapery of his couch about him and lay down to pleasant dreams," sincerely believing that the Power which created

him was both able and willing to take care of him. "And that God's greatness flows round our incompleteness, around our restlessness, His rest."

Mr. Locke was a tireless worker. He could not be a drone, nor eat the bread of idleness. "Industry," with him, was one of the cardinal virtues.

I need not add a single word to what has been so well and appropriately said touching Mr. Locke's literary and journalistic career.

When, in after years, the history of Ohio and Toledo shall be written, Mr. Locke's ability and claims to remembrance and distinction will have the fullest and amplest recognition.

His greatest work was in behalf of the nation's unity and integrity during the war of the rebellion. Through the "Nasby" letters he spoke every week to millions of men. These letters strengthened the arms of soldier and statesman alike, and everywhere inspired with hope, zeal and courage the nation's defenders. The humor and satire of these letters were never equaled. Their satire was as keen as a Damascus blade, and their humor as broad as the continent. They shamed the "doughfaced" statesman and "doughfaced" churchman into a recognition of the humanity of the negro, and did more than to-day can be estimated, to break down the unreasoning prejudice against the black man, and consolidate the sentiment and judgment of the nation in favor of the emancipation and enfranchisement of the slave.

These letters were read by Lincoln, Sumner, Chase and Stanton, and all the leading statesmen with whom I was intimate, with a delight and pleasure which one incident will fully illustrate:

One morning I called early at the White House and was seated in the President's room, before he came in. As he walked along his private hallway, I heard him as I supposed talking to himself. He started a little on seeing me, not expecting to find anyone in his work room at that early hour; and at once said, with a glow on his face: "I was just repeating a passage from one of your friend Nasby's letters," and repeated the paragraph which had so impressed itself on his mind. He then added, "I want you to invite Nasby to come

to Washington and make me a visit; and you may say to him that I would be willing to resign the Presidency if I could write such letters." Such was the esteem in which Mr. Locke was held by all men of ability and genius.

Mr. Locke was also a voluminous and able writer on many subjects, and a pronounced partisan. He believed in party government rather than individual government, and therefore labored unweariedly for the success of the Republican party.

Next to his Nasby letters, I regard his "Pulverize the rum-power" articles as the ablest papers from his pen. These articles undoubtedly struck the hardest and most effective blows which have been delivered in recent years against the liquor traffic, and have been so recognized by the ablest men who are battling for the cause of temperance.

That Mr. Locke was a many-sided man, all who knew him personally well understood. There was a strange blending of hope and doubt, of humor and sadness, of love and hate, in his character. The humorist and man of business, however, was but a part of the sum total of his being.

Some years ago I met him on Broadway, New York, and he invited me to join him. While seated at a table he drew from his pocket and read me the hymn which is to be sung here to-day, "Come unto me." I was charmed with its beauty and touched with its sentiment and spirit, and said: "David, read that to me again," which he did, and in that hour I comprehended more clearly the breadth and depth of his poetic and religious nature. And it must be, that from this religious nature, sprung the great moral force which he so heroically wielded in battling for the right.

"We live in deeds, not years,  
The battle of our life is brief,  
The alarm, the struggle, the relief,  
Then sleep we side by side."

Such, in brief, is an imperfect outline of Mr. Locke's life as I have known him publicly as a co-worker, and socially as a friend, for more than a quarter of a century.

And now, as we lay away his earthly body in the grave of eternal silence, we reverently and hopefully, oh Father of light and life, commit into Thy care and keeping all that is immortal of our loyal, steadfast friend.

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When Governor Ashley related the incident and the occasion of the writing of the hymn, "Come Unto Me," by Mr. Locke, the voice of the speaker failed him. His eyes filled with tears, and his lips quivered with emotion. When he had finished speaking there was scarcely a dry eye within the sound of his voice.

**Letter from Bishop B. W. Arnett.**

When selecting the speeches in this volume, and arranging them for publication, especially when reading the foregoing tender and affectionate tributes to Lovejoy and Stephens, and to his personal friend, David R. Locke, the members of our committee repeatedly asked themselves, "What is Mr. Ashley's religious faith?" Unable to determine, one of our number was requested to write and ask him the question direct. The reply was characteristic for its frankness, and it would have given us pleasure to publish it (as we have three of his letters), had it not been marked "Personal and private." From a mutual friend, to whom we wrote for the information wanted, we learned that "Mr. Ashley never held to a written creed, and that he is not a member of any church organization." But he writes, "All of Mr. Ashley's acts and speeches breathe the religion of humanity, and tell me more certainly than words, that he has a faith, even though he does not adopt and conform to any special form of worship. Years ago I knew him quite well, and occasionally talked with him on religious subjects, and I betray no confidence when I tell you that he has always been a liberal giver to charitable and church work, and those who know him intimately will tell you, as I do, that his mind is so organized, and his faith so simple, that both his head and heart refuse to be limited to what he calls 'the incompleteness of a written creed.' More than once he said to me, 'that, of dogmas old or new, there was in his mind no trace of such forms left,' and 'that he had outgrown the sectarian exclusiveness of his early religious training.' 'The best of creeds,' he would say, 'are but man-made, and that he had never been able to give his consent to any religious dogma as a FINALITY, nor conform his life to the narrowness of a written creed.'" As I read the man, he is in respect to his religious faith not unlike Whittier and Sumner, Lincoln and Greeley, and men of their peculiar type of mind.

**B. W. ARNETT.**

## GOVERNOR ASHLEY ON O'CONNELL.

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HIS CENTENNIAL ORATION THAT WAS DELIVERED NOT WHERE  
IT WAS PROMISED, BUT AT THE OPERA HOUSE, WHERE  
IT WAS WELCOMED WITH GENEROUS APPLAUSE.  
TOLEDO, OHIO, AUGUST, 1875.

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MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I come not to-night with a set speech, nor a speech such as I would like to make in response to the invitation which brings me here; but I come to testify in the fewest and most appropriate words I can command, my admiration for the heroic life and public and private worth of him who for nearly half a century was Ireland's great leader, statesman and patriot. I need not tell you after what has been so happily and so eloquently said about Ireland and her great leaders, and what I know will be said by those who are to follow me, that I feel conscious I ought not to detain you long with such a speech as I will probably make, and I promise you that I will not.

Mr. President: Daniel O'Connell was indeed an Irishman, and right loyally may Ireland claim him as her favorite son, and in her heart of hearts cherish his memory with filial affection. But O'Connell was also a citizen of the world, in the same sense that Washington was a citizen of the world. To my mind, however, the great Irish Liberator was more like the great liberator of America than any other historic American. In his wit and wisdom, in his patience and love of justice, and in his sympathy for mankind, O'Connell was so much like Lincoln that all who have studied the characters of the two men, know that had Lincoln resided in Ireland and O'Connell in this country during the great battle of each, that the one would have been as heartily for the libera-

tion of Ireland as the other would have been for the emancipation of the slaves in America. [Applause.]

Am I not therefore warranted, and are not all men who love liberty warranted, in claiming citizenship with O'Connell, and may I not on behalf of over four millions of slaves, so recently made free, claim him as one of the noblest and most faithful of their early champions? I know that all who have read O'Connell's unanswerable appeal against slavery will say I may. So likewise may the oppressed and wronged of every race claim him as their friend and brother.

In every land beneath the sun,

“Wherever from kindred torn rudely apart,  
Comes the sorrowful wail of the broken of heart,”

there might the humblest reach the great heart of O'Connell, and they always found his hand outstretched with offerings of sympathy and succor. [Applause.]

So grand, broad and noble a man as O'Connell cannot be denied recognition as a citizen of the world, and so, as an American, I claim an interest in him equally with you, my brother Irishman, and with you come here to-night to join in appropriately commemorating his centennial. [Applause.]

The liberal men of all lands and of every race and creed were drawn to O'Connell because of his democratic ideas and broad, liberal catholic spirit. I well remember how my young heart went out to him when I first read his fiery and eloquent denunciation of American slavery, nor can I forget how my esteem for him grew into admiration when I came to know that he had the pluck to defy the slaveholders of the world, and that he had caused to be painted over the entrance of his home the words, “No slaveholder admitted here.” After that I did not care to know of what race he was nor to what country he belonged, nor what religious faith he professed, or whether indeed he professed any, except that which I know he had, the religion of humanity. From that day to this I have never ceased to number him among the citizens of the world, and I regard him as one of the noblest, grandest and best of men. [Applause.]

But of all the great utterances of O'Connell no one

of them has caused me to pause so often and think dispassionately, as that wonderful speech in which he declared that "No revolution was worth the shedding of one drop of human blood."

Naturally enough, I belonged to the party called "young Ireland," whose leaders were O'Brien, Meagher and their enthusiastic compatriots. I deplored their divisions and sorrowed over their failure and fate, and I went back to O'Connell to remain in hearty accord with him until his death. [Applause.] Yet I confess that I have never been able to reach or maintain myself on a plane so far beyond the influence of "force" as that which declares, "that no revolution is worth the shedding of one drop of human blood." While I admit that I am as perplexed with that utterance now, as I was then, I find that I have gradually come to the conclusion that for Ireland in that exigency of her struggle, it was master leadership, and wise statesmanship. [Applause.] That O'Connell was the directing spirit of Ireland for forty years is now unquestioned; that he fought his great battle with a hope that could not be shaken and a faith that never doubted we now know; that his leadership sometimes rose to genius and to prophecy, we now comprehend. That he was an ideal, sanguine, progressive man is also true; and we have come to know that those are the men who move the world. In studying the lives of the great leaders of humanity, we have learned that true progress comes only to men and nations blessed with hopeful temperaments and an ideal faith. For such, beyond the shadowy present shines the golden, hopeful future; with this faith we can see the ideal true man, and conceive of the ideal just government. Without it there can be no progress, no heroism, no civilization. Such a faith points us ever upward and onward, making more beautiful and spiritual this human life; such a faith was Daniel O'Connell's; such is the faith of every true leader. Mr. President, I need not recount to you and to this audience the story of O'Connell's life; his early struggles, his wonderful triumphs and untimely death. All this has been presented to you better than I could do it. I may, however, without trespassing too long upon your time, pause for a moment to contemplate him as a revolutionary leader and compare him with some of

the revolutionary leaders of France. O'Connell believed that in order to have stable government the people must be educated up to the point of self-government; that the safest and most enduring revolution, was evolution; that justice was stronger than bayonets; that right was more than might; that to be permanent, a revolution in Ireland must be a revolution of peace rather than a revolution of force; that an appeal to the heart and conscience of mankind was far better than a reliance on force or fraud or cunning. Hence the foundation upon which he builded was equity, which is above justice. With this sublime moral force, which is grander than all other forces combined, he began his agitation and continued it to the end. With perfect consistency and good faith he proclaimed to Ireland and to the world a doctrine so divine in its conception, that all mankind paused to listen while he spoke. When O'Connell declared that "no revolution was worth the shedding of one drop of human blood," he poured a broadside into the camp of the enemies of liberty more fatal to despotism everywhere and more fatal to the enemies of Ireland than any battle that she had fought for seven hundred years. It was impossible not to be thoughtful after such an utterance at such a time by such a man. [Applause.]

A great general is a leader of armies, but a leader of men is such because he is a leader of ideas. Such a man O'Connell is now admitted to have been by all thinking men. The leaders in the French revolution of '93 believed in fate and not in God. They estimated men simply as "waves of the ocean" in their force and fury. O'Connell recognized truth, justice and equity as the triune basis upon which mankind might safely unite in a democratic federation of the nations of the world. Robespierre, Danton, Maret, permitted no appeal to truth, justice or equity. To all opposition their decree was "death." They erected the guillotine and called it "a virgin amazon," which, they said, "exterminated but never gave birth." O'Connell proclaimed that above the justice of revolutions were the sacred rights of humanity. This divine sentiment, wherever accepted by mankind, banishes all vengeance and hate, and sends gleams of hope and mercy like rays from a lambent flame penetrating the darkness of a cavern, to eradicate the outrages of civil war, and the indul-



gence in cruel retaliations and assassinations so often inseparable from it. [Applause.]

Mr. President, it was O'Connell's surprising eloquence and splendid leadership that awoke Ireland from a slumber so fatal to her. He organized her patriotic millions on a moral battlefield such as the world has never seen; nor should I omit to state that when these grand armies came together to listen to the voice of the great agitator, numbering at one time over a million souls, there was not a drunken man among them; there was no breach of the peace — there was simply a gathering of moral forces such as had never before in the history of mankind been gathered together to appeal in the name of justice and peace for their God-given rights. The energy which O'Connell displayed, the activity which he directed, the fiery temperaments which he restrained, the patriotism which he kindled, let us hope, still unites in purpose and glows and burns not only in the hearts of his countrymen but in the hearts of all men everywhere who hate oppression and love liberty. [Applause.]

The work he did, the power he wielded, and the influence he left behind him, have pronounced his fame and crowned his memory with the benedictions of his countrymen and mankind; may we not hope that God will ultimately bless a land and a people that could produce such a matchless hero? [Applause.]

And now, Mr. President, what shall I say of Old Ireland, the land of poetry and song, of genius and patriotism — Ireland, for so many years crushed and bleeding, but, thank God, not yet enslaved! Though she be now sitting within the shadow, deepened by the shadows of her material ruin, her poets and prophets have, through the open archways of thought, caught glimpses of that light which always precedes the dawn of the coming morn, and have prophesied her deliverance and sung her songs of triumph. By the side of her beautiful rivers, from her mountains and her valleys and her rockbound coast, there comes a sound of perpetual lamentation, like the low sighing of the vesper winds through the groves of Gethsemane, as when Christ, with weary feet and heavy heart, walked through its consecrated shades. As I hear it to-night, it is an aspirational and sublime lament,

which must ultimately reach and touch all hearts. It is the soul of Ireland from her sorrow and sackcloth supplicating Heaven for justice. Oh, God of the oppressed and disinherited, a long-suffering and heroic people, joined by the great-hearted among mankind of every race, kindred and tongue, are to-night, with uplifted voice, appealing to Thee for the redemption and liberation of Ireland. And though Ireland, under the wise leadership of O'Connell, has learned to labor and to wait, yet her people at home, as we here to-night, are crying out half impatiently, "How long! O Lord, how long!" But, whatever may betide, let us keep heart and keep faith, remembering that as it is with men, so it is with nations, and "Whoever bears the cross to-day, shall wear the crown to-morrow."

Above all, let us not permit, as did the children of Israel, our murmuring discontent to break into open rebellion against Him who holds all nations in the hollow of His hand—

—"For what are we?  
Above our broken dreams and plans,  
God lays, with wiser hands than man's,  
The corner-stones of liberty."

[Long and hearty applause.]

Letter from Prof. Henry Y. Arnett, B. S., Columbia, S. C.

Mr. Ashley made no claim to be classed with learned and finished orators. But his direct and manly appeals in behalf of an oppressed and cruelly wronged race, enabled him, when these speeches and orations were delivered, to make clear his purpose and to carry convictions to the hearts of his hearers. The lessons which his speeches and heroic life impress upon the writer, is that character and sincerity, unselfishness and truthfulness, are the true statesman's most desirable weapons. More fitting and appropriate than any thought I can write, for this foot note, are the lines of the poet, which Mr. Ashley in his address on Lincoln, at page 765, quoted and applied to the great Emancipator. I now quote and apply them to him; for of a truth, we all know, how heroically and steadfastly during the darkest nights of our pilgrimage as a race, and when the crimes of this nation against us were merciless, he

"Faithful stood with prophet finger,  
Pointing toward the blest to be  
When beneath the spread of heaven,  
Every creature shall be free."

"Fearless when the lips of evil  
Breathed their blackness on his name,  
Trusting in a nobler life time,  
For a spotless after fame."

HENRY Y. ARNETT.

## ST. PATRICK'S DAY IN TOLEDO.

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FROM THE BUCKEYE GRANGER, MARCH, 1876.

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The late St. Patrick celebration in Toledo was largely attended by natives of the Emerald Isle who reside in this place; they were accompanied by the Perrysburg Silver Band. The occasion was one of much interest, and closed in the evening with a public meeting in St. Patrick's Hall. Among the speakers was the Hon. J. M. Ashley, who delivered the following eulogium on the life and service of the "Great Commoner."

The next toast was "Daniel O'Connell," to which Governor Ashley responded as follows:

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MR. CHAIRMAN, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Before responding to the toast just read, I want to thank your committee for the very welcome invitation which brings me here to-night. When I came home night before last and found it awaiting me, I resolved that whatever else might happen, I would not repeat the "bull" which I committed at the O'Connell Centennial of last year, by unwittingly delivering a speech to the wrong audience. I made up my mind that whatever "bull" I might commit, it should not be by going to the "Opera House" instead of St. Patrick's Hall.

Mr. Chairman, it is fitting and proper that the sons and daughters of Erin, wherever dwelling around the globe, should come together, as you have come together to-night, to aid in commemorating and perpetuating the good name and fair fame of Ireland's grand heroes. You who have given three hundred and sixty-four days of the year to personal and material pursuits, can hardly do less than give one day for

old Ireland. I know there are those who say, that for foreign-born citizens to commemorate any day as you are now commemorating this, is but to promote strife and discord, and to indulge in sentimental speech which can do no good, and may do much harm. But if I read the past aright, it is to this love of sentiment in the human heart, that every land is indebted for the heroism and patriotism of its sons. To this sentiment the world owes its bravest deeds and martyrs' crowns. It was this sentiment which moved the great heart of O'Connell and made him consecrate his life to the cause of Ireland, and to the cause of liberty in every land, NOT FORGETTING THE FOUR MILLION SLAVES IN AMERICA. It was this sentiment of love for their adopted country which caused thousands of Irishmen, from Montgomery to Thomas Francis Meagher, to offer up their lives on the field of battle to defend and perpetuate American liberty. When this sentiment disappears from among men, patriotism will die in every land beneath the sun. As Father Hannin said to me a moment ago, "A man who does not love his own country, cannot love his adopted country," and I may add, nor any country.

When the emotions which in all times have moved the noblest and purest aspirations of mankind, move them no more—the mother will forget to love the child she bore, and both mother and child will forget to love the land of their birth. Thank God this can never be, with any race or kindred or tongue, and because it can never be, the sons and daughters of Ireland are here to-night with many a glad and tender memory to consecrate anew this hour with fresh resolves of fidelity to motherland. To enjoy and profit by the reflection which the utterance of patriotic sentiment gives, I accepted with pleasure your invitation to come here to-night. All the higher and better emotions which the love of country brings, are stirred afresh within me as I witness the glowing enthusiasm of those around me, who in their heart of hearts love Ireland and her historic heroes. Heaven forbid that any Irishman in America should ever forget the land of his birth; let him rather turn to her with deeper devotion, as he beholds her sitting in sorrow and sackcloth, waiting for another great leader, who like O'Connell shall sound the resur-

rection trumpet, and teach the world that she is not dead but living.

Mr. Chairman, the history of Ireland presents one continued succession of brilliant and wonderful men. Swift and Grattan, Plunkett and Curran, Burrows and Burke, Emmet and O'Connell, and a host of others familiar to you all, and whom I need not name; but pre-eminent and above them all, as a leader, educator and statesman, stands the name of Daniel O'Connell. No other name in Irish history has made so hopeful the Irish heart, nor so lighted up the political firmament of Ireland with democratic ideas. O'Connell found the Irish people broken, bleeding, disheartened, divided, and lifted them from their darkness and despair, until they could see the hopeful light of the coming morn. He united the discordant and warring factions and made them one; he educated the people up to a just comprehension of their power and dignity and responsibility. In short he created a public opinion, which breathed new life into the cause of Ireland. By his long-continued and able agitation, he secured for Ireland religious toleration, a free press and schools, and a representation in Parliament. With these weapons properly wielded the future of Ireland cannot be doubted. With these weapons she need no longer "supplicate," for soon she will have power to dictate her own terms, and the wonder of all this is—that O'Connell accomplished what he did as the apostle of peace. To the irrepressible Irish race he declared, that "no revolution was worth the shedding of one drop of human blood." He believed that every reform achieved by accident or by force, may be lost by accident or force; that only those reforms take root and grow which are born of reflection and planted with judgment, and are afterwards watered by discussion and education. He believed that it was best and safest to engraft the reforms desired into the national conscience, before attempting to enact them into national law—that only such reforms as were based upon the consent of a free and enlightened people could stand the test of time. His panacea was an educated people with a free ballot; and a government that should belong to no one person or family or dynasty, but belong to all her own children.

To me, these ideas of O'Connell embody the perfection of human statesmanship. Search all the past history of Ireland and you will find no record so clear and broad and bright as his. Carlisle says that "he is God's own appointed King whose single word melts all wills into his." What praise can exceed this? God grant that Ireland may again be blessed with a leader and a hero whose prudence and matchless eloquence shall equal O'Connell's, and such a hero and leader I believe she is soon again to have; a hero who, when he comes, shall complete the great work which O'Connell, dying, left unfinished, and thus prove himself to be the Christ of Ireland's political redemption, so that Ireland from that time onward shall stand forth erect and disenthralled, administering her own local government on the basis of liberty, federation and peace, as we do here in Ohio.

“And thou, O Ireland, green and fair,  
Across the waters wild,  
Stretch forth strong arms of loving care,  
And guard thy favorite child.”

## CO-OPERATION AND PROFIT-SHARING !

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COPY OF CIRCULAR ADDRESSED TO THE STOCKHOLDERS OF  
THE TOLEDO, ANN ARBOR AND NORTH MICHIGAN  
RAILWAY COMPANY.

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GENTLEMEN: After careful deliberation, I have determined, with the approval of the Board of Directors, to submit to the stockholders of this Company, at the annual meeting appointed for Wednesday, April 20, 1887 (for their acceptance or rejection), the following propositions touching "profit sharing," in addition to the regular wages paid by this Company to each of its officers (except its President), and all its employees.

The direct allotment to the laborer, of a share in the profits produced by his labor, is a method of distribution as old as human history; a method older than the "wage system," and one for which we have the approving judgment of many of the ablest thinkers, both in this country and in Europe.

I propose for the benefit of all who now are, or who hereafter may be, interested in the prosperity of this Company,

Letter from B. T. Tanner, D. D., one of the Bishops of the A. M. E. Church.

I was never more impressed with the justice of "profit sharing" than in a conversation I had a few years since with a resident stockholder of one of the street railways of our city, Philadelphia, Pa. Said he, "A few years ago the shares of this road were valued and sold at \$15; now they are worth and sold at more than \$100 a share." The words had scarcely fallen from his lips when we began to think of the absolute injustice of the method which gave every cent of this silent growth to the capitalist; not allowing one penny of it to go to the laborer—to the driver and to the conductor, to whom its increase could in part be credited as justly as to the capitalist. When the shares were at their minimum value, they received their \$1.50 or \$2 per day as did the capitalist receive his 6 or 10 per cent. as the case may be. But in the course of years, when by the joint labor of the driver and the conductor, blended with the money of the capitalist, the value of the shares increased almost tenfold, what do we see? We see capital appropriating to itself that which should be common to both. This, we say, is manifestly unjust, and sooner or later this method of conducting business must be changed, and give place to a method more in harmony with what is right. These drivers and conductors were not the men they were when they first entered the employ of this company. They were older and weaker, and less prepared to continue the hard struggle for life. Had they been allowed to share in the silent growth of the value of the property they were laboring to create they would have been infinitely better prepared to enter upon the winter of old age. Governor Ashley touches the heart and interest of the tolling millions in the right place, in this and other addresses on this subject.

B. T. TANNER.

especially its officials and employees, to blend with the present wage system the more ancient and equitable one of "profit sharing."

I submit this proposition for the approval of the stockholders, because I believe that the two systems, if properly united and practically administered, will be a decided improvement upon the present wage system, and advantageous alike to employer and employed.

For many years I have favored substantially the plan of co-operative labor and "profit sharing," which I now propose for adoption by this Company. In my opinion we have reached a period in the history of the "Ann Arbor" Company which justifies me in submitting the propositions hereinafter made to the stockholders, for their ratification or rejection.

And as I do not claim that the method of distribution proposed is beyond improvement, I cordially invite such amendments as may suggest themselves to any of the stockholders or employees who may receive a printed copy of these proposed rules and regulations.

#### RULE FIRST.

The Toledo, Ann Arbor & North Michigan Railway Company hereby stipulates and agrees to pay to each of its officers (except its President) and to all its employees a dividend, as provided in the terms and conditions following:

All officials and employees of said Company who shall have been continuously in its service for five (5) years or more, shall in addition to the regular wages paid to each, receive an amount which shall equal the proportion hereinafter named of such dividends on its capital stock as may be declared by the Board of Directors of this Company in any year.

#### RULE SECOND.

The basis on which a proportion of the dividends earned by this Company are to be paid to each officer and employee shall be as follows:



The Board of Directors, when declaring a dividend, shall add to the total amount of capital stock outstanding, the gross sum paid by the Company, in salaries and wages, for the preceding year, to all its employees and officials (except its President) who shall have been continuously in its service for the five (5) years next preceding the declaration of such dividends, and each of such officers and employees shall be entitled to receive in any year in which a dividend shall be declared, a dividend on an amount equal to his salary for the year preceding, as if he were the owner of a number of shares of the capital stock of the Company to a like amount, at their par value.

**RULE THIRD.**

Every officer and employee who shall have been in the service of the Company continuously for twenty (20) years or more, and voluntarily retires from its service with an honorable discharge, shall be entitled to receive, and have delivered to him, a certificate of the full paid-up capital stock of the Company, which shall equal in amount at its par value, the total sum paid him as wages for the last year he was in the service of the Company.

**RULE FOURTH.**

If any officer or employee of the Company as aforesaid, shall be so disabled, while in the line of active duty, as to be unable to resume his place for a period of six months or more, he shall be entitled to receive a certificate of the full paid-up capital stock of the Company, which shall equal in amount, at its par value, the gross sum paid him for the year immediately preceding his said disability. And if any officer or employee shall lose his life while in the line of active duty, his wife, if he has one, and if not, his legal representatives, shall be entitled to receive a certificate of the full paid-up capital stock of the Company which shall equal in amount at its par value, five (5) times the gross sum paid him for the year next preceding his death. Provided, however, that this

rule shall not apply in cases where a claim for damages is made in the courts.

**RULE FIFTH.**

These rules and regulations touching the mode and manner of paying dividends and stock allotments to the officers and employees of the Company, shall not be amended or abrogated except at a regular annual meeting of the stockholders of this Company, and then only after due notice has been given to the stockholders, thirty days prior to the said regular annual meeting, that a proposition will be made at said meeting to amend or abrogate said rules and regulations, which notice shall be published by the Secretary, with a printed statement of the change or changes proposed.

**RULE SIXTH.**

The President and Board of Directors shall have the power and authority necessary to carry into effect the foregoing plan of profit sharing and stock allotment.

**THE PLAN EXPLAINED.**

It is not my purpose in this plan of allotment and "profit sharing" to make a gift to the officers and employees of the Company, without value received. It is not intended to take from the dividends due the shareholders, and arbitrarily add to the wages of the employees without an equivalent. The bonus which it is proposed to pay to each officer and employee is to be paid out of the additional earnings and savings of the Company, which savings and earnings it is believed will be materially increased by the activity, economy and fidelity of officials and employees alike, and by a watchfulness which must result in decreasing accidents, and in securing a better understanding of the responsibilities and duties of each, as also a more perfect co-operation between all who are in the service of the Company.

It will be observed that in this plan for paying dividends,

the officers and employees run no risk of pecuniary loss. They do not own the stock and cannot be held for damages, but each will receive a dividend when earned by the Company, as if he were the owner of the stock. The wages of each is guaranteed and paid by the Company, and must be paid, even when the Company is losing money. It will be seen by this simple statement that Capital must run the risk of all losses, and pay all wages and daily expenses, whether earned by the Company or not.

In the practical administration of great corporate trusts, especially in the case of a Railroad Company, one soon learns as he cannot learn elsewhere, how absolutely inseparable are the true interests of Capital and Labor.

This plan of allotment is proposed in the confident belief that it will largely increase the net earnings of the Company, and promote zeal, economy and general efficiency; that it will also prove itself to be a valuable educator, and teach the necessity of sobriety and fidelity; and that mutual confidence and good-will is better for all than contentions and strikes.

If this plan of allotment and paying dividends is approved by the stockholders and is fairly tested, it is expected that the entire dividend paid by the Company in any one year to its officers and employees, will be more than earned by savings from loss and waste. And when each officer and employee is properly educated, he will understand that whenever he permits or causes a useless waste, or by negligence or disobedience of orders an accident results, that he always brings upon himself and his associate employees, a loss proportionately corresponding to that suffered by the Company.

The education and discipline which the plan of "profit sharing" and stock allotment above proposed must of necessity introduce, will, it is believed, be of great economic value in securing to the Company the kind and character of men who will desire to remain with it. Naturally enough, the sober, industrious and competent men (especially those with families) will seek and remain in the employ of a Company which recognizes the plan of "profit sharing" as herein proposed, and naturally enough every temperate, prudent man who saves his money, will prefer the same class of men for his associates, and the Company can rely on such men to aid

it in securing and keeping only the best and most trustworthy men in its service.

As a rule, the temperate saving man is a better workman and more reliable than one who is intemperate and improvident. Successful economy on the part of an employee, brings stability and contentment. Every intelligent, competent railroad manager estimates such a man at his actual worth, and desires to increase his wages in proportion to the amount which he saves or earns for the Company, and nothing can be more gratifying to such a manager than to see his workmen securing homes of their own, and laying up something for a rainy day.

I propose to make four (4) periods of five (5) years each (or 20 years) as the maximum period of service; and require a period of five (5) years' continuous service as a condition to securing a proportion of the profits earned by the Company. And it is also proposed for the consideration of the Board of Directors, whether, in the near future, it may not be desirable and equitable to grant in addition to the dividends and stock allotment provided, an increase in the wages paid each officer and employee who may have remained in the service of the Company for two or more periods of five (5) years each, and especially for the fourth (4) period, which completes the twenty (20) years' continuous service, at which time it is suggested stipulation ought to be made, that any of such employees could then voluntarily retire or be retired by the Company, each person so retired or voluntarily retiring to receive from the Company the amount of paid-up capital stock, as hereinbefore provided.

In addition to the "plan" of profit sharing as herein proposed and an increase in compensation for a continuous service of ten years or more as recommended, it is suggested that in lieu of any claim against the Company for damages because of accidents, that a fund for accident and life insurance be provided at an early day, in such manner as shall seem to the Board of Directors just and equitable, and providing also that all promotions so far as practicable shall be made from among the officials and employees longest in the service of the Company.

J. M. ASHLEY, President.

TOLEDO, OHIO, January 24, 1887.

## THE FEDERATION OF RAILROAD WORKERS

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AND ALL WAGE-WORKERS—GOV. ASHLEY'S ADDRESS, JUNE  
10th, 1891, TO THE INTERNATIONAL TRAIN DISPATCHERS'  
CONVENTION, ON CO-OPERATION AND STRIKES.

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FROM THE TOLEDO BLADE.

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Governor Ashley and his position on labor organizations and labor questions, with particular reference to railroads, is clearly set forth in an address read to the train dispatchers, who met in international convention in Toledo, June 10th, 1891.

### ADDRESS.

DEAR SIR: It would have been a welcome task to me could I have accepted the invitation, with which you honored me, to address your association at its contemplated annual convention in Toledo on the 10th inst. You ask me to favor your association with my views upon the problem of railway employees' organizations, so that you can read the same to your delegates assembled in convention.

The opinions which I hold touching organizations of working-men and the relations of capital and labor, are the logical outgrowth of my early fight against the right of capital to legal ownership in man. An intelligent discussion of slave ownership involved of necessity the question of the proper relation between labor and capital. Naturally enough, he who denied the right of slave barons to the ownership of their laborers as chattels, would deny the right of capital to enslave labor by any law or custom, which the hatred of race

and spirit of caste, or the avarice or selfishness of unscrupulous men might invent.

I believe that co-operation and profit-sharing will ultimately prove to be the most practical, and by far the best solution of the labor problem.

This idea has, within a few years, commended itself to the considerate judgment of many of the ablest men in Europe and in this country. The plan for profit-sharing which I prepared and which the Ann Arbor company adopted is, in my opinion, applicable to all kinds of industries in which it may be necessary to employ ten or ten thousand men.

It is, as I see it, especially adapted to railroading in all its departments, and can be used in all business co-partnerships or public corporations of whatsoever kind, and even in farming.

When laboring men shall have been properly educated, co-operation and profit-sharing will, in my opinion, as certainly take the place of the present wage system as the wage system succeeded slavery and serfdom. I send you by this mail, under separate cover, a copy of one of my annual reports.

In the appendix you will find the plan which I favor, together with a brief explanation of its practicability. An examination of this plan will disclose the fact that it is just, alike to employed and employer, and in any event, is safe for all employees.

Intelligent men comprehend that the first duty of all railroad men, employer and employed, is to stand together. The interest of one is beyond question the interest of all.

Whatever destroys the property or damages the business of a railroad company, tends to decrease the wages of employees, or both. The parasites who camp along the line of every railroad, and without visible means, subsist by plunder and disreputable practices, are in large part the result of conditions produced by railroad men in their unwise and indefensible conflict with each other, especially in the strikes, which incompetent and unworthy leaders have so recklessly ordered, to end only in defeat and disaster. No thoughtful man will ever attempt to justify or to excuse three-fourths of all the strikes which, in the past twenty years or more, railroad men

have reluctantly been forced into by men utterly incompetent to lead or direct a movement so far-reaching in its consequences as a strike on any ordinary line of railroad.

When to the delay, and sometimes to the entire suspension of the legitimate business of a community depending on such a line of railroad, there is added the wanton and malicious destruction of property belonging to the railroad company, a point has been reached which demands the united action of all honorable railroad men, for the suppression and exclusion of men guilty of such nefarious acts from the ranks of reputable railroad employees.

The accumulated property of the world belongs, not wholly to its individual owners, but in part to the citizens of the world. He who wantonly or deliberately destroys the property which legally belongs to him, because his own labor, or the labor of his ancestors had produced it, is guilty of an offense punishable by the laws of all civilized states.

He who destroys the property of another, because of some misunderstanding or disagreement, commits a crime which should exclude him from the companionship or recognition of all manly men.

I have never met more than two or three railroad managers who were not ready and anxious to promote the interests of their employees, and these two or three men were unfitted by nature and training for such responsible positions.

A large majority of railroad managers of my acquaintance are broad and liberal-minded men, who came up from the ranks of railroaders, and are in hearty sympathy with the aspirations of the rank and file, not only because they are by nature manly men, but because they themselves have been of the rank and file and know by their own experience and observation what the wants and hopes of each are.

I, therefore, repeat that the first duty of all railroad men, employer and employed, is to stand together and unitedly repel the unjust and dishonest attacks made upon railroad men and railroad property.

All men who have given the subject any reflection know that organized capital, with steam and electricity, has so changed the commercial and business forces of the world that to-day five men, by using this new power, can do the work

which thirty or forty years ago required one hundred men. This fact, now generally recognized, has prompted many of the thinking men who are in sympathy with the wage-workers, both in this country and in Europe, to urge disorganized labor to organize, not to exclude other men from work, nor to do any criminal act, but for the purpose of securing the rights and bettering the conditions of all workers and ultimately to obtain a business co-partnership with capital, not only in railroading, but in all industries, on a basis just and equitable to both capital and labor.

You ask me what plan of organization men should adopt to secure this end. That is the problem of problems, and the man who solves it will be entitled to the recognition and gratitude of all wage-workers the world over, as also of all classes and conditions of men, because, whatever plan may ultimately be adopted by railroad men, it must, in order to be satisfactory and enduring, commend itself to the great body of wage-workers in all departments of human industry.

I therefore earnestly desire that the intelligent railroad men of this country should adopt some such plan of co-operation and profit-sharing as I have suggested, to the end that it may be by them formally presented to all railroad owners and managers for their official action. Such a presentation, on the part of practical railroad men, would secure an able and prompt discussion of the principle involved, and I confidently believe in its final adoption with such modifications and additions as men of brains and experience may approve.

To this end, and to secure such an organization as the importance and magnitude of their interest demands, I favor the federation of all railroad workers in State organizations, with the entire body in all States and Territories represented in one national organization, in which every department of railroad workers shall have a proportional representation according to number of members residing in each State and Territory.

Believing that in this world the best that any mortal has is that which every mortal shares, I hold that the interest of each is the interest of all.

If this proposition be admitted, then a national federation of railroad men, and subordinate federations for each State



and Territory, should be organized, into which all reputable railroad workers should be welcome, who voluntarily desire to affiliate with such an organization by subscribing to its constitution.

The constitution of this national federation, after defining clearly the purposes of the organization and the powers and duties of all State and Territorial organizations affiliating with it, should especially provide the machinery by which all questions touching the relation of railroad workers to railroad companies will be heard and determined. In each duly organized State and Territorial and subordinate association, every member whose name properly appears on the roll should have the right secured to him to vote by ballot on all questions submitted to the organization by authority of the national or of any State or Territorial federation; and especially in his local assembly should the right of the ballot be secured to him on the demand of one-tenth of the members present at any meeting.

In this country every duly qualified elector has a right to vote by ballot for the representatives of his choice, whether that official be the President of the United States, a State official or private citizen; why, then, should not every railroad worker have secured to him the right to vote by ballot in his local federation on every question affecting his individual interest, or that of the general interest of the organization? As no railroad man would be permitted to vote in any local council who was not a member in good standing, so only those who are members and voters would be eligible to any official position as a representative to either the State or national assemblies.

Experience must have taught every thoughtful railroad man that all officials and delegates to represent them in any deliberative body, ought, after due notice of the time and place of such election, to be elected by ballot, and not by a howling mob, under the management of unscrupulous and unworthy leaders.

At such elections the minority should always have secured to them the right of representation in proportion to the ballots cast by them; no more, no less.

Provisions should be made in the national constitution of

such a federation for obtaining the deliberate opinion of every member in each State and Territory on all important questions submitted for official action. To do this practically, special provision must be made to secure proportional representation from all local, district and State assemblies, to the minority as well as the majority, when sending delegates to district or State, or to the national assembly.

The concurrent vote of not less than two-thirds, and sometimes three-fourths of the representatives in district, State or national assemblies should be required to adopt any new or untried proposition, such for instance as the adoption of my plan of co-operative profit sharing.

If a proposition, touching any subject worthy the consideration of either district or State federations or the national assembly, cannot, after open debate command a two-thirds vote or even three-fourths vote of men whose personal interests are all in favor of a just disposition of this subject, its defects must be of a character to render its attempted enforcement by a mere numerical majority very questionable.

Every individual wage-worker, who voluntarily combines in such an organization, does so not only to protect and promote his own interests, but to secure the rights and interests of all workers. He cannot afford, and will not willingly put himself under subjection to an organization, in which he practically has no voice. That he will have no voice in such an organization unless he has secured to him the right to vote by ballot, experience has amply demonstrated.

And I affirm that unless a concurrent vote of not less than two-thirds, representing the minority, as well as the majority of the organization, can be secured to each member on all questions touching individual freedom, he is in danger of being subjected to a despotic power, which might deprive him of the liberty of disposing of his own labor, and so hedge him about, as to make the bettering of his condition in life impossible.

It will hardly be claimed that a minority of the organization should be clothed with the power of administering it.

The point to be reached is to collect, with something like mathematical precision, the deliberate and unbiased judgment of every railroad worker, on every proposition in which

all who are members of the organization are interested, directly or indirectly. I therefore would provide in the national and State constitution that no separate or local organization of railroad workers, such, for instance as the "Association of Train Dispatchers," should have the power on their own motion and without the affirmative vote of two-thirds of all the workers or employees on any road, who were members of the organization, to declare a strike or do any act hostile to the interest of the majority of the employees of such railroads. I would require the question to be first submitted by the officers of the State organization to all subordinate affiliated councils in the State or along the line of railroad so affected by the proposed strike. Such a constitutional provision should secure deliberation and a vote by ballot to all railroad workers who were members of the federation and on the pay roll of the company on which it was proposed to order a strike. All such ballots should be printed, simply yes or no, and a proposition of that character ought to require a vote of not less than two-thirds in its favor to authorize the officers of any State federation to order a strike. If it be objected that a vote of two-thirds is too large and that only a majority of those present and voting ought to be sufficient, even though a minority of the total federations interested—the answer is, that, as a rule, there is always doubt about the practicability or necessity for the passage in the national Congress or in State legislatures or in any city government of any act or law, such as declaring war or amending the Constitution, or even creating a city bonded debt, for posterity to pay. Prudence requires that such acts should be done by all civil governments only after careful deliberation, public discussion, and not less than two-thirds, and sometimes a three-fourths vote of the assemblies charged with the duty of such legislation.

We cannot amend our national Constitution unless Congress, by a two-thirds vote of both the Senate and House, concur in submitting a plain and definite proposition, and then it requires an affirmative vote of three-fourths of the States to ratify it to make it a part of the Constitution.

In some States a proposition to amend the constitution

must have passed both houses of the State legislature by a two-thirds vote two years in succession, and then be submitted to the electors of such State for their acceptance or rejection by a direct vote, yes or no. No intelligent man can afford to be less careful when providing for the protection of his individual rights.

A recognition of this conservative principle in all organizations of wage-workers and especially in a federation of railroad men, such as I have suggested, is an absolute necessity, as a condition to permanence and success.

It is not possible to make an organization live and succeed by trickery and fraud.

Temporary success may be and sometimes has been secured by trickery and fraud, but in the long run injustice and crime are doomed to defeat, and when crime goes down there always go with it the men guilty of doing the wrong acts which gave them temporary triumph.

On all well-ordered railroads the importance and responsibility of the train dispatcher's department is fully recognized, and it ought not to be forgotten by any wage-worker that in all departments of human industry "responsibility" carries with it corresponding opportunities. From the ranks of the Train Dispatchers' Association are certain to come in the future, as in the past, many of our able railroad managers and prominent officials.

The whole world admires a just and manly man. It therefore requires no seer or prophet to predict that in every conflict with exacting and unjust managers such an organization of railroad workers as I have outlined, administered with prudence and dignity, will always win.

If you acquit yourselves like men, and with fraternal duty consecrate your daily toil, you cannot be defeated. On such a platform you have but to

"Stand firm, and all the world shall see  
Your light shine out o'er land and sea."

J. M. ASHLEY.

C. E. CASE, ESQ.,  
Secretary Train Dispatchers' Association of America.

## EXTRACTS

FROM GOVERNOR ASHLEY'S FIRST ADDRESS IN THE CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN OF 1890.

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Hon. C. A. King introduced Governor Ashley in a short speech. He said that the Republican Congressional convention, on the 10th of October, had chosen a candidate for Congress. That candidate had been notified and had accepted. He desired simply to present to the audience Governor Ashley.

Applause again followed when the Governor stepped forward and began to speak. He said:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, FELLOW-CITIZENS ALL: Your cordial reception and old-fashioned greeting is like a Highland welcome; and I accept it in the spirit in which it is given and thank you for it with all my heart.

In accepting the unsolicited nomination which the Republican Congressional convention of this district tendered me on the 10th instant, I feel that it is due to both you and myself at the outset to state frankly that I accept the nomi-

nation, not because I personally desire a seat in the Congress of the United States, with all its responsibilities and thankless labor, but because I believe it to be a duty, and because I sincerely believe there are formidable forces at work, which, if unchecked, must drift the nation and party into conditions of peril and disaster. [Applause.]

To avert these, will, in my opinion, require not only the united efforts of the Republican party, but the hearty co-operation of the able men of all sections and parties.

It will be my duty to present to you, in the few addresses which I shall be able to make during the short canvass on which we are entering, such facts and such arguments touching the situation of the country, and the tendencies of which I speak as may, peradventure, contribute something to arouse thinking men to the gravity of the impending conflict before us, that they may be induced to call a halt and ask themselves the question, "Whither, as a nation, are we drifting?"

The older citizens of Toledo and Northern Ohio are familiar with my manner of speech, and all know that I am incapable of concealment or evasion. In every political canvass I ever made, whether a candidate or not, I stated the issue with such plainness that no one could misunderstand or honestly misinterpret me. [Applause.]

I have always held that a public speaker should speak with frankness, simplicity and directness. That, first of all, he should so impress his individuality upon his audience as to make every thought he expressed glow with a sincerity which should stamp itself, not only on the hearts and minds of his hearers, but even on the coldest printed page, that he should so far forget his surroundings as to lose all consciousness of self, and with quiet earnestness for his only rhetoric, make his appeal as one who sees the truth, and whose lips can utter that only which he sees and believes. [Applause.]

I should like to come before you when I shall have more time to discuss the great political questions at issue, but from the hour we reached Sandusky one delay followed another, and it would be doing you great injustice to keep you longer. I will not at this late hour undertake to speak as I had intended, prior to my detention at Sandusky. I have accepted the nomination and I stand on the platform. I may

say my business is to defend the platform on which I stand.

I shall confine myself to the discussion of national issues, and shall not allow myself to be diverted from them by any side issue on which I shall have no vote in Congress. My duty to the other counties in the district, and my duty to the Republicans, should be to hold a steady hand.

[Someone on the left here cried out, "How do you stand on the gas question?" Turning towards his questioner the Governor made no hesitation, but replied: "I intend to stand for Toledo, and as I have no vote in Congress on the gas question, I will say nothing about it." The applause following was spontaneous.]

I stand for Toledo [the Governor continued], and have been struggling for thirty-nine years to build her up. I have at heart as much as any man, her interest and prosperity. Moreover, we may differ in the method by which we are to get that prosperity, and as long as I don't have to vote upon it in Congress, I shall not undertake to reconcile the difference. If a man should ask me what is my religion, I should probably tell him that it was none of his business. If I was a candidate for bishop or pope, I should recognize the justice of that question and answer it. If I was a candidate for the city council of Toledo, I should recognize the justice of questions on local interest. I do not intend to evade any question that can be of possible importance in this campaign. I should not ignore them for the sake of the fight I propose to make in this district. When I was first elected as a representative in Congress I was a very young man. I made up my mind that I would go slow and safe.

I may have made mistakes, but whatever I did, are matters of record. The slanderous hearsayers cannot put their fingers on a single vote to which they object or you object. They cannot point to a single public or private speech expressing a sentiment to which you would object. All I ask of you is to turn to the records, as to any slanders that may have been circulated twenty years ago. I don't care enough for an election to make a single dodge. If anybody asked me how I built the Ann Arbor road, I should probably tell him that it was none of his business. I got gray in doing it. While I was building it I had to borrow money, and agreed that

my lips should be sealed politically, and I would keep out of politics. But the money is paid, and I am free to talk politics now.

Now, gentlemen, on all the bills before the last Congress the Republican party was in the main right. Among them was the tariff bill. I voted for the old tariff bill, and I should have voted for this one had I been in the present Congress. [Great applause.] There may be provisions in it for which I would not have voted in Committee of the Whole, but if a bill has 70 or 80 per cent. of my ideas in it and I can't get 90, it will receive my support, and I'll take 80 per cent. No interest of the city shall escape my attention. I am the only man who ever made a speech in Congress, booming Toledo. [Laughter.] I don't think Toledo lost anything, gentlemen, whenever material interests were at stake when I was there. I may be ahead of my party now, as I was in the old anti-slavery days, but the man who is ahead of his column, and falling with his face to the foe, is a great deal better soldier than any man who is skulking in the rear, and dropping out at the first opportunity. [Applause.]

I have, as most of you know, just returned from a pleasant sojourn on the continent. While there I was not idle, and saw much that was both interesting and instructive. Even the old ruins taught impressive lessons.

The crumbling castles and prisons, and monasteries, all told of a despotism and grandeur, built on the unrequited toil and suffering and sorrow of the million, to gratify the pride and selfishness, the vanity and ambition of the few.

The press, the schools and colleges, with the co-operation of commerce and steam and electricity, have abolished the old barbarism and changed, let us hope for the better, the old order of things. But the immense standing armies of Europe are eating up the substance of the nations, and stamping with an iron hand, submission and endurance on the character of the people. This could not be otherwise with a standing army of 3,000,000 men, equipped with all the modern weapons of destructive warfare and drilled to obey the orders of their commanders-in-chief. Each of the so-called "great powers" can, on short notice, transport from 300,000 to 1,000,000 men, by steam, on land and water to any



objective point within their dominions, and hurl them against an invading army or use them to crush any internal insurrection or rebellion. So formidable are these great armies, and so thoroughly do they crush out all freedom of thought and action that they practically reduce all classes and conditions of men to enforced and abject silence, and everywhere an American recognizes the fact that even modern Europe is old, and that her people are sullenly obeying the bugle call, and keeping lock-step to the music of fife and drum. [Applause.]

Wherever, on the continent, I cast my eyes, I saw that even the young were old in manner and speech, and their faces wore a subdued and anxious look, as if life was a serious struggle with them. In our country you will find even the old young, and a vivacity in all, which is born of the freshness and hope of youth. With our people you see the elastic step and stately tread of vigorous manhood, a condition which is the natural outgrowth of personal liberty and personal independence.

No intelligent foreign observer who visits our shores can fail to note the marked difference in the characteristics of a people who live under a government of FORCE and those who live under a government of CONSENT. [Applause.]

What wonder then that on Tuesday last, as I steamed up the magnificent harbor of New York and my eyes caught sight of the colossal statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World," and I saw floating in the breeze on every hand that banner of matchless beauty, which symbolizes the dignity and sovereignty of my country, that there should have welled up, as there did, from my heart to my lips, in glad acclaim, the words of our national hymn:

"My country, 'tis of thee,  
Sweet land of liberty,  
Of thee I sing."

[Applause.]

Mr. Chairman: There are before me to-night those who will live to see the population of our country number 100,000-

000 or more—a population of manly, self-reliant, independent men, because trained in the school of freedom. A population having a common language, a common interest and a common destiny; into whose care and keeping there has been committed the most priceless political heritage ever vouchsafed to man on earth; and throughout all our broad domain, from hamlet to city, on river and lake, from the summit of every wind-beaten mountain, and in the quiet homes of every sheltered valley, from the fragrant shade of the sweet magnolia blossom to where our chill north winds sigh through the stately pines; everywhere, from center to circumference and from ocean to ocean there shall go up from all hearts and all lips but one aspiration and that for the unity and glory and grandeur of the republic; there shall be recorded but one oath, that of fidelity to the Constitution and loyalty to the flag, and all national songs shall be songs of thanksgiving and songs of triumph. And everywhere beneath the nation's ensign there shall be heard but one MALEDICTION and but one INVOCATION, DISASTER, DEFEAT and DEATH to him who DESERTS or DISHONORS or betrays that flag, and LIFE and HEALTH and JOY to him who dwells in peace beneath its radiant folds. [Continuous applause. And the band struck up "America," as the vast audience began to leave the building.]

## MEMORIAL ADDRESS

AT WAUSEON, MAY, 1892.

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MR. PRESIDENT AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, FELLOW-CITIZENS ALL: I need not tell you that your generous greeting quickens my pulse-beats and stirs my heart with pleasurable emotions. You can all see, without my telling you, how glad I am to be with you to-day. I do not wish to disguise the satisfaction I feel at receiving from you such an old-time welcome.

This occasion recalls to my mind other meetings of a like character here in Fulton County, and many faces once well known among you; as also, the fragrant memory of scores of grand men and women who in the days agone, were my unselfish steadfast friends.

Many of those now hidden from our earthly sight were moral heroes, worthy of our remembrance and of honorable mention, not only here, but everywhere. In my heart of hearts, there is always a memorial tribute ready to be offered up to the memory of such noble friends as have passed from here to the realms beyond the stars.

Mr. President: Every memorial service, however simple, recognizes a sacrifice or attests a martyr. Every memorial monument, erected by voluntary contributions (as was this one), is intended to perpetuate the memory and the heroism of those who fell either on the field or in the forum battling for the right. Every flower placed on the grave of a dead hero, or festooned in wreaths on a monument, as on the one before us, testifies to the present and to future generations, how we honored the men who fell and the cause for which they yielded up their lives.

In a few short years the last surviving soldier who participated in the great conflict, which we are to-day com-

memorating, will have passed with the benedictions of a grateful people, to the higher and better life beyond.

As the coming generations of men shall pause, as pause they will, before this and other like monuments, the question which each for himself will ask, must be: For what did these men voluntarily offer themselves up as a sacrifice? Was the cause for which they fought and fell, a just cause? Did it represent a principle worth fighting for, and if need be worth dying for? If the answer which comes shall be such as the truthful historian must chronicle, when the passions and mad acts which made the great rebellion possible shall have been softened or forgotten, the answer must be, "that they did not die in vain." The answer must be, "that in their triumph the God-given right of every human soul to life and liberty was affirmed, and the unity and power and glory of the republic confirmed."

. . . . .

When the rebel armies surrendered, not all which might have been, nor all that ought to have been demanded, as security for the future, was ever seriously discussed. As there was no thought of exacting any pecuniary compensation for our sufferings and sacrifice, there ought to have been prescribed such terms of surrender as would have made another causeless rebellion in the future practically impossible. I said then, and say now, that our stipulations for their surrender ought to have been made clear and strong and been engrafted into our national Constitution, because if made part of our national Constitution, they could not be unjust, as the conditions thus prescribed would of necessity operate on the North and on the South alike. But, in our desire for peace, in our anxiety for the return of our erring brothers to the old mansion, we did not make the terms of surrender nor the stipulations as to the future as clear nor as far-reaching as was the duty of practical statesmen.

The terms of surrender were in fact, as all will remember, so ambiguous and shadowy that many of our most eminent and trusted statesmen denounced the terms, "as a surrender on our part to the enemy."

That we ought to have made the terms of surrender

broad and liberal, and as free from malice, and as charitable as they were, all concede; but we ought to have made the terms cover questions which all thoughtful men knew must soon confront us, and which are now confronting us.

This amiable weakness and childlike trustfulness, however, is not unnatural nor confined to this generation. In 1812 we went to war with Great Britain on a question known as the "right of search." After we had practically defeated the British on both the sea and land, we appointed commissioners to make a treaty of peace. As our distinguished commissioners met the British officials day after day, and looked into each other's faces, they not only did not discuss the question which had caused the war, but when the treaty was signed not a single stipulation or word could be found in it about the "right of search."

We did better at the close of our great rebellion, than the peace commissioners whom we sent to Great Britain in 1814. We knew that slavery was the cause of the war, and all intelligent, honest men frankly said, "As slavery has been the cause of the war, slavery must die," and it did die. The Emancipation Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln, and the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment, made it impossible forever thereafter, for a slave to breathe on any spot of God's green earth, beneath the radiant folds of our flag of stripes and stars.

But we passed over and did not provide for the settlement of important questions which were then confronting us, and which are to-day confronting us, questions which have menaced our peace and unity more than once, and which will continue to menace it until they are honorably adjusted by the concurrent non-partisan action of all sections and all parties. If the questions to which I refer are not met and satisfactorily adjusted by an amendment to our national Constitution, substantially as I suggested in an address before the Ohio Society of New York, a conflict is certain to overtake us, which will culminate in a civil war more disastrous than the war of the rebellion, because it will be a partisan instead of a sectional war.

This partisan war, I fear, will grow out of partisan conflicts incident to the mode and manner of nominating and

electing our Presidents, and Senators and Representatives in Congress, unless we provide against it by such amendments to our national Constitution as shall make such conflicts impossible.

**Letter from Chairman of the Committee, Bishop B. W. Arnett.**

The reader of this volume will learn, that both before and after the war of the rebellion, Mr. Ashley spoke as one of God's own interpreters, and made plain our duty as a nation. Stern and earnest in his denunciations of the great crime of slavery, yet with patience and tenderness he showed us the Divine in humanity, and spoke with the firmness and forbearance of one who dwelt in the courts of the Lord. Just and generous, a clear and independent thinker, he sought to plant the seed of thought in others rather than publish and claim them for himself. He never had any of that narrow selfishness which files a "caveat" on every thought that came to him. Search the records, and nowhere, by speech or pen, can a word be found from him claiming special or exclusive credit for introducing his bill for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, nor for having introduced the first proposition for amending the national Constitution prohibiting slavery in the United States, and by his tireless and prudent labors, securing its passage by Congress, in the words of the Thirteenth Amendment. He left that task to his contemporaries and to the future historian. Charles Sumner, Chief Justice Chase, James G. Blaine and other men of eminence have publicly recognized and testified to his ability and successful parliamentary work for the abolition of slavery. In publishing this "souvenir," the negro has built him a fitting monument; but not out of the stones cast at him in the dark days of slavery by the enemies of our race, but a monument which contains some of his best and most effective appeals for our liberation and enfranchisement. When compiling this volume, we were not without hope, that in this form Mr. Ashley's speeches and orations may prove to be for him a more enduring monument than marble or granite.

**B. W. ARNETT.**

MAUMEE VALLEY PIONEER ASSOCIATION CELEBRATION.

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR ASHLEY TO THE MEN AND WOMEN  
WHO CAME EARLY TO THIS PART OF OHIO.

FROM THE TOLEDO BLADE.

Liberty Center, O., Aug. 19.—At the reunion of the Maumee Pioneer Association in Young's grove, this afternoon, after the election of officers, mention of which was made in yesterday's Blade, Chairman Young introduced the speaker of the day, Hon. J. M. Ashley, of Toledo. Gov. Ashley delivered the following address, which was listened to with great interest and appreciation by the large gathering of pioneers:

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF THE SOCIETY: When honored by your unexpected invitation to address your society to-day, I accepted with pleasure.

Of course, you know, as I do, that the invitation did not come to me because I was a pioneer, or the son of a pioneer.

I came into the Maumee Valley long after the pioneers, whose deeds you annually meet to commemorate, had passed to another, and let us hope, a more peaceful life, after having laid broad and deep the foundation of our present substantial homes of peace and plenty.

I assume, therefore, that your invitation came to me by the partiality of old friends, who again wanted to see and hear me.

The desire on my part to see and enjoy the day with you, is evidenced by my presence.

I regret that I have not had time to prepare a paper

suitable for the occasion, and worthy of preservation by your society, but I could not do as I wished, and must ask your indulgence during the short time I shall detain you.

The observations I am about to make must be such as shall suggest themselves while I am on my feet.

I see you have with you here to-day that modern wonder, the ubiquitous newspaper reporter, so if I say anything worth recording you may be certain he will faithfully record it for his paper. If, peradventure, I should make a mistake in word, or a slip in speech, let us hope that like "Uncle Toby's" recording angel, he will drop a tear on that part of his report, and blot it out.

Mr. President, there are pioneers who conceive, and plan and project, and there are pioneers who organize and command and execute.

The first we call "theoretical" pioneers, the second "practical" pioneers.

In temperament and activity, I may be properly be classed with both the pioneers who "project" and the pioneers who "execute."

Without a knowledge that other men in other lands had conceived substantially the same idea, I had, before attaining my majority, thought out for myself and affirmed, "that labor was equitably entitled to a fair proportion of the wealth which it created." Naturally enough, if this proposition be admitted, it follows of necessity, that the laborer must first own himself before he can own and hold any part of the property which his toil has produced.

Having thus early adopted and publicly affirmed this pioneer proposition, I entered with vigor and earnestness upon a crusade against the right of any man to own or hold another as a slave; which crusade ended on my part only with the abolition of slavery in the nation, and the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment to our national Constitution, prohibiting that crime forever.

My official connection with that sublime act of justice has secured for me a fitting place in history, and, with my record on that question, I know every friend of freedom is content.

After the overthrow of slavery and the adoption of the



Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to our national Constitution, I entered upon another pioneer crusade, or campaign of reform, one which seeks to secure to the qualified electors of the nation the right to nominate and elect the President of the United States, and Senators and Representatives in Congress by a direct vote of the people by ballot, and to substitute for our present wage-system a plan of co-operation with capital and profit-sharing for labor, which, if adopted and practically administered, will secure to the toiler in all departments of human industry a just and fair proportion of the wealth which labor creates.

If some such plan as I propose had been applied in their every-day life, by our early pioneers, their hardships would have been lessened, their security for life and property would have been greater, and their enjoyment correspondingly increased.

It was only a short time ago that we used to carry our grist to the water-mill of the riverside, and grumble then as now at the amount of toll taken by the miller. To-day that miller is superseded by one who turns out 3,000 barrels of flour every twenty-four hours. And so with our wagons; instead of being made by the builder in his little shop at the cross-roads, they are now made in the great factories at the rate of one every thirty minutes. We used to think that nobody would ever have ingenuity enough to make horse-shoe nails by machinery, but to-day they are furnished to the blacksmith far cheaper, smoother and stronger, than he could ever make them. Our mothers used to spin and weave our blue-jeans for us, but to-day we wear much better and cheaper clothes purchased of the tailors and storekeepers.

What has brought about this revolution? I answer, a monster. The monster of iron, steam and electricity. A monster which if not properly controlled will, in time, be powerful enough to crush all toilers. I have had some experience in practical affairs and I say to you that this monster if approached in the right way can not only be controlled, but can be made to serve our ends. It must not be permitted to get the upper hand. We must harness this iron monster of steam and electricity and teach it to do our bidding. My remedy for the

danger that besets us is, arbitration and co-operation. [Applause.]

. . . . .

This beautiful Maumee valley has never been appreciated by our people. I have traveled the world over and I say to you that we have no reason to be ashamed of our home valley. Mrs. Sherwood, in a poem soon to be printed, has described much better than I can the beautiful Maumee. I will read you the last two stanzas:

“O river of the purpling vine,  
O river of the corn and wine,  
O river where the golden peach  
Hangs luscious on the pebbled beach,  
Where glide the galleys of the seas  
In laughter-laden argosies,  
O river, consecrate to truth  
In proud Ohio's royal youth,  
Thy deeds are dear to poesy,  
Maumee, Maumee.

“O fair Miami of the lakes,  
For thee, majestic music wakes.  
The splendor of thy wide estate,  
To liberty is consecrate;  
To kindlier creeds and statelier laws,  
To manlier deeds and holier cause;  
From primal man's barbaric state,  
To truth transfigured and elate;  
To human freedom's high decree,  
Maumee, Maumee.”

[Applause.]

. . . . .

Mr. President: As I look back and see moving westward the great historic human panorama of the ages, beginning with Columbus on the sea, and continuing on this continent for four hundred years, I am lost in wonder and admiration.

This triumphal movement of the human race, on the sea and on the land, from the discovery of America by Columbus to this hour, has had no parallel in human history.

You are all familiar with the drama of the early discoverers of America, as on their ships they scanned for months with anxious gaze the sea and sky, while plowing the unknown ocean; and you are still more familiar with the drama of the early explorers of this continent, as with covered wagons and Indian canoes, they pioneered their way, by river and lake, through unbroken forests and over formidable mountains, encountering on every hand suffering, privation and death.

The exodus of the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt, under the masterly leadership of Moses, has for centuries been held up to mankind as a lesson and a warning, and from the time of that marvelous deliverance has been the theme of poets and prophets, and yet the exodus of the children of men, under Columbus, out of their European land of bondage to this continent, representing as it did, all civilized races, has transcended in glory and grandeur, and in its far-reaching and beneficent results to the human race, the exodus of the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt. [Applause.]

The spirit which moved and directed Columbus was implanted in the breasts of all our early ocean and continental pioneers.

From Massachusetts Bay to the capes of Florida, we first find the Spanish and Portuguese and the French. Afterwards the French pushed their way up the St. Lawrence through Canada, and across the lakes up the Miami of Lake Erie; over the classic ground on which we stand to-day, down the Wabash and Ohio, to the Mississippi and the Gulf.

Then came the sturdy English stock, to stick and stay. They came from New England and New York to Ohio and the Northwest, and following close after them came the great exploring expeditions of Lewis and Clark, which crossed the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific in 1802-3.

Prior to this, the advanced guard of Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania had followed the Monongahela and descended the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans.

And the pioneers from Maryland and Virginia had fought their way through mountains, to Kentucky and Tennessee, and possessed and held that country.

Thousands of caravans of covered wagons, with women and children, spread over a territory on a line which reached north and south four hundred miles or more, and moving, as I see them, like the waves of the ocean, substantially abreast, crossed the Alleghenies, descended rivers and penetrated unbroken forests, meeting danger and death, as often, if not oftener, than did the early pioneers of the ocean.

The faith and fortitude, the courage and endurance of the men and women who pioneered their way across the continent, equaled, if it did not eclipse, that of the early ocean pioneers. [Applause.]

The same impelling motive animated both.

The overland pioneers could nowhere plant their flags in safety, nor rest in peace, until they had silenced in death the wild-man's terrific yell.

More caravans were wiped out in blood by the red man than were lost by the early ocean pioneers at sea, and yet great armies on both the land and sea came on and on, never hesitating, never faltering.

The pluck and heroism of the ocean and continental pioneers, presents a sublime spectacle, the contemplation of which, fills every manly heart with patriotic emotions.

There were thousands of men at the head of west-bound expeditions, as brave and dauntless and hopeful as Columbus; men who could command and successfully fight great battles; men whose steady advance could not be stayed by danger, nor their purpose defeated by obstacles, however formidable.

Fortunate are we to be the descendants of such a sturdy, heroic race of men, and to be the possessors of the priceless political and material inheritance which they created and bequeathed. [Applause.]

You have all read the story of Columbus, and many of you have read more than one account, as described by poets and historians, of the manner in which he handled and directed the terrified and half-mutinuous officers and men on his ships, that long, dark night before he sighted land in the new world.

Many an overland pioneer with his convoy of prairie schooners had a like experience, and acquitted himself as gallantly. [Applause.]

As his trusted flag-ship plowed the stormy ocean, that long dark night, Columbus, pale and worn, paced her sea-washed deck with faith unshaken, always answering his rebellious officers and crew, when they demanded that he turn back, with the single but firm command, "Sail on. Sail on. Sail on. And on."

At last, in the early gray of the morning his eye caught sight of a speck, and when, with the aid of his glass, he assured himself that it was land he saw, his great heart and pent-up spirit broke forth in joyous triumph, with the only words his lips could utter, "A light. A light. A light. A light." And you and I know, that to us as Americans, out of that light, there grew a star-lit flag unfurled. To the human race, "It grew to be, Time's burst of dawn." [Applause.]

# ADDRESS

OF HON. JAMES M. ASHLEY

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BEFORE THE "OHIO SOCIETY OF NEW YORK,"

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AT ITS FIFTH ANNUAL BANQUET, WEDNESDAY EVENING,  
FEBRUARY 19, 1890.

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NEW YORK, February 20, 1890.

MY DEAR GOVERNOR ASHLEY:

At the banquet of the Ohio Society of New York last evening, the President of the Society was, by unanimous vote, directed to ask you to furnish to the Society for publication a copy of your admirable paper on the passage through the House of Representatives of the United States of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution. In performance of this duty, I beg leave to present to you their request.

Let me add, personally, that this formal expression was supplemented individually by every one of those present with whom it was my fortune to converse. I am sure that I speak for all present in expressing my individual appreciation of the greatness and historic value of that action of which you were so largely the inspiration, and in which you were the foremost actor.

Yours, very truly,

WAGER SWAYNE.

Hon. J. M. ASHLEY.

NEW YORK, February 21, 1890.

GEN. WAGER SWAYNE,  
President Ohio Society of New York  
195 Broadway.

MY DEAR SIR :

Herewith please find copy of my address as delivered before your Society, at the fifth annual banquet, on the 19th inst.

It gives me pleasure to comply with a request in which is conveyed so complimentary an approval by the Society and yourself of the address.

I only regret that I did not have time to speak more in detail of the personality of the immortal twenty-four who voted with us, and thus made possible the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment.

Truly yours,

J. M. ASHLEY.

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MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE OHIO SOCIETY OF NEW YORK: The official acts of the great actors in the conflict of civilization with the barbarism of slavery, are faithfully recorded in the nation's archives, and open to the inspection and compilation of the coming historian.

You will not expect me to-night to do more than briefly notice some few of these men, with whom it was my good fortune to be associated during the time Congress had under consideration the propositions to abolish slavery at the national capital and the Thirteenth Amendment.

When the story of our great anti-slavery conflict shall have been written, it will make one of the most ideal chapters in our matchless history. That chapter will tell the coming generations of men the story of the immortal victory achieved by the American people for democratic government and an undivided Union; a victory whose far-reaching consequences no man can even now foresee.

In the fullness of time, to every nation and people great

leaders are born, and some one or more of these earnest leaders, by the utterance of a simple moral truth in a brief couplet or in a single epigrammatic sentence, have often in the world's history changed the opinions of thousands.

Especially true was this of the written appeals and public addresses of the great anti-slavery leaders in this country for more than a quarter of a century before the rebellion. He was indeed a dull and insensible man who during our anti-slavery crusade did not grow eloquent and become aggressive when writing or speaking of slavery as the great crime of his age and country. To me, as a boy, the men who made up this vanguard of anti-slavery leaders always appeared to be exceptionally great men, men who walked the earth with unfaltering faith and a firm tread, with heads erect, so that their prophetic eyes caught the dawn of Freedom's coming morn. They were brave, strong, self-reliant men, whose words and acts all testified that their great hearts "burned to break the fetters of the world." These men had no thought of witnessing during their lifetime the triumph of the cause which they had so unselfishly espoused; they were tireless and invincible workers. The alluring promise of success nowhere held out to them hope of political reward. To an unpopular cause they gave all they had of time, money and brains, not doubting that those who should come after them would be able to command and so to direct the moral forces of the nation as ultimately to enact justice into law by "proclaiming liberty throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof." Under this banner they went forth, conquering and to conquer, and in all their impassioned appeals they "sounded forth the bugle that never called retreat."

To have voluntarily enlisted and fought with this liberating army until our starry banner was planted in triumph on the last citadel of American slavery, is an honor of which the humblest citizen and his children may justly be proud, an honor which will grow brighter in all the coming years of the republic.

I was so young when I enlisted in this liberating army that I cannot fix the date.

At the home of a neighbor, a Virginian by birth, and until



the close of his manly life a resident of Kentucky, I heard, with wondering emotions, the first song in which a slave was represented as appealing to his captors for his freedom. I was but nine years old, but that song with its story touched my heart, and, though I never saw it in print, I never forgot it. The verse of this song that arrested my attention, and remained fixed in my memory, is as clear to me TO-NIGHT as it was more than half a century ago.

It was the plaintive appeal of an escaped slave, in simple rhyme, such as slaves often sang to tunes with which all are familiar who have heard the old-fashioned plantation melodies.

In that appeal to his captors

“He showed the stripes his master gave,  
The branded scars—the sightless eye,  
The common badges of a slave,  
And said he would be free or die.”

I did not know until then that the slave master had the right to whip, brand and maim his slave. It was at the home of this venerable anti-slavery man (who made the world better for his having lived in it), that I first learned this fact, and it was at his house that I first heard repeated many of the fiery utterances of Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky. After showing an appreciation of these anti-slavery sentiments, I was frequently lifted on a chair or table by our old anti-slavery neighbor and taught to declaim from the speeches of Cassius M. Clay and others. I was so fascinated by a paragraph from a speech made by Governor McDowell, of Virginia, that it always gave me pleasure to speak it, as I often did, with such earnestness as to secure me as honest applause in that quiet anti-slavery household as any I ever commanded on the platform in after years.

I never forgot that appeal of Governor McDowell, and often used it after I grew to manhood, and quoted it in one of my early speeches in Congress, as I again quote it here :

“You may place the slave where you please, you may dry up to your uttermost the fountain of his feelings, the

springs of his thought, you may close upon his mind every avenue to knowledge, and cloud it over with artificial night, you may yoke him to labor as an ox—which liveth only to work, and worketh only to live; you may put him under any process which without destroying his value as a slave, will debase and crush him as a rational being—you may do all this; and yet, the idea that he was born free will survive it all. It is allied to his hope of immortality—it is the eternal part of his nature which oppression cannot reach. It is a torch lit up in his soul by the hand of Deity, and never meant to be extinguished by the hand of man.”

I speak of these seemingly unimportant incidents of my boyhood to confirm what I said in opening, touching the influence which one brave, truthful man can exercise over thousands, and to illustrate the tremendous power a single thought may often have over the acts and lives of reader and hearer.

From my ninth to my thirteenth year my father was preaching on a circuit in the border counties of Kentucky and West Virginia, and afterwards in Southeastern Ohio. During our residence in Kentucky and West Virginia I did not know a single abolitionist except the family which I have described, and not until I was in my seventeenth year did I meet and become acquainted with Cassius M. Clay and John G. Fee. Some time afterwards I met James G. Burney, who became the abolition candidate for President in 1844.

The leaders of the church to which my father belonged, and, indeed, the leaders in all Southern churches in those days, publicly affirmed “that slavery *PER SE* could exist without sin,” a doctrine which I regarded then, as I do now, as a perversion of the teachings of Christ. It has always been a source of satisfaction to me that my mother, who was a conservative woman, never gave in her adhesion to this rascally defense of “the sum of villainies.”

At that time, in all the border counties of Kentucky, slavery existed in a milder form than in any other part of the Southwest, and the slave owners whom I knew were much better men than one would in this day believe possible under any slave system.

And yet the system in its practical working was so monstrous that before I had grown to manhood I had publicly pronounced against it, and, as many before me know, I

fought it with an energy which never tired, and a faith which never faltered.

While entertaining the anti-slavery opinions of Jefferson and the men of 1776, and everywhere proclaiming them without concealment, I was elected to Congress in 1858, when in my thirty-fourth year, and for the first time took my seat in a deliberative body in the Thirty-sixth Congress, during the administration of Mr. Buchanan.

At that time the pro-slavery conspirators were preparing for armed rebellion, and for the desperate attempt, which they soon made, to establish a slave empire on the ruins of the republic.

There I met many anti-slavery leaders of age and experience, to whose ranks I was eagerly welcomed.

I entered upon the straight and narrow path that led to victory. I faltered but once. That was on the vote on the Crittenden Resolution in July, 1861. The vote was 117 yeas; noes, 2—Mr. Potter of Wisconsin and Mr. Riddle of Ohio voting No.

I had been appealed to by almost every public man of my acquaintance in Washington and by my personal and political friends to vote for the resolution, and not assume the responsibility of separating myself at such a time and on so important a matter from my party. When my name was called I shook my head, as was then the custom; my name was called the second time, and I again shook my head, the blush of shame tingling my face, as it has every time I have thought of that act or looked at the record since and read, "Not voting, J. M. Ashley." I never felt the sense of shame so keenly before nor since; and turning to Mr. Corwin, my venerable colleague, as the vote was announced, I said, with emotion, "Governor, that is the most cowardly act of my life, and no power on earth shall again make me repeat it." "Why, General," he exclaimed, with evident warmth, "I VOTED FOR IT." I saw that I had, in the excitement of the moment, offended him, and I made haste to assure him that I intended nothing of the sort, as all would have done who had offended so lovable, companionable and just a man as Governor Corwin. I promptly extended my hand and said, "Yes, Governor, but you do not see things as I do." I need

hardly add that after this I did not again refuse to vote on any question, nor did I, during my entire service, give a single vote that to-night I would change.

Great occasions produce great men. The State of Ohio furnished her full quota for the crisis of 1861 :

Joshua R. Giddings, the leader of the "old guard, one blast upon whose bugle horn was worth a thousand men."

Salmon P. Chase, Senator, Governor, Cabinet Minister and Chief Justice, who ranked next to Lincoln in leadership.

Thomas Ewing, profound statesman, great lawyer, and Cabinet Minister under General Harrison in 1841.

Edwin M. Stanton, the great War Secretary, earnest, fearless, tireless.

Judge McLean, the ideal Judge, representing on the bench the coming civilization, the writer of the dissenting opinion in the Dred Scott case.

Judge Swayne, judicial, conscientious, a great worker and the early friend and confidant of Lincoln.

Benjamin F. Wade, bluff, positive, ready to meet the enemy in the field or forum.

John Sherman, keen, politic, far-sighted and successful.

In the House—Thomas Corwin, Delano, Bingham, Lawrence, Hutchins, Spaulding, Schellaberger, Schenck, Hayes and Garfield.

Our War Governors, Dennison, Todd and Brough, unequaled as organizers and in administrative power.

On the Democratic side there were Senator Thurman and Representatives Vallandigham, Pendleton, Cox and Morgan, with many able men in private life, who were active in demanding our "authority and precedents" for all we proposed, and much that we did for which we had no "precedent."

In the army Ohio eclipsed the world. That wonderful triumvirate of commanders, Grant, Sherman and Sheridan, were without models and without equals. And then we had McPherson, Garfield, Steedman, Swayne, Cox and Buckland, and hundreds besides, who, on the field and in the forum, made the name of Ohio everywhere synonymous with great deeds and heroic acts.

In such a cause, with such leaders, success was foreordained.

When the official records of Congress during the administration of Mr. Buchanan are examined by the historian of the future, and the so-called compromise proposition of the Union-saving committee of thirty-three (of which Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts was chairman) is compared with the Thirteenth Amendment, which three years later became part of our national Constitution, it will be difficult for him to find reasons for the extraordinary revolution in public opinion which these two proposed amendments to our national Constitution present. And here I wish I could walk backward with averted gaze, and with the broad mantle of charity cover the political nakedness of our own beloved State, which, by the vote of its Legislature, committed the indefensible folly of ratifying the pro-slavery amendment proposed by the committee of thirty-three, and thus officially consented to its becoming part of our national Constitution.

To me the propositions of the so-called "Peace Congress, over which ex-President John Tyler, of Virginia, presided, were preposterous and offensive, and the "pledge" of the "Crittenden Resolution" a delusion and a snare, cunningly designed to paralyze and manacle us.

Every sane man who to-day reads the numerous proposed constitutional amendments with which Congress at that time was deluged, will recognize the fact that they were all studiously and deliberately prepared for the avowed purpose of protecting slavery by new and more exacting guarantees.

This celebrated Compromise Committee of thirty-three reported and recommended an amendment which practically made slavery perpetual.

It was in these words :

"ARTICLE 12th. No amendments shall be made to the Constitution which shall authorize or give Congress the power to abolish or interfere within any State with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service by the laws of such State."

Imagine, if you can, what the other propositions were, if THIS was the most favorable which the Compromise Committee of thirty-three could obtain for us.

Two days before Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, this abasement was made to the slave barons by a two-thirds vote of both Houses of the Congress of the United States, and the act was approved by President Buchanan.

I do not believe a more shameless exhibition on the part of a civilized people can be found in history.

Prior to this proposed surrender to the slave barons, a number of the Southern States had passed ordinances of secession, and defiantly organized a government, with Jefferson Davis as President.

That such humiliating concessions were as defenseless then as they would be now, and as offensive to the civilization of the nineteenth century, will not be questioned.

The nation had not then learned that the strength of a statesman lies in his fidelity to justice—not in his concessions to injustice.

Our official records, for nearly half a century before the Rebellion, presented one unbroken series of fruitless compromises with the slave barons, until in their pride and arrogance they believed themselves able to direct successfully any revolution and ride with safety any storm.

At last we came to know that all our concessions were regarded by them as irrevocable ; that nothing but new concessions would be accepted by them, and that they would only consent to remain in the Union on the express condition that we should bind ourselves for all time to record their proslavery decrees in every department of the national and State governments.

The rebels witnessed our efforts at an adjustment with shouts of derision and defiance, and said, "Now we have the Yankees on a down grade, and on the run."

They learned afterwards to their sorrow that, however true this might have been under the leadership of Buchanan, it was no longer true under the leadership of Lincoln. Yet, alas! it is true, that immediately after the election of Mr. Lincoln and before his inauguration, many men who had been active anti-slavery men quailed before the approaching storm, which their own brave appeals for liberty had aided in producing.

They comprehended what civil war, with all its attend-

ant horrors, meant to a civilized people, and shrank from its terrible consequences, and as the acts of their representatives proved, they were willing to do everything in their power to avoid it. These timid anti-slavery men were representatives of the wealth, the manufacturing industry, the commerce, the peaceful farm-life of the North and West, and the best civilization of the age. They were for peace; they believed in an appeal to the conscience and heart of the nation, at the ballot-box, and in loyally submitting to the verdict when rendered. They never would have appealed from the ballot-box to the cartridge-box. The great heart of the North was still, and for a time held its breath, while re-echoing with hope the sentiment of their beloved Quaker Poet, when, just before the Rebellion, he uttered this sublime prayer :

“Perish with him the thought,  
That seeks, through evil, good;  
Long live the generous purpose  
Unstained by human blood.”

While I did not adopt, without qualification, the memorable utterances of Daniel O’Connell, the great Irish leader, when he declared “that no revolution was worth the shedding of one drop of human blood,” I everywhere proclaimed “that in this country, so long as the press was free and speech was free, and the ballot was free, no revolution was worth the shedding of one drop of human blood.”

The speeches, appeals and acts of the leaders of the two sections were entirely characteristic.

The Southern leaders, instead of quailing before the storm which their passionate appeals had raised, defiantly mounted and rode the storm, fit types of the barbarism which they championed.

When the North, with the loyal men of the border States, fully comprehended the fact that there could be no peace nor Union unless the Rebellion was suppressed by force, and slavery, which made the Rebellion possible, was abolished, they buckled on their armor and went forth to conquer.

During the first session of Congress, after Mr. Lincoln

became President, I introduced a bill for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. It contained but one short section, and simply enacted "that slavery, or involuntary servitude, should cease in the District of Columbia from and after the passage of this act." I sent it to the Committee on the District of Columbia, of which I was a member, and Roscoe Conkling, of New York, was chairman. When the bill was read in the District Committee, it was by common consent referred to me, as a sub-committee of one. The excitement and indignation which that bill caused in the District Committee, and the undisguised disgust entertained for me personally by the pro-slavery members of the committee, would be amusing now, but it was a matter of serious moment then.

I felt certain that a majority of that committee did not intend to let me report that bill or any other of like character to the House for a vote. As soon as it was known that I had the matter in charge, by direction of the District Committee Mr. Chase sent for me, and discussed the proposition which I had introduced, and suggested instead, a bill which should compensate the "loyal slave owners" by paying them a "ransom," which should not exceed three hundred dollars a head for each slave, and enforced his argument by adding that Mr. Lincoln was seriously considering the practicability of compensating the border States if they would take the initiative and emancipate their slaves, and he added, "I want you to see the President, and if possible prepare a bill which will command the necessary votes of both Houses of Congress and the active support of the Administration."

I saw the President next day and went over the ground with him, substantially as I had with Mr. Chase, and finally agreed that I would ask for the appointment of a Senator on the part of the Senate District Committee to unite with me to frame a bill, which the Senate and House committees would report favorably, and which should have the President's approval, and the support of as many of the Representatives from the border States as we could induce to vote to "initiate emancipation," as Mr. Lincoln expressed it.

Fortunately for the success of the compensation policy, the Senate District Committee designated as that sub-com-



mittee-man, Lot M. Morrell, of Maine, to confer with me and prepare such a bill as Mr. Lincoln and Chase had outlined.

After several meetings a bill was finally agreed upon which appropriated one million dollars to pay loyal owners for their slaves at a price not to exceed \$300 each.

This bill had the approval of Mr. Lincoln and Chase and other anti-slavery leaders, before it was submitted to the District Committees for their action and recommendation to each House of Congress.

Personally, I did not agree with Mr. Lincoln in his border State policy, but was unwilling to set up my judgment against his, especially when he was supported by such men as Chase, Fessenden, Trumbull, and a large majority of Union men in both Houses of Congress. I therefore yielded my private opinions on a matter of policy, for reasons which I then gave and will presently quote, and because I was determined that that Congress should not adjourn until slavery had been abolished at the national capital.

I did not want to appropriate a million of dollars from the national Treasury to pay the slave owners of the District of Columbia for their slaves, because I was opposed to officially recognizing property in man, and for the additional reason that I was confident that before the close of the war slavery would be abolished without compensation. And I believed then, and believe now, that at least two-thirds of all the so-called "loyal slave owners" in the District of Columbia who applied for and accepted compensation for their slaves, would at that time have welcomed Jefferson Davis and his government in Washington with every demonstration of joy.

On the 12th of March, 1862, by direction of the Committee for the District of Columbia, I reported the bill to the House as it had been agreed upon by Mr. Morrell and myself, with the approval of Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Chase and others.

On the 11th of April, 1862, the bill, as amended by the Senate, passed the House by a vote of 92 for to 38 against, and at once received the signature of the President.

In the speech which I delivered that day I said: "I do not believe that Congress has any more power to make a slave than to make a king," and added, "If then there is,

as I claim, no power in Congress to reduce any man or race to slavery, it certainly will not be claimed that Congress has power to legalize such regulations as exist to-day touching persons held as slaves in this District by re-enacting the slave laws of Maryland, and thus do by indirection what no sane man claims authority to do directly. . . . If I must tax the loyal people of the nation a million of dollars before the slaves at the national capital can be ransomed I will do it. I will make a bridge of gold over which they may pass to freedom on the anniversary of the fall of Sumter, if it cannot be more justly accomplished.”

As the nation had been guilty of riveting the chains of all the slaves in the District, and Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Chase, and so large a majority of the friends of the Union desired the passage of this act, believing that it would aid them in holding the border slave States, I yielded my own opinions, and voted to pay the loyal owners of the District for their slaves and thus aided Mr. Lincoln in initiating emancipation by compensation. But events were stronger than men or measures, and this was the first and last of compensation.

On the 14th of December, 1863, I introduced a proposition to amend the Constitution, abolishing slavery in all the States and Territories of the nation, which, on my motion, was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. In a speech during that session of Congress urging the submission of such an amendment, I said: “I advocated from the first the emancipation of all slaves, because I believed ideas more formidable than armies, justice more powerful than prejudice, and truth a weapon mightier than the sword.”

The fall of Vicksburg and the great victory of Gettysburg had solidified the Union men North and South, and assured them of ultimate success.

The crushing defeat of Hood at Nashville by Thomas, the investment of Richmond by Grant, and Sherman’s triumphant march from the mountains to the sea, was an announcement to the world that all armed opposition to the government was approaching its end.

It now only remained, that the statesmen who had provided for and organized our great armies should crown their matchless victories with unfading glory, by engrafting

into our national Constitution a provision which should make peace and union inseparable by removing forever the cause of the war, and making slavery everywhere impossible beneath the flag of the republic.

On the 15th of June, 1864, the House voted on the proposed constitutional amendment, and it was defeated by a vote of 94 for it and 64 against it. I thereupon changed my vote before the announcement was made, as I had the right to do under the rules, and my vote was recorded with the opposition in order that I might enter a motion for reconsideration.

In the *GLOBE*, as the vote stands recorded, it is 93 for to 65 against. This vote disappointed, but it did not discourage me. Had every member been present and voted, it would have required 122 votes to pass the amendment, whereas we could muster but 94, or 28 less than required.

As I now look back, and review with calmer emotions than I did then the great battle we were fighting, I comprehend more fully the power of that simple and sublime faith which inspired all the living heroes in that historic hour.

In his "Twenty Years of Congress" Mr. Blaine has given me credit, in full measure, for introducing and pressing the first proposition made in the House of Representatives for the abolition of slavery in the United States by an amendment of the national Constitution, and for effective parliamentary work in securing its passage. Personally, I never regarded the work which I then did as entitling me to special recognition. It was to me a duty, and because I so felt, I have never publicly written or spoken about my connection with it, and should not have done so before you to-night but for the pressing invitation of our President, who acts as if he regarded it as part of his duty, while charged with the care of this Society, to bring every modest Ohio man to the front.

There was at that time so many noble and unselfish men in the House of Representatives entitled to recognition for effective work in behalf of the Thirteenth Amendment, that I have preferred not to single out any one member as entitled to more credit than another. I certainly did not expect any

such complimentary recognition as Mr. Blaine has so generously given me.

Educated in the political school of Jefferson, I was absolutely amazed at the solid Democratic vote against the amendment on the 15th of June. To me it looked as if the golden hour had come, when the Democratic party could, without apology, and without regret, emancipate itself from the fatal dogmas of Calhoun, and reaffirm the doctrines of Jefferson. It had always seemed to me that the great men in the Democratic party had shown a broader spirit in favor of human liberty than their political opponents, and until the domination of Mr. Calhoun and his States-rights disciples, this was undoubtedly true. On the death of General Harrison in 1841, and after John Tyler became the acting President, I date the organized conspiracy of the slave barons, which culminated in the Rebellion.

A man of singleness of purpose and disinterestedness, possesses a wonderful power, which is soon recognized by his associates in the Congress of the United States. The leading men in both Senate and House, and in nearly all the executive departments, knew that my only ambition was to accomplish the task with which (as Mr. Blaine expresses it) I was "by common consent, specially charged." The only reward I expected, and the only reward I ever had, or shall ever have, is the satisfaction of knowing that I did my whole duty, nothing more, nothing less. I at once gave special care to the study of the characters and antecedents of thirty-six of the members who did not vote for the amendment on the 15th of June, and made up my mind that if we could force the issue of the Thirteenth Amendment into the pending presidential contest, and Mr. Lincoln should be elected in November, that the requisite number of liberal Democrats and border State Union men who had voted against and defeated the amendment in June might be prevailed upon to vote with us after Mr. Lincoln had been re-elected on that issue. In this faith, and with this hope, I at once began a systematic study of the characters of the men whose cooperation and votes must be secured as a condition to success.

During this six months' experience I learned something of the tremendous power of the single man when making

earnest appeals to his colleagues. One source of ever present embarrassment to me was the fact that I had but little experience in legislation, and that nearly every one of my colleagues to whom I was addressing myself was my senior in years. In this great work I had the earnest support of the Administration, the great majority of the Republican party, and many earnest men in public and private life.

On the 28th of June, 1864, Mr. Holman, of Indiana, rose in the House, and said "that he desired to know whether the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Ashley) who entered the motion to reconsider the vote by which the House rejected the bill proposing an amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery throughout all the States and Territories of the United States, proposed to call that motion up during the present session." In reply, I said that I did not propose to call that motion up during the present session; "but as the record had been made up, we would go to the country on the issue thus presented." And I added: "When the verdict of the people shall have been rendered next November, I trust this Congress will return determined to engraft that verdict into the national Constitution." I thereupon gave notice that I would call up the proposition at the earliest possible moment after our meeting in December next (see *GLOBE*, June 28th, 1864).

Immediately after giving this notice, I went to work to secure its passage, and it may not be uninteresting if I outline to you the way I conducted that campaign.

The question thus presented became one of the leading issues of the presidential campaign of 1864.

The Administration—the Republican party—and many men who were not partisans, now gave the measure their warm support.

Knowing that Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland, and Frank P. Blair, of Missouri, would vote for the amendment whenever their votes would secure its passage, I went to them to learn who of the border-State members were men of broad and liberal views, and strong and self-reliant enough to follow their convictions, even to political death, provided they could know that their votes would pass the measure.

The following is the list of the names of the border-

State men, as made up within two weeks after the defeat of the amendment, in June, 1864 : James S. Rollins, Henry S. Blow, Benjamin F. Loan, ex-Gov. King, S. H. Boyd, Frank P. Blair and Joseph W. McClurg of Missouri ; Green Clay Smith, George H. Yeaman, Brutus J. Clay and Lucius Anderson of Kentucky ; John A. J. Cresswell, Gov. Francis Thomas, E. H. Webster and Henry Winter Davis of Maryland ; Kellian V. Whaley, Jacob P. Blair and William G. Brown of West Virginia, and N. B. Smithers of Delaware. Of the 19 thus selected 13 voted for the amendment, and marched to their political death.

After conferring with Reuben E. Fenton and Augustus Frank of New York, I made up the following list of liberal Northern Democrats, whose votes I hoped to secure for the amendment :

Moses F. Odell, Homer A. Nelson, John A. Griswold, Anson Herrick, John B. Steele, Charles F. Winfield, William Radford and John Ganson, of New York ; S. S. Cox, Warren P. Noble, Wells A. Hutchins, John F. McKenney and Francis C. LeBlond of Ohio ; Archibald McAllister and Alex. H. Coffroth of Pennsylvania ; James E. English of Connecticut, and Augustus C. Baldwin of Michigan.

Of the 17 Northern Democrats thus selected, eleven voted for the amendment, two were absent, and one who had promised me to vote for it and prepared a speech in its favor, finally voted against. Of the 36 members originally selected as men naturally inclined to favor the amendment, and strong enough to meet and repel the fierce partisan attack which were certain to be made upon them, 24 voted for it, two were absent, and but ~~TEN~~ voted against it.

Every honorable effort was made by the Administration to secure the passage of this amendment.

At my request Tuesday, January 31, 1865, was the day fixed for the vote to be taken on the amendment.

A faithful record of the final act of the 38th Congress on this question will be found on pages 523 to 531 of the CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE.

The Speaker stated the question, and announced "That the gentleman from Ohio was entitled to the floor," which

under the rules gave me one hour in which to close the debate.

Never before, and certain I am that never again, will I be seized with so strong a desire to give utterance to the thoughts and emotions which throbbed my heart and brain.

I knew that the hour was at hand when the world would witness the complete triumph of a cause, which at the beginning of my political life I had not hoped to live long enough to see, and that on that day, before our session closed, an act, as just as it was merciful to oppressor and oppressed, was to be enacted into law, and soon thereafter became a part of our national Constitution forever.

The hour and the occasion was an immortal one in the nation's history, and memorable to each actor who voted for the amendment.

Every available foot of space, both in the galleries and on the floor of the House, was crowded at an early hour, and many hundreds could not get within hearing. Never before, nor afterwards, did I see so brilliant and distinguished a gathering in that hall, nor one where the feeling was more intense. The Judges of the Supreme Court, the members of the Cabinet, the Vice-President and Senators, most of the foreign Ministers and all the distinguished visitors who could secure seats, with their wives, daughters and friends, were present to witness the sublimest event in our national life.

You will readily understand that this was an occasion to inspire any man of my temperament with a strong desire to speak, and yet it was beyond question my duty to yield all my time to gentlemen of the opposition, who had promised to vote for the amendment, and desired to have recorded in the official organ of the House the reasons for the vote which they were about to give.

The first gentleman to whom I yielded was the Hon. Archibald McAllister of Pennsylvania, an old-fashioned Democrat of the Jackson school. He was not a speaker, and the brief "statement," as he called it, which he sent to the Clerk's desk to be read for him as he stood on the floor, with every eye in that great hall fixed on his tall form, is so characteristic, and withal expresses so tersely the reasons which

impelled him and thousands of other loyal and conservative men to demand the immediate abolition of slavery, that I quote what he said entire.

I will read it to you, and repeat what he said, as nearly as I can, with the same intonation of voice and manner as he read it to me in my committee-room that morning, a few minutes before the House convened.

He said "That it was due to his constituents that they should know why he changed his vote, and that he could not make a speech, that he was so nervous that he dare not even trust himself to read what he had written, and asked me if I would yield him the floor long enough to allow him to send to the Clerk's desk, and have read what he desired to say to his constituents." I never was more anxious to yield the floor to any man than I was to him, and answered, "Certainly, I will be glad to yield you all the time you ask." He then read me this short, and now historic speech, and I said to him then, as I say to you now, that it was, under all the circumstances, the best and most eloquent speech delivered in the House of Representatives in favor of the Thirteenth Amendment. This is the speech, and the way he read it to me :

"When this subject was before this House on a former occasion, I voted against the measure. I have been in favor of exhausting all means of conciliation to restore the Union as our fathers made it. I am for the whole Union and utterly opposed to secession, or dissolution in any shape. The result of all the peace missions, and especially that of Mr. Blair, has satisfied me that nothing short of the recognition of their independence will satisfy the Southern Confederacy. It must therefore be destroyed, and in voting for the present measure, I cast my vote against the corner-stone of the Southern Confederacy, and declare eternal war against the enemies of my country."

As soon as he had finished reading it, I grasped his hand with enthusiasm, and heartily congratulated him, and said, "Mr. McAllister, that is a better and more telling speech by far than any which has been made for the amendment, and I believe that it will be quoted hereafter more than any speech made in Congress in its favor."

When the Clerk of the House finished reading this brief



speech of this plain, blunt man, it called forth general applause on the floor and in the galleries, and when I afterwards read it to Mr. Lincoln, Chase and others, they were then as pronounced in its endorsement as I am now.

To the end that there should be no pretext for "filibustering" (as I knew the amendment might be defeated in that way), I determined from the start to so conduct the debate that every gentleman opposed to the amendment who cared to be heard should have ample time and opportunity.

After the previous question had been seconded, and all debate ordered closed, there could be but two roll-calls (if there were no filibustering) before the final vote.

The first roll-call was on a motion made by the opposition, to lay my motion to reconsider on the table. Such a motion is generally regarded as a test vote.

Hundreds of tally sheets had been distributed on the floor and in the galleries, many being in the hands of ladies. Before the result of the first roll-call was announced, it was known all over the House that the vote was two less than the necessary two-thirds, and both Mr. Stevens of Pennsylvania and Mr. Washburn of Illinois excitedly exclaimed: "General, we are defeated." "No, gentlemen, we are not," was my prompt answer. The second vote was on my motion to reconsider, which would bring the House, at the next roll-call, to a direct vote on the passage of the amendment.

The excitement was now the most intense I ever witnessed; the oldest members, with the Speaker and the reporters in the galleries, believed that we were defeated. When the result of the second vote was announced, we lacked ONE VOTE of two-thirds, whereupon many threw down their tally sheets and admitted defeat. I now arose and stood, while the roll was being called on the final vote and said to those around me, that we would have NOT LESS than four (4), and I believed seven (7) majority over the necessary two-thirds.

As the roll was completed, the Speaker directed that his name be called as a member of the House, and when he voted he announced to an astonished assemblage, "that the yeas were 119, and the nays 56, and that the bill had received the two-thirds majority required by the Constitution." It was a

moment or two before the House or the galleries recovered from their surprise and recognized the fact that we had triumphed. When they did, a shout went up from the floor and galleries, and the vast audience rose to their feet, many members jumping on their desks, with shouts and waving of hats and handkerchiefs, and gave vent to their feelings by every demonstration of joy. It was a scene such as I had never before witnessed, and can never be witnessed again.

Mr. Ingersoll, of Illinois, said: "Mr. Speaker, in honor of this sublime and immortal event, I move that this House do now adjourn," which motion was carried.

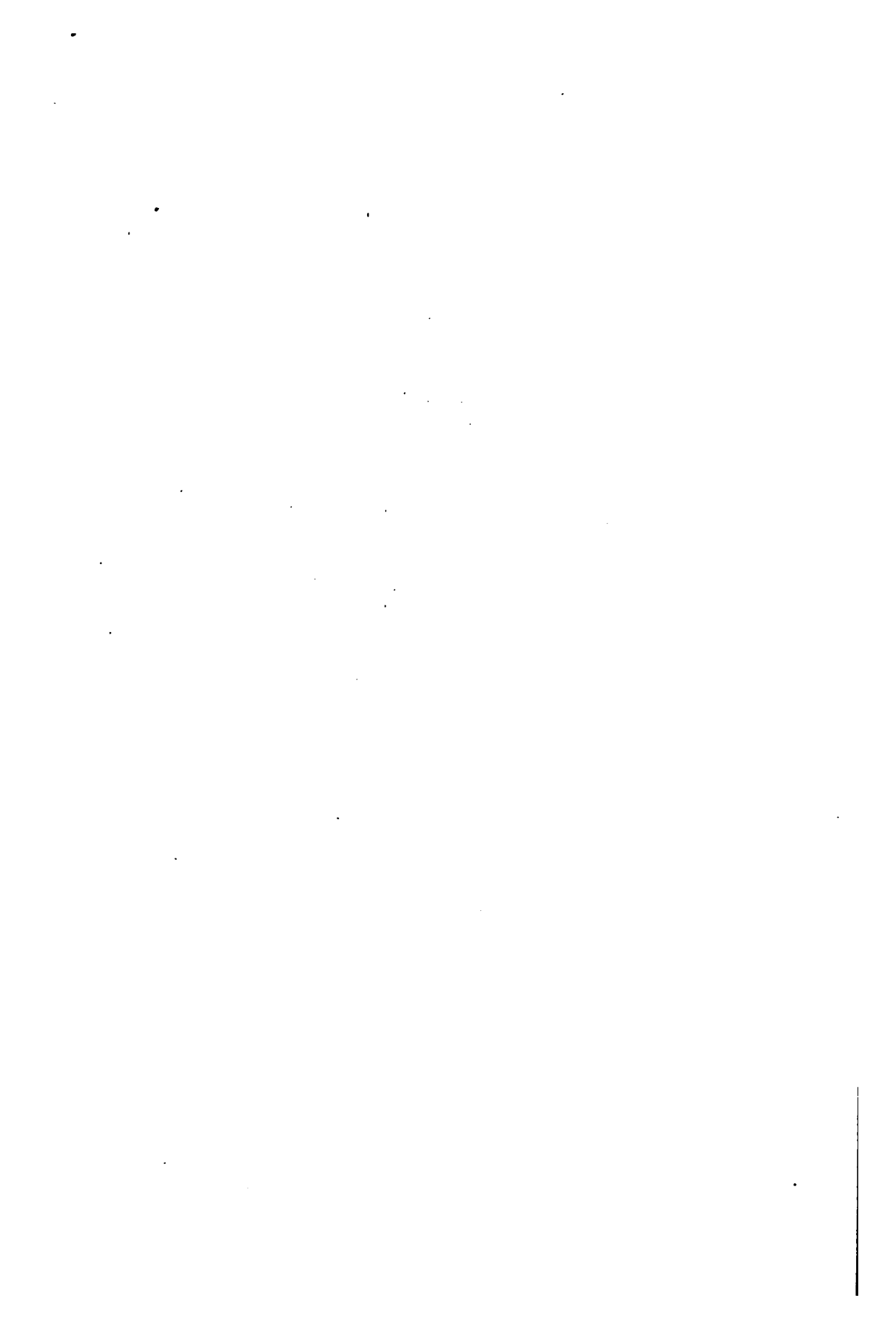
When this vote was taken, the House had but 183 members, 94 of whom were Republicans, 64 Democrats, and 25 border-State Union men.

If the vote is analyzed, it will be seen that of the 119 votes recorded for the amendment 13 were by men from the border States, and eleven (11) were by Democrats from the free States. If but 3 out of the 24, who voted with us, had voted against the amendment, it would have failed. If but four (4) of the eight members who were absent had appeared and voted against it, it would have been lost. Had all the Northern Democrats who supported the amendment voted against, it would have been defeated by 26 votes. Had all the border-State men who voted for it voted against, it would have failed by 32 votes.

If the border-State men and Northern Democrats who voted for the amendment had voted against, it would have failed by 65 votes.

Mr. Lincoln was especially delighted at the vote which the amendment received from the border slave States, and frequently congratulated me on that result.

Bancroft, the historian, has drawn with a graphic pen the characters of many of the able and illustrious men of the Revolution which achieved our independence. In writing of George Mason, of Virginia, he said: "His sincerity made him wise and bold, modest and unchanging, with a scorn for anything mean and cowardly, as illustrated in his unselfish attachment to human freedom." And these identical qualities of head and heart were pre-eminently conspicuous in all





*Members of the Senate and House of Representatives  
who voted for the Thirteenth Amendment.*

the border statesmen who voted for the Thirteenth Amendment.

It would be difficult in any age or country to find grander or more unselfish and patriotic men than Henry Winter Davis and Governor Francis Thomas of Maryland, or James S. Rollins, Frank P. Blair and Governor King of Missouri, or George H. Yeaman of Kentucky, or N. P. Smithers of Delaware, and not less worthy of mention for their unchanging fidelity to principle are all the Northern Democrats who voted for the amendment, prominent among whom I may name Governor English, of Connecticut ; Judge Homer A. Nelson and Moses S. Odell, of New York ; Archibald McAllister, of Pennsylvania ; Wells A. Hutchins, of Ohio, and A. C. Baldwin, of Michigan.

Of the twenty-four border-State and Northern men who made up this majority which enabled us to win this victory, all had defied their party discipline, and had deliberately and with unfaltering faith marched to their political death. These are the men whom our future historians will honor, and to whom this nation owes a debt of eternal gratitude.

But seven of this twenty-four are now living, the others have gone to

“Join the choir invisible  
Of those immortal dead, who live again  
In minds made better by their presence ; live  
In pulses stirred to generosity,  
In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn  
For miserable aims that end with self.”

# ADDRESS

OF HON. J. M. ASHLEY,

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AT MEMORIAL HALL, TOLEDO, OHIO, JUNE 2, 1890.

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REMINISCENCES OF THE GREAT REBELLION—CALHOUN, SEWARD  
AND LINCOLN.

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MEMORIAL HALL, TOLEDO, O., June 2, 1890.

GENERAL JAMES M. ASHLEY, Toledo, Ohio.

DEAR SIR: The undersigned, on behalf of the Toledo Branch Society of the Army of the Potomac and the Veteran Association of Battery H, 1st O. V. Light Artillery, do hereby most heartily thank you for your able, instructive and eloquent address this evening delivered at Memorial Hall, and earnestly solicit a copy of the same, with your consent that it be published in the public journals and in such more permanent and enduring form as may be deemed best.

Hoping for and awaiting your favorable reply, we are

Your obedient servants,

J. C. LEE, L. F. LYTTLE,  
CHAS. M. MONTGOMERY, N. HOUGHTON,  
D. P. CHAMBERLIN,

For the Toledo Branch Society of the Army of the Potomac.

WM. CORLETT, J. L. PRAY,  
WM. E. PARMELEE, JOHN H. MERRELL,

W. G. PIERCE,

For the Veteran Association of Battery H, 1st O. V. Light  
Artillery

TOLEDO, OHIO, June 3, 1890.

GENTLEMEN: It gives me pleasure to comply with the wishes of the societies which you represent.

Herewith please find copy of my address as requested.

It is proper to state that the major portion of the address, touching the relation of Calhoun, Seward, and Lincoln to the War of the Rebellion, was put in type and the historic quotations verified before its delivery.

The extemporary part of the address was so faithfully reported that but few corrections, as you see, were required.

Truly yours,

J. M. ASHLEY.

To General JOHN C. LEE,  
WILLIAM CORLETT and others,  
Committee.

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MR. PRESIDENT, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I need not tell you how welcome your cordial greeting is to me to-night. You can all see that. In again meeting so many of my old friends face to face, I remember with pride the greetings which I have received on like occasions, when making public addresses here at home. And as I stand here and recognition follows recognition, my pulse beats are quicker, and I am glad that I accepted the invitation of your committee. At first I felt that I could not take the time, and I certainly should not have done so but for the worthy object which your committee represented to me you had in hand. The surroundings in this hall; the beautiful display of flags—with the quartet singing, and the thoughts and emotions of the hour, stir my heart to its very depths, and carries me back to the historic scenes and heroic acts of 1861, and I feel that I am again but thirty-six years old. In my mind's eye there is now passing before me panorama after panorama, the like of which the world had never seen, and of which many before me formed a part. And though more than a quarter of a century has elapsed, I can see to-night, as I then saw, the advancing, resistless power, which glowed in

face and eye and step, as the volunteer soldiers of the republic, in the faith and hope and strength of youth, marched forth to victory or death.

Four years later, I saw, as I now see, passing in review before the acting President, his Cabinet and Generals, at the national capital, the survivors of that invincible army, with war-worn faces and torn and tattered banners, returning victorious to their homes amid the acclamations of a grateful people, and as long as I live (and listen as now) I shall hear the measured and triumphal tread of their immortal feet. [Applause.]

But I fear to trust myself as of old, on an occasion like this; and I have put in cold type what I propose to say to you to-night, except such anecdotes as I may interject.

Mr. President: The annals are yet largely unwritten of the men who, prior to and during the War of the Rebellion, molded and directed public opinion; raised, organized and equipped armies for the defense of the nation's life and led them to victory. But the facts will soon be eagerly gleaned from the records of the past, and woven into some of the most thrilling and instructive chapters of our national history.

So also must the unwritten history of the master conspirators in the slaveholders' rebellion be compiled and written by impartial and conscientious historians who "shall a round, unvarnished tale deliver, nor set down aught in malice."

As one of the actors in the national Congress, from the beginning to the end of that unprovoked rebellion, it is to-night my duty, in addressing you, to speak dispassionately of men and facts from my personal recollection, refreshed by such official and other authenticated records as I can command.

Within the limits of such an address, I can only present to you in brief such facts as are within my memory, or can be verified from accepted sources, touching the opinions and movements of public men, parties and churches, which paved the way for and made possible the rebellion of 1861.

Had not my library, which I had for many years been collecting, with all my private and political papers (includ-



ing many letters both from leading abolitionists and secessionists) been destroyed by fire in 1871, I should have given you some original reading to-night.

Beginning active systematic work as an abolitionist when but eighteen, I spared neither time nor labor to learn and thoroughly understand the position and tendency of every public man of note or prominence in the South, and also the exact status of as many of the men of intellect in that section who were not in public life, as could be induced to answer my letters, especially clergyman.

Like most boys, I was a worshiper of great men, particularly military men; and before I was fifteen I made a pilgrimage to the "Hermitage" to see the idol of my heart, General Jackson.

Before that, I had seen at Fleming Springs (a fashionable Kentucky resort in those days), Colonel Richard M. Johnson, Vice President; General Leslie Coombs, Henry Clay, Cassius M. Clay and Mr. Corwin of Ohio; all of whom I then regarded as among the greatest men in the world.

In February, 1841, I went to Washington to witness the inauguration of General Harrison on the 4th of March, and especially to see Mount Vernon and the tomb of Washington. When I visited the gallery of the House of Representatives, the first man I asked to have pointed out to me was ex-President John Quincy Adams, "the old man eloquent," as he was called. I then looked upon Mr. Adams as one of the most extraordinary men in this country, and especially admired the way in which he handled the "slave barons."

The fact that he was the only ex-President who had ever served as a member of Congress added to my esteem for his character, and this admiration remains as strong and fresh to-day as it was then.

You will all remember that he was stricken down in the House, and fell with his face to the foe, fighting the slave conspirators, when he was over eighty years old.

While in Washington, and before the inauguration of General Harrison, Colonel Johnson, the outgoing Vice-President (who was a friend of my father), introduced me to President Van Buren at the White House. I then regarded my presentation to Mr. Van Buren as the most important event

of my life. I was also delighted to be introduced to John M. Botts and Henry A. Wise, leading Virginia Whigs, and to R. M. T. Hunter, a leading Democrat, each of whom were members of the House, and were regarded by their friends at that time as remarkable men.

Four years later I attended the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore in May, 1844 (although not a voter), and through the friendship of ex-Vice-President Johnson had a seat on the floor of the convention with the Kentucky delegation; I then favored the nomination of Van Buren and Johnson, the anti-Calhoun ticket, which had been defeated in 1840.

Before the Baltimore convention assembled, I visited Washington, to study the situation. (Imagine a boy of twenty studying the situation.) Mr. George M. Bibb, of Kentucky, at that time Secretary of the Treasury, introduced me to President John Tyler, who was openly a candidate for the Democratic nomination at Baltimore.

Mr. Bibb also introduced me to the great nullifier, John C. Calhoun, then Mr. Tyler's Secretary of State.

After the convention at Baltimore had nominated James K. Polk of Tennessee for President, and George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania for Vice-President, I returned to Washington, and while there called on Mr. Calhoun twice to look at and study the man. Personally Mr. Calhoun was to me the most pleasing man I have ever met, and the memory of my interviews, and the letters which I afterwards received from him, will always be a source of pleasure. I was an ardent admirer of General Jackson, and knew that the old General hated the great nullifier, and had expressed a wish to hang him; but notwithstanding this fact, each time I talked with Mr. Calhoun he charmed me by the frankness and freedom of his manner, and the dignity and courtesy of his bearing.

If I could have accepted his pro-slavery and his States'-rights opinions, I should certainly at that time have followed his leadership as enthusiastically as thousands of young Southern men of that day followed him faithfully, and adhered to his political heresies and fatal dogmas until death, or the defeat of the Rebellion, buried them in a common grave forever. I afterwards came to know that Mr. Calhoun

had been the master conspirator in defeating the nomination of Mr. Van Buren at Baltimore, and that, as Secretary of State, he officially committed the President-elect (James K. Polk), one day before his inauguration, to the unjust and indefensible war with Mexico.

I state these facts about myself that you may know how, through correspondence and personal acquaintance, I was enabled in 1861 to clearly comprehend the power and purpose of the conspirators, and the danger which menaced the Nation's life.

For thirty years or more prior to the Rebellion, the slave conspirators worked like "sappers and miners" in their preparation for it. They were tireless, cunning and unscrupulous in all they proposed or did. If I should now undertake to present in their historic order but one in ten of their so-called "peace and compromise propositions," it would require all the time which I propose to give to my address.

One of their earliest, boldest and most objectionable acts was to deny the right of any citizen to "petition Congress on the subject of slavery." The presentation of such petitions by John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, Mr. Giddings of Ohio and Mr. Slade of Vermont was the pretext for a majority of the "slave barons" in the House to threaten to withdraw unless the North "accepted in good faith as a peace offering and compromise" the adoption of a "gag-rule" which they at once formulated, and, with the aid of Northern allies, they had adopted.

From the hour of the adoption of the "gag-rule" until the War of the Rebellion, the "slave-barons" were practically the nation's political masters.

On the 24th of November, 1832, Calhoun and his co-conspirators in South Carolina passed an ordinance of secession, using the tariff as a pretext, and then and there an organized scheme of a slave empire took form and shape. General Jackson's proclamation against nullification, and his message to Congress, were patriotic and able State papers. The history of that formidable conspiracy ought to be impressed on every child of the republic, to the end that General Jackson's noble and manly bearing might the better be contrasted with

President Buchanan's weak and humiliating surrender to the demands made by the rebel conspirators of 1860 and 1861.

In 1836 Calhoun inaugurated the Texas annexation scheme, and attempted to force it into the presidential election of that year.

In his "Thirty Years' View," Senator Benton,\* when speaking of this Texas annexation plot, declared that "the Calhoun conspirators had organized and revived the nullification and disunion plot of 1832, and revived it under circumstances more dangerous than ever, since coupled with a popular question which gave the plotters the honest sympathies of the patriotic millions."

"I have often," he added, "intimated it before, but now proclaim it. Disunion is at the bottom of this long concealed Texas machination. Intrigue and speculation co-operate, and I denounce it to the American people."

"Under the pretext of getting Texas into the Union, the scheme is to get the South out of it. A separate confederacy, stretching from the Atlantic to the Californias, is the cherished vision of disappointed ambition [pointing to Calhoun], and for this consummation every circumstance has been carefully and artfully contrived."

This speech by Senator Benton was made before our unjust war with Mexico, and of course before the acquisition of California and Mexican territory, or the completion of the Texas annexation plot, and shows how clearly the great Senator understood the conspirators.

In that same speech he declares "that he intends to save himself for the day when the battle for the disunion of these States is to be fought; not in words, but with iron, and for the hearts of traitors, who will appear in arms against their country."

These were prophetic words of warning, uttered by one of our greatest Senators; but they were unheeded.

Mr. John Tyler, who had been elected Vice-President as a Whig with General Harrison in 1840, became the acting President on the death of the President in 1841, one month after his inauguration.

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\* See Senator Benton's speeches in the United States Senate prior to the Mexican War.

At first secretly, and then openly, Tyler abandoned the Whig party which elected him, and identified himself with the Calhoun nullification wing of the Democratic party. As Benton, in his "Thirty Years' View" states it: "The Texas annexation scheme now became an intrigue on the part of some for the Presidency, and a plot to dissolve the Union on the part of others, and a Texas scrip and land speculation scheme with many," and he openly denounced it.\*

Prior to making an official move for the consummation of the Texas annexation plot, it became necessary to get Mr. Webster, who was Secretary of State, out of Tyler's Cabinet, and the conspirators were equal to the task. Mr. Webster was without much trouble bowed out of the Cabinet, and Mr. Legare of South Carolina selected for his place.

In a short time Mr. Legare died and Mr. Upshur of Virginia, an ardent disciple of Calhoun, and a personal friend, was made Mr. Legare's successor as Secretary of State.

Within a few months Mr. Upshur was killed by the explosion of a big gun on board the PRINCETON, and Mr. Calhoun was made his successor. The Texas annexation and secession plot now took form and shape under the direction of the original conspirator.

One of the earliest and most extraordinary official acts of Mr. Calhoun, after assuming the office of Secretary of State, was to write and publish the first and most elaborate official State paper ever issued by this Government in favor of the maintenance and propagation of slavery. Mr. Benton says "that Mr. Calhoun did not permit this document to be published until all hope for the success of his intrigue for the Democratic nomination at Baltimore in 1844 had been abandoned and a conspiracy to form a separate republic consisting of Texas and some Southern States had become the object" of Calhoun and his followers.†

In a short time after the defeat of Mr. Van Buren for renomination at Baltimore in 1844 by the selection of Polk, a mass convention was held in South Carolina, at which resolutions were adopted "in favor of a convention of all the

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\*See Benton's Thirty Years' View, Vol. II., chapter on Texas Annexation.

†See Benton's "Thirty Years' View."

slaveholding States, to demand the prompt annexation of Texas, WITH OR WITHOUT WAR," and if refused by the North, on such terms as the Calhoun conspirators dictated, "the Southern States should proceed PEACEFULLY and CALMLY to dissolve the Union and annex Texas to the Southern Confederacy."

Conventions of a like character were also held in a number of Southern States immediately after the South Carolina manifesto was issued, at which Southern conventions, resolutions such as I have just quoted were enthusiastically adopted.

Two days before the inauguration of Polk, the Texas annexation plot, with its scrip and land-jobbing scheme, was practically consummated by Mr. Calhoun, as Secretary of State, and the unjust war with Mexico followed as the conspirators intended.

President Polk could have defeated the Calhoun-Texas annexation programme had he been a man of ability and honestly against the plot. But, as he was a weak and vain man, the conspirators easily captured him, and the war, boldly inaugurated for slave conquest and domination, ended in the acquisition of California and one-third of Mexico.

When Mexico, a sister republic, lay prostrate, weak and bleeding at the feet of the United States, and her officials were forced to execute an unjust treaty, relinquishing all claim to any part of Texas, and also cede to us California and what is now New Mexico, Arizona, Utah and Nevada, and all the territory north of the southern boundary as now designated on our maps, except the Gadsden purchase (about ONE-THIRD of her entire territorial area), her Peace Commissioner sought to have a clause inserted in the treaty which should provide "THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD ENGAGE NOT TO PERMIT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SLAVERY IN ANY PART OF THE TERRITORY THUS CEDED."

In a communication of September 4, 1847, from Mr. Trist, our Minister to Mexico, to Mr. Buchanan, Secretary of State, he writes that the Mexican Commissioner said to him: "If it were proposed to the people of the United States to part with a portion of their territory in order that the Inquisition should be established there, it would excite no stronger feel-

ing of abhorrence than those awakened in Mexico by the prospect of the introduction of human slavery in any territory parted with by her.”\*

Mr. Trist, when communicating the above proposition to this Government in his letter to Mr. Buchanan, said that he answered the Mexican Commissioner as follows :

“The bare mention of such a treaty is impossible. No American President would DARE present such a treaty to the Senate. I assured him that if it were in their power to offer me the whole territory described in OUR PROJECT, INCREASED TEN-FOLD IN VALUE AND IN ADDITION COVERED A FOOT THICK WITH PURE GOLD, ON THE SINGLE CONDITION THAT SLAVERY SHOULD BE EXCLUDED THEREFROM, I COULD NOT ENTERTAIN THE OFFER FOR A MOMENT, NOR EVEN THINK OF COMMUNICATING IT TO WASHINGTON.”

Now, gentlemen, you see the kind of men we had to fight.

The historian will find no difficulty in determining why the slave barons confided so implicitly in Mr. Buchanan when President. His conduct while Senator and Secretary of State, and Minister to Great Britain was a guarantee of his subservient co-operation.

As I now look back upon that cold-blooded crime, and see a small, weak, struggling sister republic, not claiming to rank with us in wealth, culture or civilization, crushed beneath the iron heel of power, without the shadow of a pretext—not only without a pretext, but in the face of an official falsehood, pleading that the territory and people which she is forced to cede to us shall not be cursed with human slavery, I feel the blush of shame tingle my cheek.

You all know how the slave conspirators treated this manly and pathetic appeal of the Mexican Commissioner. And what must the honest American historian say of this appalling and indescribable crime ?

The annexation of Texas was now an accomplished fact; the ten millions or more of worthless “Texas scrip” (as it was called) then afloat, most of which was in the hands of the conspirators, now became valuable, and the land “certificates” at once commanded a ready market. The slave barons thus triumphed politically and financially at the expense of

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\* Wilson's Rise and Fall of the Slave Power.

more than two hundred millions (the cost of the war) from the public Treasury, the loss of over twenty thousand lives of American soldiers, and the sacrifice of our national honor.

The discussion which followed the proposition to prohibit slavery by law in all the territory acquired from Mexico, again shook the nation politically from centre to circumference, during which Mr. Calhoun, for the first time in our history, in an elaborate speech, "DENIED THAT CONGRESS HAD THE POWER UNDER THE CONSTITUTION TO PROHIBIT SLAVERY IN THE TERRITORIES OF THE UNITED STATES ACQUIRED BY THE COMMON BLOOD AND TREASURE OF THE NATION." You will note that Mr. Calhoun now denies, for the first time, a power which had been exercised under Jefferson and all the earlier Presidents without question down to that day.

Again the slave barons threatened to dissolve the Union, unless their imperious demands were complied with, and, as a result, a series of so-called compromise measures were patched up, by which California was admitted as a free State, the Territories left open to slavery south of 36 deg. 30 min., and a new and more exacting fugitive-slave law was passed, than which there never was, in the history of any civilized people, a more infamous enactment.

In 1846, the Supreme Court, which had been deliberately packed by the slave barons, decided, in the Van Zandt case, that the Constitution and laws of the United States recognized property in man, and the United States Marshal for the District of Columbia soon after advertised two colored women for sale, and after selling them at public auction deposited the money in the Treasury of the United States at Washington.\* The Dred Scott decision soon followed, and the republic of Washington and Jefferson was thus practically transformed into a slave despotism.

In the Presidential election of 1852 both the Whig and Democratic parties resolved, in their platforms, to abide by, and maintain in perpetuity, the compromise measures of 1850, including the fugitive-slave law; and pledged themselves to

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\* Wilson's Rise and Fall of the Slave Power



discountenance all discussion of the slavery question in Congress or out of it.

Many well-meaning but weak men in the North imagined that this was to be the last and final demand of the slave barons. They were doomed to disappointment.

In 1854 a new crisis was precipitated upon a long-suffering and confiding country. It will be observed that whenever a "crisis" was needed, the conspirators always had one ready at hand.

The slave barons now demanded as a condition of remaining in the Union, that the "Missouri Compromise" should be repealed, to the end that they could take their slaves into Kansas, and thus make a slave State out of a Territory which by their own votes had been dedicated to freedom, as a compromise to get Missouri into the Union as a slave State.

To this insulting demand a majority of the old Whig party in the North, and many members of the Democratic party, entered strong and vigorous protests.

During this disgraceful controversy nearly all the Whig members of Congress, both Senators and Representatives from the slave States, held a secret caucus in Washington without conferring with, or notifying, their Northern political associates, at which secret caucus a majority of the Southern Whigs attending it decided to support the repeal of the Missouri compromise, as proposed by Douglas.

This caucus, and the secret action of the Southern Whigs, terminated the very existence of the old Whig party. All will remember that Mr. Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska bill became law, and that the Republican party was then born. As a people we had now reached a point in our moral descent and political abasement from which nothing but a baptism of fire and blood could have redeemed and held us together as a free people, and saved us from the decay and death that had been the fate of all the slaveholding empires of the world.

The "slave barons" were everywhere rampant and defiant, the National Government subservient and obedient, and the Southern churches either silent, apologetic or open defenders.

I have thus traced the steps by which, in the land of Washington and Jefferson, the government which they established became a despotism completely dominated in all its parts by an imperious, slaveholding oligarchy.

As a historical fact, we find that our democratic republic had been completely transformed, except in name, and was then being administered in the interest of an insolent and unscrupulous privileged class.

The national Constitution, which prohibited the importation of slaves after the year 1808, and the laws and treaties of the United States which made the slave trade on the high seas "piracy," were trampled in scorn under their feet.

While the slave conspirators in political life were molding and directing parties, and through them administering the National Government, and on their own motion making war and conquering new territory for slavery, at the expense of the blood and treasure of the nation, the slave barons were co-operating commercially, by defiantly and actively engaging in the African slave trade, which was by law and treaties with all civilized nations declared piracy, and the result on conviction, death. In the year 1858, the year in which I was first elected to Congress from this district, the flag of the United States actually covered more pirate ships engaged in the African slave trade than the flags of all the other civilized nations of the world combined. DeBow's SOUTHERN REVIEW states in 1857 "that forty slavers were annually fitted out in the ports of New York and the East, and that the traffic yielded their owners an annual net profit of seven-teen million dollars."

In November, 1853, the SOUTHERN STANDARD said: "We can not only preserve domestic servitude, but can defy the power of the world. With firmness and judgment we can open up the African slave immigration again, and people this noble region of the tropics."

The NEW YORK EVENING POST published a list of names of 85 vessels, fitted out in the port of New York between the 1st of February, 1859, and the 15th of July, 1860, for the African slave trade.

The NEW YORK LEADER, at that time a Tammany paper, asserted "that on an average two vessels each week

cleared out of our harbor bound for Africa and a human cargo."

The **NEW YORK WORLD** declared that "from thirty to sixty thousand slaves a year, under the American flag, are taken from Africa, by vessels, sailing from the single port of New York."

I remember when a yacht called the **WANDERER** ran into a harbor near Brunswick, Georgia, in broad daylight, in December, 1858, and landed a human cargo of some three hundred or more slaves direct from Africa. This fact was duly chronicled at the time by the Southern newspapers, and some of the blacks were dressed up in flaming toggerly, and driven in carriages through the public streets, as a menace and defiance to the National Government.

If the "slave barons" could have held possession of, and administered the National Government for another four years, as they had for the ten preceding years, there is no question but that a majority of the Southern States would have passed laws authorizing incorporated companies, and individual citizens of their respective States, to import direct from Africa, China, or **ELSEWHERE**, such persons as might be apprenticed to said corporations or citizens, for a term of service **NOT TO EXCEED TWENTY-ONE YEARS**. That such a scheme was discussed in 1857 and 1858 I know, and that it had the approval of many slave barons and many more who hoped to become "slave barons," if such laws should be enacted by their States, I also know. Of course it was not intended nor expected that **ONE** in a thousand of such apprentices would live long enough (even if they lived fifty years) to see the end of their servitude.

The statutes of nearly all the Southern States provided for the arrest and sale into perpetual slavery of free negroes for petty offenses, which oftener than otherwise were not offenses in fact, under which laws, the kidnapping and sale of free men, from the Northern as well as the Southern States, were encouraged and protected.

And the Southern law reports and advertisements of runaway slaves furnish ample testimony that "slavery wasn't of nary color," as Hosea Bigelow put it.

I have **SEEN** a number of persons, held as slaves, who

were beyond all question pure white, without a drop of African or mixed blood in their veins, and have seen hundreds, such as the newspapers describe as “runaways,” and “so white, that they would readily pass for white persons.” Slaves of this description were often the children of the slave-master.

I knew many Southern men, and served with some of them in Congress, who openly proclaimed that “the natural and normal condition of capital and labor was that in which capital owned the labor as slaves.”

In 1858 and 1859 the domination in the National Government of the slave barons and kidnappers at home and of the African slave pirates on the high seas was complete.

On every ocean our flag practically gave the slave pirates immunity from search or seizure. At home, no one of the thousands who were notoriously engaged in this infernal traffic had ever been convicted, while hundreds of well-known Christian citizens, both men and women, who had obeyed the Divine command to give a cup of cold water or crust of bread to an escaped bondman, fleeing to Canada, were arrested, convicted and punished by long, cruel and unjust imprisonment.

It is conceded that not less than half a million slaves were imported direct from Africa and sold in this country after the slave trade had been declared “piracy” by law, and by treaty with all civilized nations, and yet but ONE SLAVE PIRATE was ever convicted and hanged in the United States. His name was Captain Nathaniel Gordon, and he was executed in New York City, February 28, 1862.

I declined to sign a petition for his pardon, and told Mr. Lincoln it was about time somebody was hung for slave piracy.

#### THE DEFEAT OF DOUGLAS.

The deliberate and successfully-executed plot of the conspirators to defeat Mr. Douglas for President in 1860 gave ample proof of their consolidated power and indicated unmistakably their ultimate purpose. Their last and crowning political move was the one, in which they had convened in Washington, what they called a “Peace Congress.”

When I tell you that ex-President John Tyler, the mere creature of the Texas annexation conspirators of 1845, was selected for its President, you can without much effort get at the intellectual and political status of nine out of ten of the men, who fussed and fumed and amazed the country by the stupidity and folly of their so-called "peace propositions."

When the future historian comes to summarize the facts of which I have spoken, he will write: "Politically, from 1843 to 1861, this was the rottenest so-called civilized government on earth; morally it was a lazar-house full of dead men's bones; financially it was bankrupt, and the conspirators for its overthrow, through the Secretary of the Treasury, were borrowing money at 12 per cent." And he will add, to the glory of our volunteer army, of which you formed a part, that "the madness of secession and the baseness of slave baron conspiracies at home, and slave piracy under our flag on the high seas, was then stamped out, and made impossible forever."

In the midst of this moral and political abasement and national degradation of which I have spoken, Abraham Lincoln was called by his countrymen to the office of President.

Congress convened in extra session on his proclamation. All the laws necessary for the organization of an army were enacted. Full power was given him in his discretion to order and direct the army; and for four years, which I need not undertake to summarize to-night, he so administered the government as at every step to command the profound admiration not only of the great men of this country, but of the great men of the world.

I did not want Mr. Lincoln to invite either Mr. Seward or Mr. Chase to seats in his Cabinet. I was anxious to have them both in the Senate, as I looked on them as great Senators. And then, I did not feel certain that Mr. Chase (who up to that time had given no evidence of financial ability) would make a successful Secretary of the Treasury; while as a Senator I was certain he would stand with the foremost, as he had done, during his first term in that body. The legislature of Ohio had just elected him for six years, and in view of the approaching storm, I felt confident he would make no personal or party mistake in the Senate, while he MIGHT fail

as Secretary of the Treasury. It was generally rumored, early in January, that Mr. Seward was to be Secretary of State, and when I met Mr. Lincoln soon after he reached Washington, and this announcement was confirmed by him, I simply said: "Mr. President, I cannot tell you how much I regret it." He expressed some surprise, and wanted to know my objections. I answered that it was too late now to talk about it, but that my objections were the same as those I had against Mr. Seward's nomination at Chicago, and that the unsatisfactory speech which he had just made in the Senate, was an additional objection.

I suggested but one name for his Cabinet, and that was Edwin M. Stanton, of Ohio, for Secretary of War (then a member of Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet). I had known Mr. Stanton quite intimately from my boyhood, and recognized his great ability and tireless energy. In addition to this, I had repeatedly called at Mr. Stanton's house to confer with him after he became a member of Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet, and found him to be heart and soul against the conspirators; that he fully understood their movements, and was ready and anxious to defeat their plots.

One night after a protracted interview he walked to the door with me, and as he bade me good-night, grasped my hand and said: "Stand firm; you men have committed no blunder yet." When I repeated these words to Mr. Lincoln, and related in substance other interviews of a like character, and told him something of Mr. Stanton's early life in Ohio, I saw that I had made an impression on Mr. Lincoln quite favorable to him.

But when the Cabinet was announced, I was about as disappointed as any man in Washington, because there was but one man in it for whom I would have voted, AS A FIRST CHOICE, and for him only because he was from a border slave State, and that man was Mr. Bates of Missouri, for Attorney General.

Of course I was delighted when later on, Mr. Lincoln made Mr. Stanton Secretary of War.

All the objections I then had to Mr. Seward, as Secretary of State, and many more, soon became patent to the ordinary observer.

I had never regarded Mr. Seward as a practical man, nor a safe party leader, except for a party in the minority. His speech of January 12, 1861, in the Senate, after it was known he had been selected by Mr. Lincoln for Secretary of State, and his official blunders after he became Secretary, tell the story of his utter inability to safely and successfully lead a great party, charged with the administration of a government such as ours, during the dark days from 1861 to 1865.

He who now reads that speech of Mr. Seward, in the light of history, will fully comprehend that his leadership was like the blind leading the blind.

That speech was prepared by Mr. Seward with more than his usual care, as it should have been, before its delivery in the Senate by the man soon to become Prime Minister.

After it had been written and put in type, it was reviewed and recast, and conned over and over again, not only by Mr. Seward, but by more than one friend of ability and position, and every word or line that made it mean anything definite was stricken out, and every word or suggestion was deliberately added, that could possibly make it more foggy or nebulous.

The day of its delivery in the Senate was a solemn and memorable one, not only in Washington, but throughout the country. The great heart of the nation was still and heavy with apprehension. Every loyal citizen expected and longed to have pointed out to him the way to preserve the national unity and national life without dishonor. Never in our history has there been such an occasion for a statesman, and never before was there such a failure.

Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, then an old man (and by far the ablest man with whom I served in Congress), walked over with me from the House to the Senate Chamber. We both had seats in the aisle, a little in front of Mr. Seward's desk, and could hear him distinctly. I need not say that we listened, as did every one in that vast audience and in the entire nation, for one word or thought that would stir our hearts or give us hope. But no such word or suggestion came in that speech from the man who was so soon to be charged with the most delicate and responsible office in Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet.

I have more than once seen both the Senate and House in mourning, but never did I see so sad an audience quit the Senate Chamber as on that day.

While walking back with Mr. Stevens towards the House, I said: "Mr. Stevens, what do you say to all that?" His answer was short, sharp and characteristic. He said: "I have listened to every word, and by the living God, I have heard nothing." After going with Mr. Stevens to his committee-room, I immediately returned to the Senate to get the opinion of the Senators with whom I was intimate. Taking Mr. Wade by the hand, I said: "Well, Mr. Senator, what have you to say?" And he answered: "If we follow such leadership we will be in the wilderness longer than the children of Israel under Moses." Mr. Sumner said: "I knew what was coming, but confess that I am sad." Zac. Chandler did not wait for my question, but as I approached him, raised his hands and exclaimed: "Great God! how are the mighty fallen!"

And this was the judgment of a majority of our friends, in both the Senate and House, with whom at that time I exchanged opinions about the speech. It was reluctantly admitted that it meant a backdown to the conspirators.

And this, alas! was the best, and ALL, the new Prime Minister had to offer us. Instead of pointing out the path of duty and safety as a statesman should have done, he led us into the wilderness, enveloped in a cloud of words and metaphors, and there left us.

I was anxious from the day of the delivery of that speech until the Republican Senators, with but one dissenting vote, requested Mr. Lincoln to dismiss Mr. Seward from his Cabinet. And though the President did not comply with that request of the Republican Senators, as I then thought and now think he should have done, I felt confident that we should from that time on have less of Mr. Seward's amazing assumption, that (when in his hand) "the pen is mightier than the sword." Mr. Lincoln's position and leadership was unquestioned from this date.

SEWARD.

Immediately after entering upon his duties as Secretary



of State, Mr. Seward assumed to direct all departments of the Government, substantially as if he were a British Prime Minister and Mr. Lincoln but the nominal Executive.

Without consulting either the President, the Secretary of War, or the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Seward undertook, secretly and on his own responsibility, to DIRECT the movements of military and naval officers as if HE were in fact President. He caused the rebel authorities in Charleston to be notified by telegraph that the "Administration had given a confidential order to reinforce Fort Sumter," to which Mr. Seward was opposed, as a matter of policy, and therefore secretly resolved to defeat it. The next day he notified Judge Campbell, a notorious secessionist, then on the Supreme Bench, that "faith as to Fort Sumter has been kept, wait and see." No one claims that Mr. Seward did this as a disloyal man, but as a theorist, who honestly believed that in his hand "the pen was mightier than the sword." Mr. Seward was, in theory, a centralist, rather than a disunionist, and yet he was absolutely without any fixed or clearly defined policy when the Rebellion broke out. He simply drifted on an unknown sea. His efforts at delay resulted in desperate expedients, and led him to send out secret agents to obstruct, mislead and delay all military and naval movements, for fear that actual war would falsify his prophetic utterances and defeat his negotiations.

Over and over again he had declared that "within ninety days there would be peace," that "harmony and reconciliation would come within ninety days."

How peace and harmony were to be secured he never clearly made known. He simply predicted it.

In his speech of January 12th in the Senate he proposed to meet "exaction with concession," and "violence with peaceably submitting to the doctrine of coercion, and quietly evacuating all the forts, and abandoning all the public property in the rebel States, EXCEPT WHERE AUTHORITY COULD BE EXERCISED WITHOUT WAGING WAR."

He and General Scott had made up their minds "to let the wayward sisters depart in peace."

By pursuing this policy, he hoped in some mysterious

way ultimately to bring each seceded State back into the Union.

In that speech he said: "I am willing to vote for an amendment to the Constitution declaring that it shall not, by any future amendment, be so altered as to confer on Congress power to abolish or interfere with slavery in any State."

I say nothing of Mr. Seward's damaging dispatches to Mr. Adams, our Minister to Great Britain, nor of his blunders with other powers; I simply state that it was among our great misfortunes that he was called into the Cabinet. In the Senate he would have been both USEFUL AND HARMLESS.

I saw Mr. Lincoln early the next morning after the Senatorial Committee called on him to ask for Mr. Seward's removal.

It was a characteristic interview. The President asked me "what I would do if I were in his place." This was a way in which he often put questions to men. I answered him "that what he would do or what I would do was not a fair way to put it," "but that if I was in his place and held his opinions, I would accept the resignations of Mr. Seward and Mr. Chase instanter; and at once appoint Mr. Collamer of Vermont, Secretary of State, and Mr. Fessenden of Maine, Secretary of the Treasury."

The suggestion pleased Mr. Lincoln very much, especially the naming of Mr. Collamer for Secretary of State.

Mr. Collamer had been in General Harrison's Cabinet in 1841, and was recognized as an able lawyer, as well as the most conservative Republican Senator in the Senate. Mr. Collamer had acted as chairman of the Senatorial Committee which had called on the President to demand Mr. Seward's dismissal from the Cabinet, and Mr. Lincoln saw at once that such an appointment would strike the extreme conservative wing of the Republican party very favorably, and he was all the more pleased with the suggestion because it came from so pronounced a radical as I was, and a recognized friend of Chase. He said two or three times: "Why, Ashley, Collamer would make a first-class Secretary;" and added, "and how it would surprise the Senate!"

**GENERAL SCOTT.**

The day the first advance of our army marched across the long bridge at Washington will always be a memorable one to me. I had never before seen such a military display. I went directly to the White House to see the President, but found that he had gone over to General Scott's office; I followed and described with enthusiasm the marching of our soldiers, singing "Old John Brown," and said: "Mr. President, if our armies fight under the inspiration of that song, the gates of hell cannot prevail against us." General Scott (who was a Virginian) astonished me by saying "that he regretted to strike his mother." I replied with much warmth "that he who struck that flag [pointing to it] struck my mother and deserved death," and unceremoniously walked out, indignant at such an utterance from the commanding general of our armies. This incident tells the story of our national demoralization. General Scott, the commander of our armies, had at that time, unknown to Mr. Lincoln or the public, reached the amazing conclusion that it was best to "let the wayward sisters depart in peace."

General Scott soon afterwards (under the manipulation of Seward) recommended the surrender of Fort Sumter and Fort Pickens. As the President, with the approval of the Cabinet, had before this ordered reinforcements and provisions to Fort Sumter, this sudden and unlooked-for change on the part of General Scott shook the faith of the President in him, and he immediately began the search for a younger and more reliable commander.

**THE ARMY.**

I do not care to introduce or dwell on the disasters of the Army of the Potomac, until General Grant assumed command, nor will I attempt to criticise its defeated generals. I am not a military man, and therefore not competent for such a task.

That Generals McDowell, McClellan, Burnside, Hooker

and Pope did the best they could, no one now questions. That they did not do better was the nation's misfortune.

The rank and file of our army both North and South were made up of as good material as the world ever saw. In some respects the Southern soldier for a time had the advantage. First, every slave-master was born and trained to command; he became self-reliant and confident from youth up; he was an accomplished horseman, accustomed to outdoor life and the use of firearms. These qualities, with a fiery temperament and splendid physical organization, made him the most formidable soldier in the world; and when you add to this the fact that he was fighting on his own chosen ground, surrounded by friends, and with natural positions for defense, you have a soldier of whom any general might well be proud. The Northwestern soldier had many of these admirable qualities, especially did he have the advantage which an out-door and frontier life gives in educating men to be self-reliant and accustomed to the use of horses and firearms.

The soldiers from the East did not have the out-door life of their Western comrades, and it required a year or more of active training in the field to make them equal in this regard to Western men. But when the Eastern and Western soldiers were united under General Grant, the Army of the Potomac proved itself to be the equal of the soldiers in the Southern army, and from the day General Grant took command of that army no more was heard about the inefficiency or want of valor of the Army of the Potomac.

And I might say here, in order to estimate men's characters, some little incident in their lives will often tell you the kind of men they are. That is especially true in civil life. You go into a congress of three hundred men and you will see the timid men coming together, you will see the reckless men together, and you will see the profound men together. And so in the army; you will find all the fighting men gravitate together, as if they understood and had confidence in each other.

When General Grant, on the evening of the first day's battle at Shiloh (which had been a defeat), was told by his quartermaster that if again defeated to-morrow he would not

have transportation enough to carry the troops (65,000 in number) across the river, the General inquired:

“How many can you handle?”

“Ten thousand,” the quartermaster answered.

“Well,” said the General, quietly, “if we are defeated you will be able to carry all that are left.”

This incident admirably illustrates General Grant's determination of character. He simply determined to win or be annihilated.

While talking about soldiers, my mind recurs to Thomas, the grandest figure to me of all the war. You will remember what he said to General Steedman when he ordered him to make a charge. Steedman started at once to execute his order, but impulsively turning back, said: “General, where shall I find you after the charge?”

“Right here, sir;” pointing to the spot on which he stood.

That told the story of General Thomas's character. It is also beautifully told in one of Mrs. Sherwood's war poems.

Sheridan, when he came East, was assigned by Grant to Meade's command. Meade told Sheridan to go out with his cavalry and reconnoiter, but to be very careful about Stuart, as he was a troublesome fellow. Sheridan's blood was up in a minute, and he said with some strong words, that he could knock hell out of him, if he could get at him. General Meade, who was a very quiet man, when he saw Grant said:

“Well, General, that man Sheridan that you sent me is rather insubordinate.”

The General says: “How is that? what did he do?”

General Meade repeated what Sheridan had said.

“Did Sheridan say that?” inquired Grant.

“Yes, sir; he did,” rejoined Meade, with emphasis.

“Why didn't you tell him to go and do it?” was all Grant said.

Meade went back, took the hint, gave the order to Sheridan, and Stuart never troubled him afterwards.

I went down to the Army of the Potomac with a letter from Mr. Lincoln to Grant. I had become quite anxious for fear the Sixth rebel corps stationed at Petersburg might be

detached, and attack Sherman's rear, when he was marching from Atlanta to the sea. I kept talking to the President about it until he sent me down to Grant's headquarters, and I stayed there ten days. The night before I started back I looked at the map on the table, and said to the General: "I wish you would show me the situation; I want to tell the best story I can to the President to-morrow; I am going up to-night." I had been complaining about the dead cattle and dead mules and horses, and wanted the camp cleared up for fear of a pestilence. The General gave me satisfactory answers, and pointed out the situation on the map, and said to me:

"For every three men of ours dead, five of theirs; for every three of our cattle dead, five of theirs."

Picking up some paper on the table and crushing it in his hand, he says:

"Tell the President I have got them like that!"

It made the cold chills run over me. But as I neared Washington, and caught sight of the flag floating from the dome, it kept welling up in me, "Tell the President I have got them like that!" It told the character of the man. When I repeated what he said to the President and others, they all felt exactly as I did. But after all it cheered us, and we all involuntarily exclaimed, "I have got them like that!"

And right here I might say that we of Northwestern Ohio never think of the army without thinking of the old Fourteenth, the bravest of the brave, and of General Steedman, its gallant commander. But I want to say that the hundred-day men deserve honorable mention. The patriotic impulse that carried the hundred-day men into the army and to the Army of the Potomac, with Colonel Phillips at their head, and Lieutenant-Colonel Faskins and Richard Waite among the captains, and John J. Barker among the lieutenants, was as patriotic as that which carried the three-year men to the nation's rescue.

I remember well their march through the streets of Washington, and the speech of Mr. Lincoln to them from the steps of the White House, and my address to them at the front.

These men were a part of the Army of the Potomac, and although they were there but one hundred days, those one hundred days were eventful days to us and to them, and they have a right equally with the veterans to the inheritance which comes from victories bravely won. Especially is honor due to the men who so gallantly marched to battle when they were exempt by age from military duty.

#### LINCOLN.

It will not be claimed, even by partisan friends, that any one of our greatest statesmen or generals were faultless and committed no blunders.

Young and inexperienced as I was, I felt confident that I knew as much about the secret purposes of the conspirators and their plots as many of our oldest leaders; but I knew also that if so great a Senator as Mr. Benton of Missouri, who had served in the Senate for thirty years from a slave State, could not command the attention of the country when specially and publicly calling attention to the designs of the slave conspirators, a young and unknown abolitionist from a free State like myself, could not hope to do so.

I therefore deferred to such men as Seward, Sumner and Fessenden in the Senate, and Stevens, Washburn, Grow and others in the House, and also to such men as Chase and Stanton in the Cabinet, and to Greeley, Wendell Phillips and others in private life.

Before the Rebellion broke out I came to know that Seward was a "dreamer," who always lived high up in the clouds; that Sumner with all his ability was pre-eminently a man of "books," and that Chase practically did not know men, and might be associated in the Senate for years with the chief conspirators, and be entirely ignorant of their movements or their plots.

As I now look back and review, more calmly than I could then, the words and acts of our greatest men, Lincoln stands forth pre-eminently among them all.

Without experience, and confronted by trials and responsibilities greater than any President who had preceded him,

he proved equal to every emergency, and never failed in the most trying and difficult hour.

Surrounded on every hand by traitors, and often misinformed by real but mistaken friends and betrayed by pretenders, he faced a million rebels in arms, and never quailed nor faltered ; he, more than all others, secured the loyal cooperation of the border slave States ; he was the one great leader of the Republican party, and more, of all men of whatever party who hoped for the triumph of the Union, and he occupied this position because he was fitted by nature for the great task imposed upon him. His leadership was gentle but firm, cautious yet persistent. He was the one man of all the men I knew in those days of trial and danger, best fitted for the place he filled so well. As tender as a woman to suffering and sorrow, he stood forth during the entire rebellion, a colossus among men.

“ Like the oak of the mountain, deep-rooted and firm,  
Erect when multitudes bent to the storm.”

No man can depict the humiliations and catastrophies which this nation escaped by having Abraham Lincoln for President in 1861 instead of William H. Seward.

Back of Lincoln and Congress stood the rank and file of the army, to whom the greatest credit is due. And back of the army, there was a patriotic sentiment for national unity and national glory, which represented the moral force of an overwhelming majority of the nation. This sentiment molded and directed Lincoln and her statesmen, and inspired her generals and the army with the necessity of union and the hope of victory.

Without this united moral force Congress would not have acted, the President would have been powerless, and the republic of Washington and Jefferson would have been divided, dismembered and destroyed, and on its ruins two or more discordant and hostile governments erected, which would have been a perpetual menace to each other and to the peace of the world.



TRUE STATESMANSHIP.

We have now reached a time (so far have we advanced in a single generation) where we can form a proper estimate of the statesmen who ruled this nation from 1836 to 1860.

Even the ordinary observer of to-day, no longer recognizes their pretensions to statesmanship. Plain, practical common-sense Americans who believe in a "government of the people, by the people, for the people," will in the future declare, as they do now, that true statesmanship DOES NOT ENACT INJUSTICE INTO LAW—that that is not a democratic or republican government, which affirms the legal right to property in man, or which authorizes or permits the enslavement of men by fraud or force. At a time when the moral sentiment of mankind the world over, was practically a unit against the enslavement of any race, and when the imperial governments of Russia and Brazil were emancipating their slaves, and all the great nations of the world were joining hands to attempt the civilization of the dark continent of Africa, to the end that they might make slave piracy impossible, the so-called statesmen of this country were conspiring to destroy the freest and best government on earth, and making war on their own kindred in order that they might establish ONE or MORE petty governments whose corner-stone should be human slavery.

The folly and crimes of the secession leaders and their allies of the North can never be repeated again; even the memory of them will soon have

"Gone glimmering through the gleam of things that were—  
A school-boy's tale, the wonder of an hour."

Never again shall there be witnessed in the land of Washington and Lincoln, the blasphemy of religious teachers preaching that saint and sinner alike must see to it "that servants obey their masters IN ALL THINGS because acceptable in the sight of the Lord," and that when escaping, it was the duty of the public to provide for returning slaves to their

slave-masters at the nation's expense, and, crowning all, by boldly affirming the divinity of slavery.

The conspirators and their apologists may write thousands of volumes in defense of their dogma of secession and state rights, and fill them with long-drawn-out logic and quotations from the Bible and from pretended Christian teachers affirming the divinity of slavery; they may build monuments of marble, brass or iron to their lost cause and its dead leaders, and do what they may to justify or excuse their blunders and their crimes, and yet the time is coming, and NOW IS, in which no sane man will read their writings except to learn from their own pens the height and depth of their amazing folly. And a generation of men shall not have passed away before all who stand in front of their monuments, will be asking themselves whether the leaders of the Whiskey rebellion, the schemers of the Hartford Convention plot, or Aaron Burr and his conspirators are not better entitled to commemoration, in brass or iron, than the leaders of the slaveholders' rebellion.

I have not spoken personally of any of the leaders of the rebellion, because they were all the followers and satellites of Calhoun, from Jefferson Davis down to Senator Wigfall of Texas, who was dubbed by his fellow-conspirators "one of the most eloquent fools on the continent."

To me there are inseparably connected with the history of the rebellion three men in civil life, who stand out more prominently than their associates — Calhoun, the great conspirator; Seward, the dreamer; and Lincoln, the statesman. Calhoun, able, ambitious, logical and persistent, and as unyielding as death; Seward, the philosophical dreamer, political prophet and presidential aspirant, the coiner of beautiful and high-sounding phrases, with no practical ability for a crisis, such as the rebellion of 1861. When the hour of action and trial came, he suggested, in his speech of January 12th, "that we meet prejudice with conciliation, exaction with concessions, violence with the right hand of fellowship," and surrender to the rebels all the public property of the nation in their States, "EXCEPT WHERE THE AUTHORITY OF THE UNITED STATES COULD BE EXERCISED WITHOUT WAR." To crown all, he offered to vote for an

amendment to the Constitution which would preserve slavery forever, and thus make the "irrepressible conflict" perpetual, so long as a single State elected to maintain the institution of slavery in its borders.

The world recognizes when it reads Mr. Lincoln's statement of the "irrepressible conflict," that he was the practical, just and far-seeing statesman.

In his great speech at Springfield, Illinois, in 1858, he said :

"A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe that this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South."

This great speech made Mr. Lincoln President. After his inauguration, he followed logically and with fidelity the doctrine announced in that speech.

And when he declared in his inaugural address, that his oath and duty alike required him to see that the laws were impartially and honestly executed; and added: "THE POWER CONFIDED IN ME WILL BE USED TO HOLD, OCCUPY AND POSSESS THE PROPERTY, AND ENFORCE THE LAWS OF THE GOVERNMENT," a practical and patriotic people knew what that declaration meant. They knew that Mr. Lincoln intended "THAT THE HOUSE SHOULD NOT BE DIVIDED NOR FALL," but that the Union should be maintained forever—and be all one thing—all free. And to the accomplishment of that great work he consecrated his life.

Mr. Seward would not only have been dismissed from office by any other government, but would have been arrested for usurpation of power—and for holding secret and unauthorized communication with the public enemy. And I do not believe that any President who had preceded Mr. Lincoln would have continued Mr. Seward in his Cabinet for a single day, after the formal and unanimous request of the Republican members of the Senate, for his removal.

It was Mr. Lincoln's hopefulness and faith in man that made him so long-suffering in his dealings with Seward, Chase and McClellan, and hundreds of others, myself included.

I think he was in that respect one of the most wonderful of men. I can remember two instances, one of which was with reference to myself; the other, Senator Schurz. Schurz was in the army, and was restless, as nervous men usually are, and fired a letter of sixteen pages over the head of his commander to Mr. Lincoln, an act which, as a military matter, was not to be tolerated. Afterward he thought better of it, and wrote Mr. Lincoln an apology for having committed this breach of military discipline. The President wrote him and kindly said: "Never mind; come and see me." When Schurz came and met him, he began to apologize.

"Never mind, Schurz," said Mr. Lincoln. "I guess before we get through talking, you won't think I am so bad a man as some people say I am."

Kindness, of course, captivated Mr. Schurz, just as it had other men.

I went up to see him at one time about McClellan—got there early in the morning. He hadn't got into his room. When he came in he expressed some surprise at seeing me there so early. He hesitated a moment and said:

"Well, General, what are you doing here so early?"

"I came here to see you."

"What can I do for you?"

"Nothing, sir." I closed my lips as firmly as I could, and emphasized sharply what I said.

"You have come up to see about McClellan?"

"Yes, sir."

"Well," said he, "that reminds me of a story."

I was determined to have a solid talk with him. So I said, rising to my feet: "Mr. President, I beg your pardon, but I didn't come this morning to hear a story."

He looked at me and said, with such a sad face: "Ashley, I have great confidence in you, and great respect for you, and I know how sincere you are. But if I couldn't tell these stories, I would die. Now you sit down!" So he ordered a cup of coffee and we discussed the situation.

That was the peculiar manner of the man.

I saw him one day grant a pardon for a soldier sentenced to be shot. The mother of the soldier and some women of his household were in the room. When he did it, of course there was a scene. Tears came to the eyes of many. The President said: "Well, I have made one family happy, but I don't know about the discipline of the army!"

That act was characteristic of the man, and because of his tenderness and love of justice, he held together the discordant elements—held together the border States; and I think carried us to victory better than any man, certainly better than any public man of whom I have any knowledge. I don't know of any man in this country that I would rather have had for President, considering it now, after all is over for a quarter of a century, than Abraham Lincoln.

That the historian of the future will accord the highest order of statesmanship to Abraham Lincoln and soldierly qualities to the Union Army of 1861-65, I do not doubt.

A practical world will judge public men by what they accomplish, not by what they profess. Soldier and statesman alike must be judged by this simple standard.

From this point of view the historian will show that Mr. Lincoln found the Government disrupted and bankrupt, with a hostile government organized by conspirators on its supposed ruins. He will show that Mr. Lincoln and a Union Congress proceeded at once to secure its political unity and territorial integrity; that they raised, organized and equipped armies and crushed the rebellion; that they amended the national Constitution prohibiting slavery forever; that they were both merciful and forgiving as conquerors never were before; that all laws and constitutional amendments were impartial in their character, and operated on the North and South alike. He will show that under their State governments, as reorganized by them, the South has prospered and increased in wealth as never before; that the census of 1890 confirmed all we hoped and promised when we declared that her increase in cotton, sugar, tobacco, rice, iron and manufactures would more than double in value between 1860 and 1890, and that her plantation and city property would be increased in value threefold; and that a

National Government, with amnesty and impartial suffrage, found a complete vindication, both at home and abroad. And knowing this, as each Union soldier and Union citizen who took part in the great drama of 1861 "folds the drapery of his couch about him, and lies down to pleasant dreams," he will know that his sacrifices have not been in vain.

There are men before me to-night who bore aloft and followed that flag at Shiloh and Stone River, at Murfreesboro, Missionary Ridge and Nashville, and from Chickamauga to Chattanooga and to the top of Lookout Mountain, and from Atlanta through Georgia on to Washington, as they carried it in triumph back to their homes prior to placing it here within the shrine of Memorial Hall. And because it has been riddled by shot and shell and has been baptized with the blood of the living and the dead, it is all the more sacred to us.

Mr. President, that flag means more to you and to me to-night than ever it did before.

To us, as Americans, and to every civilized people beneath the sun, it symbolizes the unity and strength of the greatest and freest commonwealth on earth. It means invincible power and enlightened progress. It means hope and happiness to all the coming generations of men entitled to its protection. It means that never again, on the land or on the sea, can it be a flag of "stripes" to any of God's children, however poor or however black. It means the sovereignty of an indissoluble Union — and a prophecy of the coming continental republic.

## ADDRESS

OF HON. J. M. ASHLEY,

AT THE FOURTH ANNUAL BANQUET OF THE OHIO REPUBLICAN  
LEAGUE, HELD AT MEMORIAL HALL, TOLEDO, OHIO,  
FEBRUARY 12, 1891.

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Toastmaster : GEN. WM. H. GIBSON, Tiffin, Ohio.

First Toast :

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

“How humble, yet how hopeful he could be ;  
How in good fortune and in ill the same ;  
Nor bitter in success, nor boastful he,  
Thirsty for gold, nor feverish for fame.”

TOM TAYLOR in “London Punch.”

Response by

HON. J. M. ASHLEY, Toledo, Ohio.

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MR. PRESIDENT AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN : At Alton, Illinois, in October, 1858, I first met Abraham Lincoln. It was on the day he closed the historic joint debate of that year, with Stephen A. Douglas.

My anxiety to see and hear the man whose great speech at Springfield in June had electrified the entire country was so intense that immediately after our election in Ohio I ran down over the Wabash, and saw and heard Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas in their closing debate at Alton.

I returned home at once, so as to be present and celebrate my first election to Congress.

I had accepted an invitation from the Republican Committee of Illinois to accompany Governor Chase and speak at several points in that State and remain until the close of the campaign in November.

The plan for the Illinois campaign was discussed and agreed upon at the Tremont House in Chicago. Here we met John Wentworth, Elihu B. Washburn, Owen Lovejoy and Joseph Medill (then as now, editor of the Chicago TRIBUNE) and many others.

This was a memorable meeting, and from the date of that campaign, Mr. Lincoln's nomination for the Presidency in 1860 became a probability.

I gave this meeting an enthusiastic account of the debate at Alton, and when I stated that although the election for members of the legislature might not result in the choice of Mr. Lincoln as Senator, yet his speeches had made it impossible for Mr. Douglas to be elected President, and that a great leader had arisen, I commanded the attention of eager listeners.

Mr. Lincoln came to Ohio in the fall of 1859 to take part in the gubernatorial campaign, and delivered memorable speeches at Columbus and Cincinnati. Under the leadership of Judge Swayne a distinct Lincoln party arose in Ohio, which in a few months became a great factor in Mr. Lincoln's nomination for the Presidency in 1860.

#### NORTHERN PRO-SLAVERY CHAMPIONS.

From 1844 until 1861 the slave barons were so entrenched in the government that they demanded as a condition to the political recognition of any Northern leader that they publicly commit themselves by deeds as well as words to their service. They demanded that all Northern aspirants to the Presidency should, in addition to their general subserviency, give undoubted evidence of their fidelity and fitness for so exalted a position, by causing to be captured and returned to the South, any fugitive slaves who might be found in the cities of their residence.

Whereupon, the partisans of Fillmore (then the acting President), who after approving the fugitive-slave bill was in-



triguing for the Whig presidential nomination in 1852, caused the officials of Fillmore's own appointment, to seize at his home in Buffalo, and return a fugitive slave in order that the slave barons might know that their recently enacted slave-catching law, could be executed in the city of Fillmore's residence, and so executed, that they could be eye-witnesses to the subserviency of their allies, who everywhere in that day abounded throughout the North. The manner in which that disgraceful act was performed at Buffalo was so shocking in its brutality, that after Fillmore's retirement from the Presidency, he drifted into obscurity and died unwept and unlamented.

Webster's friends in Boston joined with alacrity in sending Sims back to slavery, hoping by this shameful act of abasement, to commend their great political idol to the slave barons for President. He did not get a single vote from them in the nominating convention, and soon afterwards retired to his home in Marshfield and saw, as did Belshazzar of old, the handwriting on the wall. Wherever he turned his eyes there appeared the sentence of doom, as out of the darkness came the hand with index finger pointing to the words, "The 7th of March."

Mr. Webster died a disappointed and humiliated man, with the personal knowledge that the slave barons could be as exacting and false to him, as to one of their own bondmen.

The pulpit was but little, if any, behind in its base subserviency. A fire-bell at night could not empty a fashionable church in Boston or New York quicker than it would then have been emptied, if its parson had honestly prayed or preached for the liberation of the slave. So debasing and brutal was this infernal spirit, that the Rev. Dr. Dewey, of Boston, publicly declared "that if the Constitution required it, he would send his own mother back into slavery." And yet, this self-righteous worshiper of Mammon and the Constitution claimed to be an American citizen and a descendant of the Puritans!

After such a statement of our moral condition as a nation, you will not be surprised when I tell you that this reverend individual was but an exaggerated type of a whole generation of vipers, who, in 1861, rolled up their eyes in holy hor-

ror and demanded peace at any price and our absolute submission to the terms of the slave barons; everywhere crying out: "Give us the Constitution as it is, and the Union as it was." And many so-called statesmen in the North lifted up their voices in chorus and wept and said — Amen.

#### MR. LINCOLN AS HE APPEARED ON THE PLAINS OF ILLINOIS.

I present you this dark and sad picture, in order that I may show you more distinctly, the colossal form and plain but manly face of Abraham Lincoln. Behold him, as at the tomb of the martyred Lovejoy and on the plains of Illinois, he emerges unheralded from the shadow of this national degradation and national dishonor, and with the words of truth and soberness on his lips, proclaims: "A house divided against itself cannot stand." "I believe this government cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free." That was the keynote which touched the hearts and anointed the eyes of millions. It was in that dark hour the fitly spoken word, and like an eternal ray of light it illuminated the dim and shadowy future.

#### THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS JOINT DEBATES.

In this spirit, and on this elevated moral plane, Mr. Lincoln met Mr. Douglas and conducted his great campaign in Illinois, and successfully drove him from every controverted position. Subsequently, in his desperation, Mr. Douglas declared "that he did not care whether slavery was voted up or voted down."

Mr. Lincoln did care, the great heart of the nation cared, every honest man in the world cared whether slavery was voted up or down. And when I heard Mr. Lincoln proclaim at Alton "that it was a question between right and wrong," his face glowed as if tinged with a halo, and to me he looked the prophet of hope and joy, when with dignity and emphasis he said: "That is the real issue. That is the issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal

struggle between these two principles, right and wrong, throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time, and will ever continue to struggle, until the common right of humanity shall ultimately triumph."

The tongues of these two great men have been silent for a quarter of a century. The one who did care "whether slavery was voted up or voted down" will live in the grateful remembrance of his countrymen and mankind; while he who declared "that he did not care" will only be remembered as the man whom Abraham Lincoln defeated for President.

#### RESULT OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN 1860.

Two years after his defeat for Senator, Mr. Lincoln was nominated and elected President, receiving 180 electoral votes and Judge Douglas but 12 electoral votes. Breckenridge of Kentucky received 72 votes, and Bell of Tennessee 39 votes.

If Mr. Lincoln had not received a majority of all the electoral votes cast, the choice of a President would, as provided by that indefensible and anti-democratic provision of our Constitution, have devolved on the House of Representatives, each State having one vote (except where the Congressional delegation was equally divided), in which event its vote would be lost. The choice of a President at that time by the House would have been limited to either Lincoln, Breckenridge or Bell. The conspirators put Breckenridge electoral tickets in the Northern States with the deliberate purpose of excluding Douglas from the three highest, and thus keeping him out of the contest in the House.

An election by the House of Representatives of a President for 1860-1861 was part of the original programme of the conspirators when they deliberately divided the Democratic party at Charleston and Baltimore and determined to defeat Douglas. Nothing is more certain, had that election gone into the House of Representatives, than that Mr. Lincoln would not have been chosen President, as the Republicans could not have commanded the votes of a sufficient number of States to elect him.

With Mr. Buchanan in the President's office, to obey the orders of the conspirators until they had accomplished their purpose, the result would have been a so-called compromise and the election of Breckinridge.

In the light of all that has happened, no mortal man can even now presage what would have been the ultimate result, had Breckinridge at that time been clothed with the power of the presidential office.

That this country would have become a consolidated slave empire during the administration of Breckinridge is more than probable. The pro-slavery amendment to our national Constitution, which was submitted by the Northern compromisers of the Thirty-sixth Congress (and ratified by the vote of Ohio), would have been engrafted into the national Constitution, and slavery thus entrenched could not have been abolished except by the consent of every State, thus practically making slavery constitutional and perpetual, with no remedy for its abolition but armed revolution. Fortunately for the future of the republic, Mr. Lincoln's election defeated this deeply laid plot of the pro-slavery conspirators, and their subsequent mad rebellion and war on the Union enabled him and the national Congress to abolish slavery and make the nation **ALL FREE INSTEAD OF ALL SLAVE.**

From the day of Mr. Lincoln's inauguration until the tragic close of his eventful life, no one who did not know and often see him, can portray the tremendous mental and physical strain under which he labored, nor can human tongue describe the innumerable petty annoyances to which he was subjected, nor the intrigues and conspiracies which he encountered and mastered.

**MR. LINCOLN AND THE RADICAL WING OF THE REPUBLICAN  
PARTY.**

While Mr. Lincoln was, beyond all question, as deeply impressed with the necessity of saving the Union as any one of the great men with whom I served, there were often radical differences of opinion as to the best means to be adopted

to that end. This was in large part the result of early political training, and political affiliation of the men who were leaders in the Republican party.

The advanced or radical wing of the Republican party was made up largely of men who had been the recognized leaders of the anti-slavery wing of the Democratic party. Such men as Rantoul, Sumner and Boutwell, of Massachusetts; Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine; Hale, of New Hampshire; David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania; General Dix and Governor Fenton, of New York; Chase and others in Ohio; Julian, of Indiana; Trumbull, of Illinois; Doolittle, of Wisconsin; Bingham and Beaman, of Michigan; Frank P. Blair and Gratz Brown, of Missouri, and many others whom I need not name.

These men were all trained in the school of Jefferson, and our personal and political affiliations had been with the anti-slavery wing of the Democratic party.

Mr. Lincoln had been trained in the old Whig party, and Henry Clay, its great compromising chief, was his early political leader, and he voted for General Scott for President in 1852, notwithstanding the platform on the subject of slavery. I voted that year for Hale and Julian, because of the offensive Democratic platform, which was no more objectionable than that of the Whigs.

I have not read either of those platforms since 1852, but if young students of political history will go into any library and read them they will be found practically duplicates, and so subservient to the slave barons, as to make the cheek of every true American blush with shame to-day.

When Mr. Lincoln came into the Presidency he had not advanced as far beyond the old party platforms as Sumner and Chase, Hale and Wilmot, and the men who had crossed the Rubicon and voted for Hale and Julian in 1852. But within two years he was abreast of them, and before the close of his life they recognized him as their leader.

What wonder, then, that at the outset our differences with Mr. Lincoln should have been marked and pronounced on some of the most important questions which confronted us?

We were disappointed, to begin with, in the make-up

of his Cabinet. I wanted Fessenden of Maine, or Collamer of Vermont, for Secretary of State, Governor Morgan of New York or Zack Chandler of Michigan, for Secretary of the Treasury, Edwin M. Stanton of Ohio, for Secretary of War, Henry Winter Davis of Maryland, for Secretary of the Navy, George W. Summers of West Virginia, for Secretary of the Interior, James Speed of Kentucky, Postmaster-General, and Edmund Bates of Missouri, for Attorney General.

These men were all old line Whigs, except Mr. Stanton, and not one of the border slave States had voted for Mr. Lincoln. I proposed, as a matter of expediency, to strengthen the Union sentiment in the border slave States by loading their conservative Union Whig leaders with the honors and patronage of the government. And then, I did not think it expedient to take Seward or Chase or Cameron out of the Senate.

Instead of 75,000 men for three months, I wanted the call issued for 500,000 men for the war. Instead of committing ourselves in any way on the question of slavery and the status of slaves, we thought that the proclamation should simply promise that all persons who were loyal to the government and gave it their support should receive the protection of the government. I wanted the war to be conducted strictly according to the laws of war, and the army to be moved not in conformity with party platforms or the decree of any court, which might be presided over by some timid or disloyal judge. I wanted the writ of habeas corpus suspended wherever, within the jurisdiction of the United States, the local police authorities could not enforce the law, and the public safety required it. In short, I wanted the war conducted as if we were in earnest, and determined to preserve the Union at whatever cost; and I believed then, as we all believe now, that the only way at that time to secure an enduring peace was to destroy the slave power and make such a rebellion forever impossible in the future.

The entire radical wing of the party were opposed to the authority which Mr. Lincoln assumed to reorganize the rebel State governments. Our discussions on this subject were often set and sharp. We finally told him that if he attempted to carry out his programme without the consent

or approval of Congress, that the House of Representatives would refuse to count the electoral votes even if they should be cast for him by Tennessee and Louisiana, and we did so refuse to permit their votes to be counted.

And yet, through all these earnest discussions, sometimes waxing warm, as they of necessity did, there never was any estrangement between us, nor an unkind act to be recalled or regretted.

#### MR. LINCOLN'S MENTAL CONSTITUTION.

There was in Mr. Lincoln's mental constitution a marvelous blending of sunshine and shadow, of earnestness and innocent fun, of profound thought and delightful humor, of hopeful prophecy and inexorable logic.

In estimating the mental and moral qualities of any man of mark, it is due to him, not less than to ourselves, that we form a rational judgment by a careful analysis of all the peculiar traits and moods which go so largely to make up the life and character of every such man.

This analysis I made for myself when Mr. Lincoln was President, and while I shall express freely and frankly my deliberately formed opinion of Mr. Lincoln's character, I will be warranted in presenting a few of his striking utterances and well-authenticated acts, so that you may form an independent opinion for yourselves.

Before such an assembly and on an occasion like this, I may properly relate two or three occurrences which will illustrate the masterly manner in which he managed all kinds and conditions of men.

#### THE WAY MR. LINCOLN MANAGED MR. GREELEY.

During the war the number of volunteer peace negotiators who made pilgrimages to Washington, and occupied the time of Mr. Lincoln and members of Congress, were legion.

This brigade of budding Talleyrands was made up largely of peace cranks, Confederate sympathizers, gentlemen ambitious of distinguishing themselves by playing the role of

mediators, and all sorts and conditions of political schemers, who kept the President and all public men in Washington who would listen to them, awake at night, as they poured into their unwilling ears their visionary schemes.

It was a time for fighting and supplying the sinews of war to our armies, and not for the game of diplomacy, except so far as such diplomacy tended to support armies in the field and maintain peace abroad, until treason was destroyed at home.

We were particularly anxious that no act should be done by the President which, by any possibility, could be distorted by European nations into a recognition of the Confederate Government.

Mr. Greeley was one of those who had worried the President by insisting on opening negotiations with the Confederate Commissioners at Niagara Falls, with the view of securing an early peace.

The world and Mr. Greeley were alike surprised one morning by the public announcement that the President had authorized Mr. Greeley to proceed to Niagara Falls and see what he could do as an apostle of peace. This was a "commission" which Mr. Greeley did not expect and had not sought. But, after all he had said and written, he could not very well decline it. Everybody was up in arms against intrusting any one with such a mission, and of all other men the guileless philosopher of the TRIBUNE. Of course, I was among the first at the White House to protest. Mr. Lincoln explained to me why he did it, and added, "Don't you worry; nothing will come of it," and there did not. Mr. Greeley accomplished nothing, and was supremely disgusted with himself for what he had said and done in the matter of peace negotiations at Niagara Falls, and never again troubled the President in that direction.

This humorous stroke of diplomacy on the part of Mr. Lincoln nipped in the bud the ambitious schemes of scores of would-be negotiators, and gave him and all public men at Washington comparative peace from their importunities.



JULIAN'S STORY OF LOVEJOY AND STANTON.

Mr. Lincoln's manner of dealing with men of fiery temperaments is well illustrated in a story told by Hon. George W. Julian, of Indiana, in a magazine article some four or five years ago. Mr. Lovejoy, of Illinois, at the head of some self-appointed committee, had called on the President, and after explaining the scheme which they had in hand, looking to an increase in the efficiency of the Western soldiers, procured an order from Mr. Lincoln on the Secretary of War for its execution. Lovejoy and his committee repaired at once to the War Department, and after explaining the matter, Mr. Stanton peremptorily refused to comply with it. "But," said the impulsive Lovejoy, "we have the President's order here with us, sir." "Did Lincoln give you an order of that kind?" roared the irate Secretary. "He did, sir," answered Lovejoy. "Then he is a damned fool," said the fiery Stanton. "Do you mean to say that the President is a damned fool?" asked the bewildered Lovejoy. "Yes," again roared the Secretary, "if he gave you such an order as that." The amazed Congressman and his committee immediately returned to the White House and reported in full the result of their visit.

"Did Stanton say I was a damned fool?" asked the President, and Lovejoy and his committee joined in affirming that he did. After a moment or two, the President said, "Well, gentlemen, if Stanton said I was a damned fool, there must be something wrong about this, for Stanton is nearly always right. I must see the Secretary about it before anything can be done." Only a great man could have so borne himself.

NASBY QUOTED ON ASHLEY.

On no one subject did we disagree with Mr. Lincoln so radically as that of reconstruction. It was a subject ever present with me, from the day I laid before my committee the first reconstruction bill which I prepared and had ready for presentation on the meeting of the extra session of Congress, in July, 1861.

I assumed from the first that we should put down the rebellion, and that the question of questions would be the reorganization of constitutional governments in the seceded States, as a condition to their representation in Congress.

Had Mr. Lincoln lived, I believe he would eventually have adopted the views held by a majority of the Republicans in Congress.

After an unusually long and warm discussion one morning on this subject, I rose to go, quite dissatisfied with the result of my interview and exhibiting a little more feeling than I ought, when the President called out, and said: "Ashley, that was a great speech you made out in Ohio the other day." I turned, and, I fear with some irritation in both manner and voice, said: "I have made no speech anywhere, Mr. President, and have not been out of Washington." He laughed and said: "Well, I see Nasby says that in consequence of one speech made by Jim Ashley, four hundred thousand niggers moved into Wood County last week, and it must have taken a great speech to do that." Of course I joined in the laugh, and then Mr. Lincoln, in his kindly manner, said: "Come up soon, Ashley, and we will take up reconstruction again."

By the gentlest of methods, this great leader held together all the discordant elements in the Republican party, both in Congress and the country.

#### JUDGE HOLMAN'S TESTIMONY.

I could relate from personal knowledge incidents which would illustrate his unaffected simplicity and tenderness. But instead of telling one of my own I will relate one that is fresher to me, and may be to you. I read it on the cars while on my way home. It was told only a day or two ago by Judge Holman, of Indiana, long a leading Democratic member of Congress, and one of the best men with whom I served. This is his testimony:

"I can see how Lincoln erred on the side of humanity. His nature was essentially humane. That was the charm of his character. But he was an able man, too. You ask me if I have not seen a good many men like Lincoln in southern

Indiana and Illinois. I at first thought I should say yes, that I knew four or five, but not one of these, though he may have had a superficial resemblance to Lincoln, had anything of Lincoln's reality. He was such a plain person that people often misconceived him and thought him to be artful. He was polite, but his plainness was also a genuine endowment. I recall when I went to see him about a boy, the son of a postmaster, who had opened a letter, and in it was some money and he took the money. His parents were overwhelmed with shame and sorrow, for the boy had never done anything wrong before. Judge Sweet of our State sent by me to Mr. Lincoln an appeal for the boy's pardon. It seems that under the war pressure they had been in the habit in that post-office of opening the mails to see what the rebels on the Kentucky shore were about. The boy had seen them open the letters of other people, and the example had infected him, and this letter having some money in it he took the money from fright or from some other reason. I went to Mr. Lincoln, and he said: 'Sweet is an awful rebel, but Sweet is an honest man if there ever was one. I know his handwriting. He is a bad rebel, but he won't tell a lie. If Sweet says that this boy ought to be pardoned, I reckon it will have to be so.' So he pardoned the boy. 'Now, a man from my part of the world could understand that to be natural and not artful. Lincoln was able, shrewd, but above all tender.'

#### THE WADE AND DAVIS MANIFESTO.

The first time I called at the White House, after Senator Wade and Henry Winter Davis issued their celebrated manifesto against Mr. Lincoln, the President, as he advanced to take my hand, said: "Ashley, I am glad to see by the papers that you refused to sign the Wade and Davis manifesto." "Yes, Mr. President," I answered, "I could not do that," and added, for

"Close as sin and suffering joined  
We march to fate abreast."

It was a picture as we thus stood, my lips quivering with emotion, while tears stood in the eyes of both.

On many occasions during the darkest hours of our great conflict, men who were in accord were often in such close touch with each other, that each could feel the pulse-beat of the other's heart.

This incident tells its own story. Mr. Lincoln regarded both Mr. Wade and Mr. Davis as able and honest men, and he knew they were my warm personal friends. He also knew that nothing but a sense of public duty could have separated me from them. No one regretted their mistake more than I did; and, knowing my close relations to them, Mr. Lincoln did not hesitate to speak to me of their mistake in the kindest spirit.

#### THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

Eighteen hundred and sixty-two was like 1890, an off year for Republicans. After my election in 1862, I was invited by telegraph to come to Washington. When I called on the President, he congratulated me on my triumph, and said: "How did you do it?" I answered, "It was your emancipation proclamation, Mr. President, that did it." In a few moments he said, "Well, how do you like the proclamation?" I answered that I liked it as far as it went, and added, "but, Mr. President, if I had been Commander-in-Chief, I should not have given the enemy one hundred days' notice of my purpose to strike him, at the expiration of that time, in his most vulnerable point, nor would I have offered any apology for doing so great and noble an act." He laughed and enjoyed my hit, and after a moment's pause said, "Ashley, that's a centre shot."

#### MR. LINCOLN AT HAMPTON ROADS.

No one event during the entire War of the Rebellion alarmed us so much as the meeting at Hampton Roads, between Alexander H. Stephens, R. M. T. Hunter and Judge Campbell, formerly of our United States Supreme Court, and the President and Mr. Seward.

The night I learned that "Blair's scheme," as it was called, was about to be attempted, I went to the White House and protested against it. When it became known that Mr. Seward had actually gone down to Hampton Roads alone, every loyal man in Washington was white with indignation,

and the demand was made that the President should go down at once unless Mr. Seward was recalled. Mr. Lincoln went down, and again nothing was done. Mr. Lincoln successfully handled the wily Confederate Commissioners at this meeting—put them thoroughly in the wrong, and so defeated their last desperate effort to extricate themselves from the fate that all men of judgment then knew to be inevitable, if the Union men of the nation but did their duty.

Before Mr. Lincoln started for Hampton Roads he said to a friend of mine “that nothing would come of it,” and when he returned to Washington we knew that the end of the Confederacy was near, and that the Union was to remain unbroken.

Constitutionally cautious, and by political training a conservative, Mr. Lincoln nevertheless kept abreast of public opinion, and in his last annual message to Congress announced with a clearness of statement which could not be misinterpreted, and with an impressiveness befitting the dignity of his great office, that—

“In presenting the abandonment of armed resistance to national authority on the part of the insurgents as the only indispensable condition to ending the war on the part of the government, I retract nothing heretofore said as to slavery. I repeat the declaration made a year ago, that while I remain in my present position I shall not attempt to retract or modify the emancipation proclamation, nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of that proclamation or by any of the acts of Congress.

“If the people should, by whatever mode or means, make it an executive duty to re-enslave such persons, another, and not I, must be the instrument to perform it.”

#### GREAT EVENTS DEVELOP GREAT MEN.

Seldom in the history of mankind have great men produced great events. It is great events which develop great men. But for the rebellion our matchless generals, Grant and Thomas, Sherman and Sheridan, would have been unknown in history as great soldiers, and not one nor all of them could have produced such a rebellion. But for that attempted revolution, scores of men in civil life who will

appear in history as among our leading statesmen, would in all probability have been unknown in the councils of the republic; they would have passed their lives in domestic or business pursuits, had not the opportunity been given them of service in the great conflict for saving the nation's life. And Mr. Lincoln himself had not that kind of leadership, which could conspire and plot and surround himself with followers to inaugurate a revolution. He was pre-eminently fitted by nature to be the representative of law and order, to group and bind together all citizens of the republic who were desirous of peace and union, and to preserve liberty and constitutional government. As an historical figure he was, in fact, a product of the great anti-slavery revolution of which he became the recognized leader. But for the slave barons' rebellion it might never have been his lot

“The applause of listening senates to command;  
The threats of pain and ruin to despise;  
To scatter plenty o'er a smiling land,  
And read his history in a nation's eyes.”

**MR. LINCOLN AS EXECUTIVE, DIPLOMAT AND MILITARY COMMANDER.**

Mr. President: It was my privilege in boyhood and early manhood to meet and to know a number of the able statesmen of this country who were in power prior to the War of the Rebellion.

During my service in Congress I came to know more intimately the men who were in public life during the Presidency of Mr. Lincoln, and I often compared them with the idols of my boyhood. I need not tell you that I am better able now to judge character than I was then, and to compare them with Mr. Lincoln.

As an executive, charged with the care and responsibility of a great government during the War of the Rebellion, and with the organization and direction of great armies, he was, as I estimate men, an abler and safer President than Webster or Clay, or Chase or Seward would have

been under like conditions and surrounded by like environments.

As a diplomat, he was the superior of Talleyrand, for without duplicity or falsehood he molded, and conquered with truth as his weapon and candor for his defensive armor.

As a military strategist and commander, he was the equal, if not the superior, of his great generals.

As a man he was merciful and just and absolutely without pride or arrogance; and to crown all, there was an atmosphere surrounding his daily life, which made friendships that last beyond the grave.

“He was a man, take him for all in all,  
I shall not look upon his like again.”

#### JACKSON ON HORSEBACK AND LINCOLN ON FOOT.

During the last half of the first century of the republic two men filled the presidential office whose personality stands out pre-eminently conspicuous above those who immediately preceded or followed them in that office. Every one who hears me will know to whom I refer before I can pronounce the names of Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln.

Both Southern born, they were unquestionably the two most striking figures of their day and generation. And yet how unlike.

As I read history, Andrew Jackson was the FIRST of our Presidents who appeared booted and spurred and on horseback; and though his term of office was in a time of profound peace, he ruled his country and his party with an iron hand and the autocratic will of a crowned king.

Abraham Lincoln came into the Presidency on the eve of the greatest rebellion in history, and though Commander-in-Chief of the mightiest army then in the world, and practically clothed with unlimited power, he did not magnify himself nor attempt to rule with military rigor either his country or his party.

On the contrary, he sought to know the will of his countrymen with no thought of party or self. He sought to know their will so that he might administer the government as the

general judgment of the nation should indicate, but, nevertheless, in accord with the promptings of his own great heart, which demanded that it should be administered in justice and mercy, "with charity for all and malice towards none."

The thought that dominated him was his earnest desire to conform his acts to the considerate judgment of all loyal men, and thus be able the better to discharge the duties of his great office, preserve the government unimpaired, and secure its perpetual unity and peace by enacting into constitutional law, the legitimate results of the war.

For a moment let there pass in review before your mind's eye the picture of Andrew Jackson as President entering Richmond after the close of the great rebellion (especially if Calhoun had been at the head of the defeated Confederate government), and then recall the manner in which every one knows that Abraham Lincoln entered it.

There can be no doubt that Jackson would have entered it duly heralded and on horseback, amid the booming of cannon, the waving of banners, and surrounded by his victorious army, marching to the music of fife and drum.

Those who have read of Jackson's imperious will and fiery temper know, that the conquered would have been made to feel and remember the iron hand and iron will of the conqueror.

You all remember how Mr. Lincoln entered Richmond, on foot, unheralded and practically unattended. He thus entered the capital of the late Confederate government to teach the South and the nation a needed lesson — the lesson of mercy and forgiveness.

If he could, he would have entered Richmond bearing aloft the nation's banner "unstained by human blood." As he walked up the silent and deserted streets of Richmond the colored people were the only ones to meet him, and they gave their great deliverer a timid, quiet and undemonstrative welcome by standing on each side of the streets through which he passed with uncovered heads. During his walk of nearly two miles the colored children, after a time, drew nearer to him, and at last a little girl came so close that he took the child by the hand and spoke kindly to it, obeying the injunc-



tion of that simple and sublime utterance, which touches all human hearts: "Suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not."

As I look back and recall many of the wonderful acts of this wonderful man, this was, to me, one among the most impressive and touching, and to-night presents to my mind a picture of moral grandeur, such as the world never before looked upon, a scene such as the future can only witness when like causes reproduce such an occasion — and such a man.

" Ah, if in coming times  
Some giant evil arise,  
And honor falter and pale,  
His were a name to conjure with!  
God send his like again!"

As the colossal figure of Lincoln casts its shadow down the centuries, it will be a guide to all coming generations of Americans, inspiring, as it did, with courage and hope all loyal men during the darkest hours of the great struggle for our national life, when he —

" Faithful stood with prophet finger  
Pointing toward the blessed to be,  
When beneath the spread of Heaven  
Every creature shall be free.  
' Fearless when the lips of evil  
Breathed their blackness on his name,  
Trusting in a noble life time  
For a spotless after fame."

And his contemporaries, while they live, and his countrymen for all time, will cherish the thought, that neither time nor distance, nor things present, nor things to come, can dim the halo which surrounds and glorifies the unselfish and manly life of Abraham Lincoln.



Letter from Hon. Isaiah T. Montgomery, Mound Bayou, Miss.

The art of government is one of the first necessities of mankind, and the pages of history testify to the rise and fall of empires, which facts attest their imperfection in the science of government.

And though American civilization has reached an exalted plane of development, our frequent periods of turmoil and evident strain in the administration of State and National Governments, should serve as a timely warning to be heeded, ere our great republic shall become involved in the common ruin that has befallen so many of its predecessors.

All democratic governments should be subject to the control of the human intellect.

It ought not to be expected that the founders of this republic should have attained perfection, especially when we consider the imperfect lights before them, and the common distrust then prevailing in the most enlightened minds, as to the capacity of the untrained masses of men for the safe depository of individual sovereignty.

The subject of improving and perfecting our system of free democratic government, so lucidly treated by the author of this address, is sufficient to arrest the attention of every patriot, and command the earnest thought of every statesman, irrespective of party affiliations.

Experience in the affairs of our Government, whether State or National, has clearly demonstrated the tremendous power of party machine managers, backed by party organizations, whose chief aim is the control of the patronage and emoluments of government. That it forces upon the people a continual and often unsuccessful struggle to preserve the purity of their institutions, is well known. A continuation of these conditions, which are becoming more steadily intensified by the rapid increase of population, ought to be sufficient to suggest to all thinking minds, the conclusion that we are rapidly approaching a point beyond which our present system will prove inadequate to bear the strain.

We are already witnessing efforts to purify the body politic, in the discussion of the propositions to nominate and to elect U. S. Senators by a direct vote of the people, of lengthening the presidential term to six years, and providing that the incumbent shall be nominated and elected by a direct vote, and be ineligible to a re-election. There is also a continual dread of a clash between State and National authorities, and a consequent jealousy on the part of the States, of any enlargement of the powers of the National Government.

Within the States there is a growing distrust of the convention system, and in many instances recourse is being had to primary elections. The new constitution of this State (Mississippi) makes it incumbent upon the legislature to enact such laws as will insure fairness in conducting this class of elections.

It seems to me that the system proposed in this address ought to prove particularly acceptable, because it clearly enlarges the powers of the people, appealing directly to their intelligence and patriotism for pure government, and guaranteeing absolute uniformity in the action of the States pertaining to national elections, without necessitating national supervision.

The feature that proposes to equalize the powers of electors and secure to minorities the right or privilege of representation, is the *SINE QUA NON* of free democratic government; being vastly superior to the cumbersome methods now in vogue, through which an unchallenged majority, in order to strengthen its lease of power, sometimes stoops to deeds of tyranny as violative of the principles of justice as the baleful edicts of a crowned autocrat.

Governor Ashley's plan contemplates direct and untrammelled action by the individual voter, and the creation of a carefully selected body of citizens in each State to act for them during any interim. This plan ought to commend itself to a people who have been prepared by a century and a quarter of varied experience, for the highest enjoyment of free government.

ISAIAH T. MONTGOMERY.

## ADDRESS

BY HON. J. M. ASHLEY,

BEFORE THE OHIO SOCIETY OF NEW YORK, MONDAY EVENING,  
NOVEMBER 9th, 1891.

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### THE IMPENDING POLITICAL EPOCH.

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“The world advances, and in time outgrows  
The laws that in our fathers’ days were best.”

—James Russell Lowell.

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“As the fatal dogma of secession, was buried in a common grave with the great rebellion, it is fitting and proper that the national Constitution should be so amended, as to conform to the new and broader conditions of our national life.”

—From page 805 of Address.

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OHIO SOCIETY OF NEW YORK, 236 Fifth Avenue.

NEW YORK, Nov. 10, 1891.

Hon. J. M. ASHLEY,  
150 Broadway, N. Y.

MY DEAR GOVERNOR ASHLEY: The paper which you read last evening before the Ohio Society of New York touching upon existing defects in the Federal Constitution, the dangers they involve, and the remedies at hand, aroused in those who heard it a strong sense of its interest and value. A resolution thanking you for it and soliciting a copy of it for publication was unanimously passed. Sharing as I do this feeling of the Society, it is a personal pleasure to me to

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transmit to you their request, and to join personally with them in soliciting compliance.

Very truly yours,

WAGER SWAYNE.

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NEW YORK, November 11th, 1891.

MY DEAR GENL.: It gives me pleasure to comply with the request of the Ohio Society of New York.

Herewith I hand you a copy of my address for publication, and thank the Society for its complimentary approval.

My acknowledgements are also due for the very agreeable manner in which you have been pleased to convey their wishes, and for the personal expression of your interest in the address.

Truly yours,

J. M. ASHLEY.

To Genl. WAGER SWAYNE,  
President of the  
"Ohio Society of New York."

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MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE OHIO SOCIETY OF NEW YORK: The favor with which this society received my address at its annual banquet last year, and the letters of generous commendation received by me from eminent men, thanking me for that contribution to our anti-slavery history, was so unexpected and gratifying that I am now glad I then acceded to the request of our worthy President and delivered it.

But for his friendly determination that I should make such an address, it would not have been prepared.

I can but hope that what I am to say before you to-night, may receive a like cordial reception.

To you, and through you to the considerate judgment of all who may read what I shall say, I propose to submit some observations upon impending national questions, in connection with our increase of population, as disclosed by our census reports for one hundred years of progress; questions which, if I forecast aright, are certain at an early day to confront us, and to demand practical solution.

If the appeal I am about to make against our present political system, shall cause you and those whom you can reach, to read and to give a deliberate judgment on the facts which I may present, I shall have accomplished my object.

As there have been in the past, so in the future there are certain to be epochs in our national history, so marked, that he who runs may read. Our transition from a confederation to a nation, including the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Mexican War and the War of the Rebellion, and the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery, are great and important epochs of the past.

In the near future, the impending epoch will mark a more complete recognition than we have yet witnessed, of the democratic idea in government, by amendments to our national Constitution, which will make it conform more fully than it now does to the imperative demands of a great republican commonwealth. James Russell Lowell says, that

“He who would win the name of truly great  
Must understand his own age and the next,  
And make the present ready to fulfill  
Its prophecy, and with the future merge  
Gently and peacefully, as wave with wave.  
The world advances, and in time outgrows  
The laws that in our fathers' days were best.”

The Constitution of our fathers, acceptable as it was a hundred years ago to a majority of the then population of three millions, could not be adopted without material amendment by any national constitutional convention which might now be chosen by the votes representing our sixty-three millions of people.

If, then, it be true that with all our veneration for the Constitution of Washington, it would not to-day be accepted as it is and without material change, if submitted as a new Constitution to the people of the United States for their ratification or rejection, its defects must, indeed, be marked and radical.

But it is not at all strange that in a hundred years we

should, as a nation, have outgrown our Revolutionary Constitution.

Since the organization of the National Government, the constitutions of all the original thirteen States have been changed, and some of them two or three times. This is also true of the constitutions of a majority of all the States admitted into the Union since the adoption of the national Constitution.

So long as slavery dominated the nation, amendments to our national Constitution, such as we are soon to see proposed and adopted, would have been impossible.

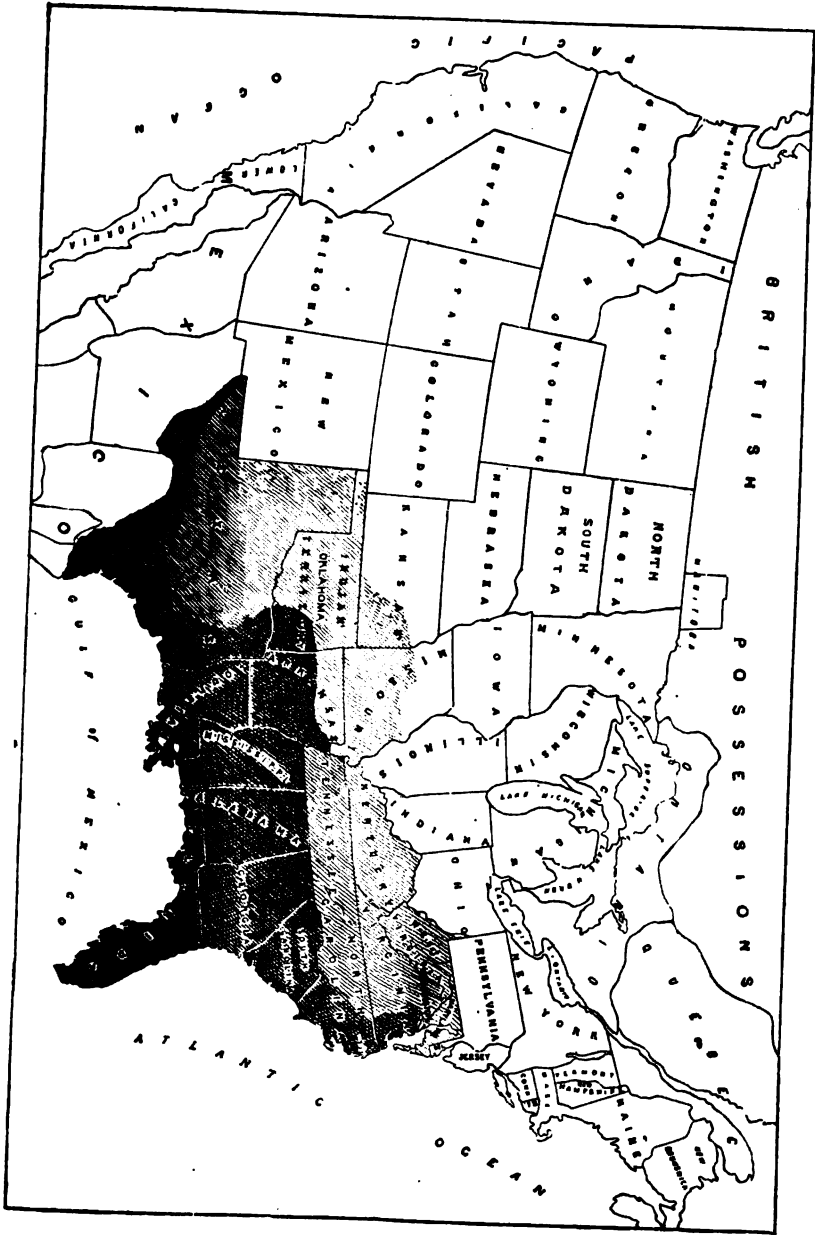
The abolition of slavery has brought with it new duties and new responsibilities—duties and responsibilities which the nation cannot escape.

With the adoption of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, millions of former slaves became citizens, with all the rights and privileges of citizenship.

These former slaves and their posterity must forever remain our countrymen and fellow-citizens, with rights co-equal with our own.

In the year 1940, only fifty years, the Afro-American population of this country (including Indians and all races not properly classed as whites) will, as I estimate it, reach the number of 13,750,000 or more, and out-number the whites in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana. That the colored man is certain proportionately to hold his own in North Carolina, Tennessee and Southern Arkansas, is probable, and perhaps he will hold his own in the southeastern half of the Indian Territory and adjoining the Gulf along the eastern portion of Texas and for some distance up the Rio Grande.

The census reports indicate that he will not increase north of 36 degrees 30 minutes in so great a ratio as the whites, nor in the old border slave States of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri and Northern Arkansas. On an accompanying map, I have marked by a black belt the States and parts of States, and the eastern portion of the Indian Territory and Texas, in which the Afro-American will in all probability dominate



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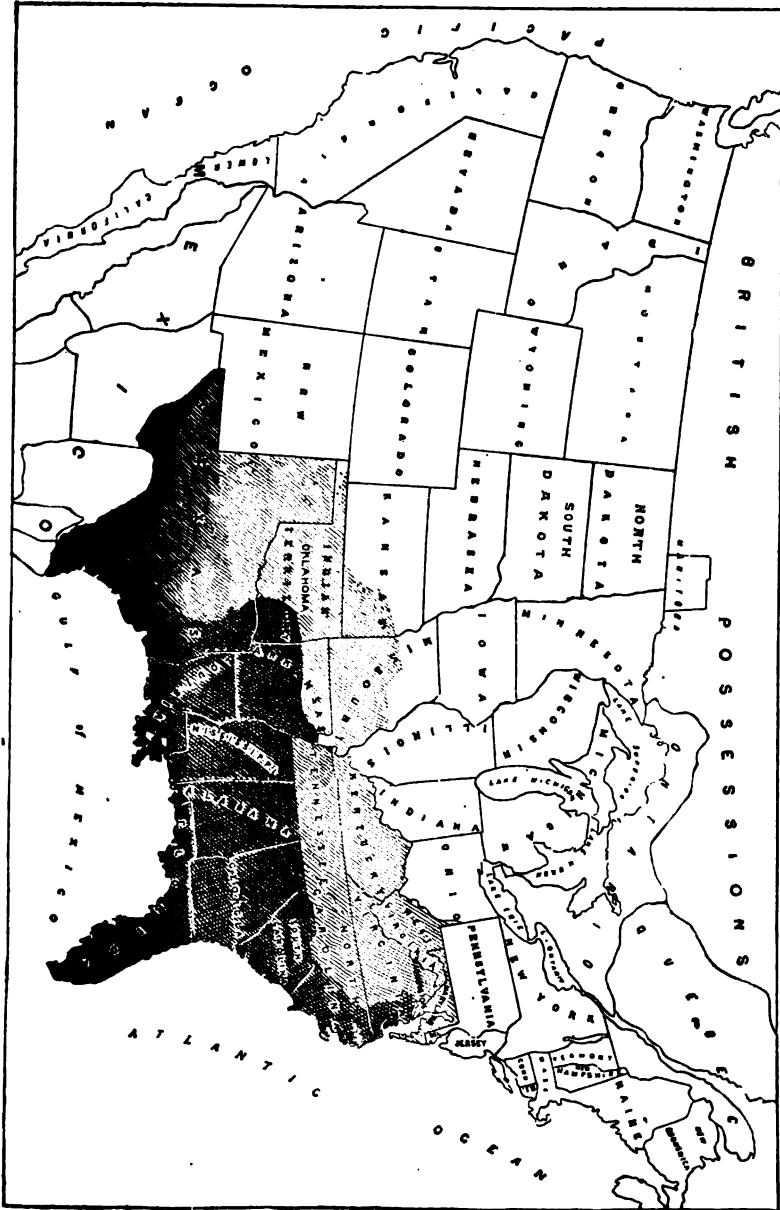
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before the year 1940, and certainly before the close of the second century of the republic.

In order that these estimates may be readily examined and verified by students of statistics, I have included in the appendix to my address, a table giving the incompleting census report, as published to date, of our white and colored population for one hundred years, and an estimate for the second hundred years.

As I estimate our total population in 1900, with the insufficient data before me, it will have reached eighty-two millions or more, in 1940 one hundred and sixty-one millions or more, and in 1990 we shall number some three hundred and ninety millions; at which time there will be not less than twenty-three millions of Afro-Americans.

Confronted with these estimates and with the facts which I shall present, I feel warranted in claiming your attention for an hour or more to-night on impending questions as I see them, and hope by the co-operation of the "Ohio Society of New York" to obtain a more general hearing by thinking men, than might otherwise be given me.

#### THE LESSON OF OUR CENSUS REPORTS.

Our census reports are invaluable, no less in aiding us to forecast the work of our practical every-day business life, than in the solution of impending political and philosophical problems.

To me, the first hundred years of our census reports teach that the impending questions, national and State, which in the immediate future will confront us and demand solution, are the equitable distribution of political power; the guarantee to every qualified elector of a secret ballot, and an absolute equality of individual power for that ballot; the nomination and election of the President and all public officials, who are to be chosen by popular vote by a direct ballot, without the dictation of conventions or the intervention of an intermediate body such as our present "College of Electors" for electing the President.

Foremost among these, is the question of

THE EQUITABLE OR PROPORTIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL POWER,

national, State and city. It is a question of such transcendent importance, that it must at an early day command the thoughtful attention of the ablest statesmen in this country.

In a democratic republic, it is of necessity a fundamental question, and underlies all others.

As I view it, it is more important than tariffs, the free coinage of silver, or any question of ordinary legislation connected with the administration of the government.

As in the past, the ablest and wisest of men have differed in opinion on questions of finance and on the practicability of current matters of administration, so in the future they are certain to differ. But on the question of an equitable distribution of political power, national, State and municipal, so that every citizen shall be clothed at the ballot-box with equal political authority and in all legislative assemblies be represented in proportion to the number of votes cast in the nation and in his State, there ought to be no divided opinion among intelligent men who are in favor of democratic government.

In the war for the Union, the people of this country pronounced unmistakably for a national as contradistinguished from a confederated government, for a government which shall be a democratic republic in fact as well as in name, a government which ought to be administered by a concurrent majority of the nation, instead of a mere numerical majority in States, which is often a minority of the whole people.

Under our present happy-go-lucky method of conducting national elections, the MINORITY of the whole people have on more than one occasion seized and held the government for years.

You will agree with me that any device, or trick, by which the MINORITY seize and hold the government, national, State or city, is an indefensible political crime.

In his "Disquisitions on Government" Mr. Calhoun has, with great clearness and marked ability, pointed out the danger incident to entrusting the numerical majority with

absolute political power. Had his argument for the rights of minorities, and for what he terms "the necessity of concurrent majorities" been made on behalf of individual electors and manhood suffrage, instead of claiming it for organized political communities which he called sovereign States, he would have commanded the general approval of all friends of democratic government both in this country and in Europe.

It will be conceded, without argument, that one of the first duties of a representative government is to guard and protect the right of suffrage.

Only when the elector has guaranteed to him a free ballot and an honest count, can the political judgment of a great commonwealth, or of a State or city, be collected.

The more perfectly this judgment of the elector is collected, the more certain is the end accomplished for which representative government is established.

To collect the opinions of the greatest number in the nation, or in any State or subdivision of a State, is not enough; the opinions of the minority must be collected as well, and as far as possible the sense of the entire community as a whole. To do this practically, special care must be taken that the minority shall always have its proportional representation in every legislative assembly according to the number of votes cast by the minority at any election for representatives, either in Congress or in State legislatures, or city governments, and under no combination of circumstances to permit the minority, through gerrymandering schemes, or other trick or device, to seize control of the government.

The numerical majority must of necessity control and administer all democratic representative governments, but such governments, to be just and equitable, must have checks, such as the negative power which an intelligent minority can effectually use before the bar of public opinion, to resist converting the government of a mere numerical majority into one of despotic powers. Obviously enough, all representative government becomes better and approximates nearer a perfect government, the nearer it becomes a government of the concurrent majority.

If every interest in the nation, or State, or municipality

within a State, is represented in the legislative assemblies in proportion to the number of votes cast by each party or association, the combining of this minority interest will greatly increase its power for self-protection, and correspondingly decrease the power of the numerical majority to rule with a rod of iron. It is not enough to provide constitutional limitations to the power of the numerical majority for the protection of the minority, unless the minority are clothed with the power of self-protection, so that they can enforce an observance of these rights by personal representation, open discussion and the public use of parliamentary rules. The numerical majority being in possession of the government, will always favor a liberal interpretation of the power granted in any constitution or charter, and on one pretext or another, evade or disregard the restrictions intended to limit them, unless the minority are clothed with the power of self-protection, which can only be had by proportional representation and the power which intelligent debate and publicity always secures.

On the threshold of my remarks, it is proper that I should state the nature of the amendments I would propose to our national Constitution, and to the objectionable features of our national system of elections.

Briefly, these comprise the **NOMINATION** and **ELECTION** of the President of the United States, and Senators and Representatives in Congress, by a direct vote of the people, by ballot; the creation of an independent body of officials in every State, to be elected by the voters of each, whose powers and duties shall be to conduct all national elections within their respective States, and fill all vacancies that may from time to time occur for the incompleting terms in the office of President, Senators or Representatives in Congress.

The changes contemplated also include the abolition of the office of Vice-President, and the abolition of all nominating conventions.

#### THE ABOLITION OF THE CONVENTION SYSTEM.

From the time of its adoption many of the ablest states-

men in this country were opposed to the convention system, although they were compelled to submit to its authority. They opposed it because they comprehended that it was an organized machine, which offered a standing premium on political fraud and corruption. They saw that it would breed a class of self-appointed leaders who would live on office and plunder; that the general tendency would be to nominate men for important positions whom no prudent private citizen would for a moment think of selecting for a public trust. And they opposed it because it is a system unknown to the Constitution and was never contemplated by its framers. Within fifty years it has grown to be a monster political despotism, and in both parties is to-day the absolute master of the people, in all cities of the first and second class, and in all State and national nominating conventions.

From the birth of the first national convention to the adjournment of the last, not one-tenth of the voters of the country of either of the great political parties have been represented in what are known as the "primaries," that is, in the ward or township caucuses, where each party begins the work of selecting its delegates for all national, State and district conventions.

At all county and city conventions for the appointment of delegates to district and State conventions, the number of voters actually represented is still less than one-tenth.

In national conventions the delegates, thus chosen by district and State conventions, practically represent only cliques and cabals, and even they are often powerless in the hands of the managers of the "machine," and instead of being a deliberative body, every national convention becomes an irresponsible mob, which, under the manipulation of intriguers, absolutely dictates for whom the people shall vote at every election for President, and from this dictation there is no escape and no appeal except to bolt the "regular nominee" of your party, which practically means political excommunication and often personal ostracism. A national convention made up and organized thus name the President as certainly as if they alone were the voters, and as if the entire body of the people were disfranchised and voiceless.

This condition of things also obtains largely in all party conventions, State and district, city and county.

If this statement is even approximately true, certainly the first and most desirable reform to be attempted in this country, ought to be the abolition of all such nominating conventions as now enable a small and active minority, of one-tenth or less, to *RULE* and dictate to the remaining nine-tenths or more.

For securing to every voter an equal voice in the National Government, and for a more equitable distribution of political power, the following plan could be made to approximate mathematically to the total voting population of the nation, if it were not for the existence of large and small States, and the inequality of representation of each State in the Senate of the United States.

So long as there are States which contain a population of but a few thousand, or States without sufficient population for coequal commonwealths; and so long as the present inequality of representation in the Senate of the United States is maintained, the amendments here proposed provide for the fairest and most equitable distribution of political power in the National Government, which I have been able to devise.

For State governments, whether large or small, and for all city or municipal governments within States, it is approximately perfect. It provides a system which cannot be successfully manipulated against the people by party bosses or intriguing leaders, whether national, State or city, and is adapted to the wants and growth of our democratic institutions. Let me briefly illustrate the manner of its working in the nomination and election of Representatives in Congress.

Ohio is entitled to twenty-one members of Congress by the new apportionment for 1891.

Under the plan proposed there would be four Congressional districts in that State, in each of which there would be five Representatives in Congress to be elected on one ballot, and there would also be one member to be elected for the State at large.

It will be observed that this distribution of political



power, under the new apportionment, secures to each elector in Ohio the right to vote for six Representatives in Congress, and no more than six, and that under no apportionment which can be made after any census, can the voters in Ohio, or in any State, vote for more than seven Representatives. But if any elector so elects he can run his pen or pencil across the name or names of any one or more of the candidates on this ballot, for whom he does not desire to vote, and cumulate his vote for any one or more of the candidates authorized to be voted for in the State and district in which he resides. Each elector would thus have secured to him absolute freedom of choice from among the candidates placed in nomination by his own party, as provided by law, and also from those nominated by any party with votes enough to select a ticket, and it would be as impossible for any voter, or for the judges of any election, to commit fraud in preparing and depositing such a ballot, or in its being counted, as it would be were the voter filling up a bank check to be paid by a cashier for one or six thousand dollars. And in no event, under this plan, can the minority of the total vote cast in any State secure a majority of its delegation in Congress by the indefensible distribution of political power known as gerrymandering. In fact, this plan renders the trickery and injustice of gerrymandering impossible.

The simplicity and practicability of this plan, which is applicable alike for national, State and city governments, must commend itself to all students of political reform.

New York, under the new apportionment, is entitled to thirty-four Representatives in Congress. The plan proposed would give the State eight Congressional districts of four members each, and two for the State at large, so that each elector in New York would be entitled to vote for six Representatives in Congress. Thus each voter in Ohio would vote for the same number of Representatives as a voter in New York, or if he so elected he could cumulate his vote, and cast the six votes to which he is entitled for any one or more of the candidates nominated by any party.

Of the manner in which nominations are to be made I shall speak further on.

It will be conceded that political power is unequally and unjustly distributed, wherever in any State the MINORITY obtains or elects a larger number of Representatives in Congress or in the State legislature by the trickery of gerrymandering, or by any other dishonest device, nor is there any defense for a system which authorizes an elector in a populous county in the State to vote for a greater number of Representatives to the State legislature than an elector who resides in a less populous county.

An elector in our State, who resides in Hamilton County, is authorized to vote for ten members of the legislature, and in Cuyahoga for eight or nine, while an elector in Fulton and in a majority of all the counties in the State, can vote but for one member. It must be clear to the average man that the elector who votes for ten members of the State legislature on one ballot is clothed with much greater political power than an elector who votes for but one. In addition to this injustice, it is well known that these ten members for Hamilton County may, in the future as they have been in the past, be elected by a mere plurality of the votes cast in that county, and not by a majority. When this happens the entire representation from Hamilton County in the State legislature is secured by a minority of the votes cast in that county, and oftener than otherwise such an election changes the political complexion of the legislature, and gives to the minority of the voters in the State, control of the legislative department of the State government. So long as the caucus and convention system obtains, and the inequality between electors in the populous and less populous counties of the State is continued, with the present indefensible distribution of political power to the larger and smaller counties, just so long will desperate political cliques alternately dominate in such counties and in the State; and the government for cities and for State institutions be attempted by "commissions," appointed by the party in power.

It would be difficult to conceive of a more offensive exhibition than that which all last winter was enacted in the State of Connecticut for the want of an honest distribution of political power.

Under this plan, substantially as outlined, I am confident

that any man of mature years and fair executive ability, with a small committee of five or seven business men (but never a committee of one hundred) could dislodge and defeat all organized political combinations such as now rule New York and Cincinnati.

Nothing is more certain if the voters can be guaranteed the right to make their own nominations, than that this result can be successfully accomplished with half the labor and less than half the money uselessly thrown away, every year or two, by spasmodic efforts on the part of exasperated and worthy citizens.

It might, and probably would, require two sharply contested battles before the voters could accustom themselves to the new mode of nominating and electing their officials. But the second battle in most cases, and the third battle certainly in a majority of cases, would end in the complete rout of all cliques and self-appointed leaders, who now live at the public crib in both cities and States by the organized power secured to them by the political "machine." If such rings and combines as we have in the cities of New York and Cincinnati can be successfully dislodged as proposed, it may be safely predicted that they could and would be dislodged and defeated in every State and in all cities.

That the plan proposed will enable the people to accomplish this I am fully persuaded, provided always that a majority of the people vote to elect their own nominations, not otherwise. This plan is for the government of majorities. It is opposed to a government by commission, and to all schemes for clothing the minority with the administration of government, national, State or city.

Let me illustrate briefly the working of the plan if put in operation by the States of Ohio and New York and in the cities of New York and Cincinnati.

In the States and cities named, or indeed in all States and cities where democratic government and home rule is demanded, the State constitutions and city charters would embody the principles of the proposed amendment of the national Constitution, and provide in like manner for the nomination and election of governors and mayors and all officials to be chosen by the people, whether State or city. The

plan for the nomination and election of members of the legislature, or the law-making departments of city government, would thus be uniform for all States and cities. This can be done in every State and in all cities with mathematical accuracy.

Affirming the practicability and necessity of two representative law-making bodies in national, State and city governments, I would provide that in all cases Senators shall be elected by districts in every State, and members of the board of aldermen in all cities in districts of not less than three nor more than five members each, and that the number of Senators and members of all aldermanic boards should invariably be composed of one-third the number of members to be elected in districts to the lower House in both States and cities.

Thus in Ohio, I would provide, were I a member of a constitutional convention or a member of the legislature, that the State constitution should be so amended that there shall be ninety members of the lower house, to be elected in districts of five members each, and not less than three members of the lower house in addition, for the State at large. To determine the territorial boundaries of the 18 representative districts, I would divide the total vote of the State for governor by 90, which will give the number of voters to be allotted to each district.

As the Senate, to be elected by districts, would in every case be composed of one-third the number of representatives (that is, 30 Senators), there would be six senatorial districts, in each of which five Senators would be elected, and in addition not less than three Senators for the State at large. This would make a House of 93 members and a Senate of 33, and always secure an odd number in each house.

In New York, I would allot 120 members to the lower house, and have them elected in 24 districts of five members each, and not less than three members of the House in addition for the State at large.

In a House of 120 members elected by districts, the Senate would be composed of one-third that number, or 40 Senators, to be elected in eight senatorial districts of five Senators each, and three Senators in addition to be elected by the State

at large. The territorial apportionment for the districts in which members of the House are to be chosen would be determined by dividing the total vote of the State for governor by 120, and I would provide that in both State and city apportionments three representative districts of the lower house of contiguous territory, should always make a senatorial or aldermanic district.

For all State and municipal or city governments this plan secures the absolute equitable distribution of political power, on a mathematical basis, in all apportionments for members of representative bodies, and guarantees to all organized groups of electors, numbering not less than one-eighth of the total vote cast at any election, in any State or city, equality of political power, by providing that no elector in State or city shall vote for a greater number of candidates than another elector, but that each elector shall have authority to cumulate his vote, so as to secure to any group of electors numbering one-eighth and a fraction of the total vote, a representation in all State and city legislative assemblies, that shall correspond approximately with the total number of votes cast at any election for Representatives in State legislatures, or in the law-making branch of any city government.

It will be conceded that this plan, even without the provision for selecting all candidates by ballot as provided at nominating elections, would be a vast improvement on the present manner of electing our President, United States Senators and Representatives in Congress, and all State and city officials. By embodying in the plan the provision for making such nominations by the people, the system becomes impregnable in the hands of intelligent voters. But the tremendous power which this plan would secure to all able and honestly conducted newspapers cannot at present be estimated. That it would give them a power they have never had will be readily understood by any one now connected with the press who gives this matter proper consideration.

The democratic idea in government demands, and the plan which I here submit recognizes, that in all States and cities each elector shall have secured to him a secret ballot,

and the right to vote on one ballot for not less than three State Senators for the State at large, and for not less than three members of the lower house of the legislative assembly for the State at large, and in senatorial districts for five Senators in each, and in representative districts for five members each to the lower house.

This secures an absolutely equitable distribution of political power, and also political equality to every voter in the State, as each elector could only vote for the same number of Senators, and for the same number of Representatives in the lower house.

But if he desired he could cumulate his vote and dispose of his votes for Senator and his votes for members of the legislature as he might elect, by deliberately erasing with pen or pencil the name or names of the persons nominated for Senators or Representatives, for whom he did not desire to vote, and designate opposite the name or names of his favorite candidates the number of votes which he wished transferred to them.

In the appendix to my address will be found the form for all ballots, national, State and city.

The plan is so simple, and so free from the possibility of fraud or misinterpretation, that I am confident it will recommend itself to the considerate judgment of all thoughtful men engaged in the work of representative and ballot reform.

That this plan when adopted will prove an invaluable educator will not be questioned.

Those who recognize the capacity of the people for self-government will approve some such plan, while those who doubt or deny that the people are sufficiently intelligent to be intrusted with the power of self-government will oppose and condemn every proposed reform which promises to destroy the political machine, and break the political manacles with which intriguers and conventions now environ the voter in all parties, national and State.

It will be seen that this plan clothes with absolutely independent political power all electors, and that they are thus enabled to vote at every election, free from the arbitrary dictation of political caucuses and conventions, and of all self-appointed political leaders.

Affirming the fundamental proposition, upon which this plan is founded, that a great continental commonwealth can only be permanently maintained in peace and unity, by a government in which the whole people of all the States, the minority no less than the majority, are personally represented in its national legislative assembly, in proportion to the total number of its qualified voters, I gladly avail myself of the opportunity which this Society has given me, to lay before it my contribution to the suggestions, which, in the near future, must be submitted and discussed by the people before any such change as I contemplate can be made.

#### THE PLAN DEMOCRATIC.

An examination of this plan will disclose that it is equitable, comprehensive and democratic; that it is applicable alike in all governments, whether States, cities or municipalities, in which a democratic representative government is possible.

It recognizes the complete sovereignty of the people, and secures responsible local self-government. It throws around the ballot-box every safeguard necessary for the security of the voter and the purity of elections, and arms each voter with a weapon which, if he but use it, will on all occasions give him complete protection against secret or open combinations of political intriguers. It makes impossible the successful use of the political machinery of our present caucus and convention system, or machinery such as has long been in use by Tammany Hall in this city, and by like organizations of both parties in other cities.

It destroys absolutely the power of political bossism, and enables the people to defeat all such combinations as now dictate to voters as imperiously as if they were convicts in a State prison, keeping lock-step, while marching to the polls, and obeying the order of the managers of the political "machine." That the present convention system of each party should have so firmly fastened itself upon the people of this country, is an amazing fact in our history. Under this system, the recognized bar-room statesmen in this city, or indeed in any city, can, and usually do, select and have

appointed to all State, district and city conventions a larger number of delegates than can be secured by any editor of even the ablest party organ. As a rule, and for the express purpose of binding in advance such editors to support the nominees, whoever they may be, they are put on delegations to all important conventions; special care being taken that they shall be sandwiched between a sufficient number of "reliable statesmen" to render them powerless against the "machine," either in such conventions or out of them.

It has long been a recognized common law rule in politics that every delegate taking part in any convention is in honor bound to defend the platform adopted, however objectionable, and support the candidates nominated, even though their nominations were secured by trickery or fraud.

In this way many editors are yearly marched into conventions and practically manacled, and compelled by party usage, and party necessity, to support the nominee, however unworthy, and defend the platform, however offensive, adopted by any convention in which they may have thus appeared as delegates, bound hand and foot.

The plan which I propose will change all this, and practically lodge the power where it ought to be, with the people, represented by the public press. By public discussion secret intriguers can be defeated more certainly than in any other way, and all editors can appeal to their readers to second their efforts to secure desirable candidates at all nominating elections. If a majority of the voters in any party unite with them at such nominating elections, it will be found that almost invariably reputable and worthy men have been selected as candidates. Editors of character and ability will thus always be able, under this plan, to command a favorable hearing with a hundred voters to every ten that can be induced to go to a caucus and vote for the nomination of any candidate presented by the most active and successful among our leading "practical statesmen." Daily in all cities, morning or evening, in the quiet of their homes, every editor under this plan can reach an appeal to his readers and ask them to cut out the ticket printed in his paper, and go to the polls and vote it, with the statement that in his opinion by a proper effort, the candidate or candi-



dates named can be nominated. I shall not attempt to estimate the power which this plan will secure to an able and independent press.

The usual results in our present national conventions are that the delegates from the so-called "pivotal States" dictate to each party all nominations for President. After a sufficient number of ballots have been taken to weary a majority of the rank and file in any convention, and the weak points of the several contestants have been disclosed, the programmes of the contending chiefs are then determined and the ablest boss manipulator of the "machine" generally wins. As he goes to the convention to win, he does not stand on the order of employing the means necessary to that end.

The moment the lay delegates discover the "situation" they become wild in their zeal to be heard, and the most unblushing and reckless frantically jump upon seats and desks with yells that always amaze the uninitiated, each of them demanding recognition by the chairman in order that he may have the honor of leading off and being the first in the mad scramble to have the vote of his State duly recorded for the candidate who is slated to win, or to declare in a ringing speech that his delegation has instructed him to announce that his State has decided to change its vote from their "favorite son" to the candidate who is to be successful.

This movement, though an old dodge, is often so skillfully played that it stampedes the delegates and gives success to the secretly prearranged programme of the machine managers.

The candidate of the machine is thus oftener than otherwise nominated without the slightest regard to his ability or qualifications for the duties of the presidential office, and when officially declared the nominee, the entire party is forced to support him, even though it be conceded that his nomination has been secured by trickery and fraud.

In the interval between the hours when the nomination is made and the final adjournment of the convention, other important matters are being transacted. Papers are duly prepared and signed by delegates for each other, reciting the in-

valuable party services of delegates from this State and that WHO VOTED RIGHT, and especially the "claims" of delegates from "pivotal States," and before the convention has fairly adjourned, the delegates who made the nomination possible are "booked" FOR OFFICIAL RECOGNITION UNDER THE NEW ADMINISTRATION, IF THE CANDIDATE SHOULD BE ELECTED.

The political demoralization from this condition of things cannot be even approximately estimated. The adoption of my plan for nominating all candidates by a direct vote of all electors by ballot, will, beyond question, secure the early abolition of all national nominating conventions, and eventually of all State, county and city conventions, thus emancipating the voters of all parties from the despotism of party cliques and party conventions.

In thus superseding the present caucus and convention system, each elector will be secured in a right he never had before, the right to vote directly for his first choice for any candidate from President down, without the fear of indirectly aiding in the election of an objectionable candidate, because the first election in every instance is simply a nominating election.

I have provided that at all nominating elections each group of electors, or each party, shall prepare its own ballot, and also that each individual voter may prepare his own ballot, either printed or written, as he may elect and as the law shall prescribe.

After the nominations are made, Congress is specially directed to provide by law that the "College of Deputies" in each State shall cause all the official ballots to be prepared and properly distributed, substantially as in the "Australian system," which has been adopted by several of our States.

#### ABOLISH THE OFFICE OF VICE-PRESIDENT.

To me, there is no provision of our national Constitution so objectionable as that which creates the office of the Vice-President, and in case of the resignation, disability or death of the President, clothes that functionary with the chief executive office. Objection was made to the creation

of the office of Vice-President by some of the clearest thinkers in the convention which framed the Constitution, some of whom declared that "the office was unnecessary and dangerous."

The wisdom of their opposition has been confirmed more than once in our history.

As all know, the Vice-President is a superfluous officer, and as experience has shown, more ornamental than useful. He is simply a figure-head, and since the birth of the convention system not an attractive one at that. But as the "heir-apparent" he is always a possibility. Around every Vice-President all factions and cranks in his party involuntarily gather. Whether he wishes it or not, all disappointed applicants for office, and all conspirators are drawn towards him as by the law of gravitation. That our revolutionary fathers should have preserved this shadowy relic of monarchy in our Constitution by creating an "heir-apparent" is one of the unexplained facts in our history. And then, our "heir-apparent" is unlike that of any other provided for, in any government on earth, in that he has no ties of affection or consanguinity or gratitude. The President is never the father of the Vice-President nor his benefactor, but often his personal and political rival.

This provision of the Constitution simply invites every Vice-President to be a Richard III., or a conspirator ready and waiting the promotion, which assassins can always secure for him, by creating a vacancy in the office of President, as was done in the "removal" of Lincoln and Garfield.

Night and morning, at banquets and funerals, everywhere and on all occasions, the Constitution perpetually whispers in the ear of every unscrupulous and ambitious Vice-President, "that between him and the highest and most honorable office on earth there is but the life of a single man."

Instead of such an officer as the Vice-President, the provision originally suggested in the first draft made by the committee in the convention of 1789 ought to have been made part of the Constitution. That provision simply provided that "The Senate shall choose its own presiding and other officers."

The Speaker of the House of Representatives is always a member of that body, and must be selected by its members. The Speaker appoints all committees of the House, and can, if he so elects, vote on all questions before the House and also take part in debate, while the Vice-President cannot appoint the Senate committees, nor vote, except in case of a tie, nor can he participate in debate on the floor of the Senate. His very existence and presence is a menace and a peril to any man in the office of President.

The peace of our country has been imperiled during our history more than once, because of the existence of the office of Vice-President. We would have escaped the ordeal through which the nation passed in 1801, when Jefferson and Burr were candidates, if there had been no vice-presidential office. And here I may appropriately quote from a speech which I made in Congress on this subject in 1868, when I said "that had there been no such office as Vice-President, we should have been spared the perfidy of a Tyler, the betrayal of a Fillmore and the baseness and infamy of a Johnson."

After drawing a picture of the conspiracy which culminated in Mr. Lincoln's assassination, I said in the same speech, that "I present this panoramic view of what is now history to illustrate how weak and indefensible in this particular is the presidential office, so that I may appeal to the nation to fortify it against this danger by removing the temptation now presented to conspirators and assassins, and thus make the presidential office a citadel against which they may hurl themselves in vain."

"Adopt this plan and the occupant of the presidential office will be effectually guarded from all political conspiracies which thrive by assassination. It also precludes the possibility of an interregnum in that office." (CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE, 2d Session, 40th Congress, Part 3, page 2714.)

In all national conventions, the average candidate for Vice-President is practically a "pawn" on the political chessboard in the hands of the managers of the "machine," and is disposed of as absolutely as the skilled chess-player moves and disposes of his "pawn" in any sharp game of chess.

More than once, in the history of the Democratic, Whig and Republican parties, has the vice-presidential "pawn" been used by the "machine" managers to defeat the nomination of candidates for President, who would have been nominated but for the intriguers, who successfully played the vice-presidential "pawn" to defeat the first choice of the party, and to nominate candidates who were not even the second or third choice of the party for President.

From the first national convention to the last, not one of all the men nominated by either party for Vice-President, could have been nominated for President by the convention which nominated him for Vice-President. Yet the Constitution makes every Vice-President the "heir-apparent."

Had the plan which I propose for filling a vacancy in the presidential office been part of our national Constitution, when either one or all of our four Presidents passed away, and thus made that office vacant, nothing is more certain than that not one of the men who was then Vice-President could have been selected to fill out the unexpired term of that President.

Let me ask you to look in upon such a gathering of the national "College of Deputies," as it would appear, on the plan proposed, when in session at Washington for the purpose of selecting a President to fill out the unexpired term of any President.

And first, look at the members of such an assembly individually. That such a body of men would be made up of the fairest and most trustworthy citizens of each State, is assured by the requirement which prescribes that the youngest member shall not be less than 30 years of age, and that he shall have been seven years a resident of the State from which he is chosen, and that he shall be nominated and elected by the duly qualified electors of each State. Selected in conformity with this plan, no better guarantee could be given as to their character and fidelity.

Under the apportionment of 1891 for Representatives in Congress, there would be 444 members of such a College of Deputies when convened in session at Washington, representing the majority and minority of the whole people in each State, as equitably as can be secured with the present

distribution of political power in our large and small States.

No intelligent man familiar with our history can for a moment believe that such a body of men, when called upon to rise each in his place and vote *VIVA VOCE* for a citizen to fill out the unexpired term of any deceased President, that they would have been guilty of the folly or crime of selecting John Tyler to fill the vacancy caused by the death of General Harrison, or Millard Fillmore to fill the vacancy caused by the death of General Taylor, nor would it have been possible for such a body to have filled the vacancy caused by the assassination of Mr. Lincoln by the selection of Andrew Johnson, or Chester A. Arthur to fill that of General Garfield. If it be true that such a body of men would not have selected any one of the four Vice-Presidents, who as the "heir-apparent" became President on the death of his chief, and if, as I believe, not one of the men named could by any combination have been nominated for President by the convention which nominated him for Vice-President, have I not presented considerations which will justify the people of this country in demanding the early abolition of the office of Vice-President?

#### THE DECENTRALIZATION OF POLITICAL POWER.

With the adoption of this proposed amendment all conflict of authority between the national and State governments will cease, because the powers and duties of each will have been definitely and clearly defined, so that all States now in the Union, and all States which in the future may be admitted, can have no cause for controversy.

Each State and all municipal governments within any State will be fully protected in its dignity and freedom from intervention on the part of the officials of the National Government, and may regulate its own internal affairs in its own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.

After the adoption of this amendment, Congress could not clothe the President nor any official of the National Government (as it may now do) with authority to interfere in any national election in any State, nor would it then be pos-

sible for Congress to enact such a law as the so-called "Force Bill."

In all elections for President and Senators and Representatives in Congress, the people of each State have, by this plan, direct and absolute control by personal vote, free from the intervention of the political machinery of State governments.

Nor does this plan interfere in any way with the electoral or administrative machinery of State governments, or municipal governments in States; nor does it abridge the liberty or the privileges of the citizen of any State; on the contrary, it enlarges his liberty and secures to him rights of which he never before was possessed except in name. It preserves the rights of the States and secures inviolable the sovereignty of the people.

As the courts of the United States deal directly with the citizens of the several States without serious conflict from the State courts, so this amendment, and all laws which the Congress may enact by its authority, deal directly with the people and charge the citizens residing in the several States with the selection by ballot of their own officials to conduct all national elections in their respective States.

Under this plan you cannot lodge in the hands of any administration at Washington the control of the national electoral machinery in the States. To the College of Deputies in each State, and to no other officials, is given the authority to secure an honest registration to the electors in each State, and a free and fair election of President and Senators and Representatives in Congress. Instead of an increase of centralized power at Washington, to which I am opposed, this plan secures a marked decentralization of power, by placing it permanently and exclusively in the care and keeping of the citizens of each State.

In all elections for President and Senators and Representatives in Congress, the entire machinery for conducting such elections is lodged in the hands of officials nominated and elected by ballot directly by the qualified voters in each State, and these officials thus elected by the people of the several States can no more be induced to commit fraud or crime or be dictated to or controlled by officials at Washing-

ton than a judge, or a duly impaneled jury in any Circuit or District Court of the United States in any State, nor can they be tampered with and corrupted by any administration at Washington.

Whatever power may originally have been "reserved to the States or to the people" in our present Constitution is by this plan secured to the people direct, without interference on the part either of the national or State governments.

Instead of conferring additional power on the government at Washington touching national elections, **THIS PLAN MATERIALLY DECREASES THE POWER CONFERRED ON CONGRESS BY OUR PRESENT CONSTITUTION**, and provides that all power and authority in respect to the conduct of elections in the several States for President and Senators and Representatives in Congress shall be confided to the people direct, and in such manner that neither the officials of the National Government nor of a State government can in any way interfere with the authorities or the duties of the College of Deputies chosen by the people in each State.

It takes from a State no power properly belonging to it, but it takes from the State legislatures the power to elect United States Senators as now, and demolishes the power of the machine boss and the cross-roads statesman in every legislature, and makes it impossible for him to wield the power he now uses to compel the members of all State legislatures to go into the caucuses for the nomination of United States Senators, where with **ONE-THIRD** or less of the members of any State legislature he dictates who shall be the Senator from such State, as is now the case in nearly every State in the Union. It also deprives the legislature of the power of disfranchising the people, and sometimes a majority of the people of a State, of their proportionate representation in Congress by unjust and indefensible acts of gerrymandering the State into Congressional districts.

The power thus taken from Congress and from State legislatures is conferred directly on the people of each State in connection with all national elections, and **SECURES A PERFECT DECENTRALIZATION OF POWER**, and does not permit either the Senate or House of Representatives, as under our present Constitution, to be the judge of the qualifications of



its own members; under which rule, either House of Congress can always find a partisan pretext for turning a member out who has been elected, and seat a member who has not been elected, as has often been done, and will be done so long as the present authority is vested in each House.

This constitutional amendment PRESCRIBES THE QUALIFICATIONS OF SENATORS AND MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE, and confers on the people at the ballot-box the right to determine who the Senators and members from their State shall be, and from this decision there can be no appeal to either House of Congress. All contests must be heard and determined in the District Court of the United States for the State and district in which any contest may arise.

This plan secures full and free scope for the deliberate expression of the national will, not only in the nomination and election of the President, but in the selection of Senators and Representatives in Congress and members of the College of Deputies.

In States entitled to more than one Representative in Congress, each group of electors, if their number be equal to ONE-THIRD, or more or less as the case may be, can by cumulating their vote always have a voice in the administration of the government and thus be able to check and often to defeat schemes which are pernicious or undesirable. By securing to the people of every State proportional representation, the convictions and conscience of the majority and minority in each State, and in the Nation, will always be represented in each State and at Washington, so that ill-considered or partisan movements, and sometimes the temporary madness of public opinion, may by prudent criticism and practical discussion be modified or rejected.

The "pivotal States," as they are called, that is, large States like New York, whose vote more than once has decided the election of a President, is one of the most corrupting and dangerous powers in our system. The incentive to illegal voting and ballot-box stuffing, and to the importation of voters from adjoining States into such States as New York, is but one of the dangers inseparable from the election of thirty-six presidential electors on one ballot for the State at large.

Under the present electoral machinery, a MINORITY of the popular vote and a MINORITY of the electoral vote secured the President at the time John Quincy Adams was chosen by the House of Representatives in 1825. No plan of national government is defensible which makes it possible for a minority of the voters at the polls and a minority of the Electoral College to succeed in electing the President, as was done in 1825 when Mr. Adams was chosen.

When some such amendment as I here propose shall have been adopted, no third- or fourth-rate man will thereafter be nominated for President. Certainly no man unknown to the people, nor any man whose political opinions were objectionable could possibly be nominated, after each elector is authorized to vote direct by ballot for his first choice. In order to get votes enough at any nominating election to be included in the list of the four highest candidates, he must of necessity be a man of national reputation, with a character for political integrity and executive ability.

The average elector has a proper estimate of the dignity and importance which belongs to the presidential office, and the voters of all parties, when naming their first choice for President, would naturally turn to their ablest representative men. In no event could a mere faction or a minority in any party, by the use of the "machine," form combinations and defeat as they have done, and can now do, the nomination of any man who was the choice of the majority. Schemers and intriguers would be powerless without the "convention machine," and could not by secret combinations hold the "balance of power" in any large States like New York and Ohio, and dictate the nomination of their candidate on pain of defeating the party. Under my plan, the voice of all electors in each party would be heard, and desperate efforts could not be successfully made, such as we have more than once witnessed in New York, to obtain, no matter by what means, a bare plurality of the vote in the State, so as to secure the entire electoral vote of the State and thus elect the President.

OBJECTIONS TO THE ELECTION OF A PRESIDENT BY A COLLEGE  
OF ELECTORS AND BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTA-  
TIVES UNDER OUR PRESENT CONSTITUTION.

Section One of Article Two of our Constitution prescribes the manner in which electors of President and Vice-President shall be appointed by the several States as follows:

“Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress.”

It will be observed that the Constitution thus confers on the legislature of each State, without qualification and beyond the possibility of doubt, absolute authority to appoint in such manner as a majority of any legislature may direct, the number of electors of President and Vice-President to which the State is entitled under any apportionment. The words, “in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct,” are as clear and distinct as the English language can make them. It must therefore be conceded that a majority in the legislature of any State, even though they represent a MINORITY of the total vote of the State, may appoint all the electors, or they may confer the power of appointment on any one or more persons (as the legislature of South Carolina did at one time confer the power to appoint the electors of President and Vice-President for that State on its governor), or they may direct that electors for President and Vice-President shall be chosen by the voters of the State, either in congressional district or by the State at large, or in any subdivision of the State, as they may elect, and from such determination of the legislature there can be no escape.

The enactment by the last legislature of Michigan of a law changing the manner of appointing the electors of President and Vice-President for that State ought to be a lesson and a warning.

It is well known that Michigan is a State in which ONE party, when united, is uniformly in a majority. Factional

divisions and incompetent leadership on the part of the MAJORITY enabled the MINORITY last year to seize control of the State government, including the legislature. Whereupon the legislature proceeded (as under the clause of the Constitution above quoted they had the legal authority to do) to repeal the law, which from the organization of the State had provided that a majority of the voters in the State should select on one ballot for the State at large, all the electors of President and Vice-President; and enacted a law which directs that said electors shall be chosen in districts—districts which said legislature deliberately gerrymandered, so as to secure to the MINORITY of the voters in the State a MAJORITY of the fourteen presidential electors to which the State is entitled in the Electoral College of 1892.

If the legislatures of other States, in which the MINORITY of the voters of either party may have secured by any combination a MAJORITY of its legislature, should follow the example of Michigan (which is not improbable), and repeal the law which now authorizes the people to choose presidential electors in such States, and assume to appoint ALL the electors to which their State is entitled, or a majority of them, such action would disclose one of the weakest and most dangerous defects of our present system for the choice of a President.

The accidental control of the legislature by a MINORITY of the voters of any party of one or more "pivotal States" would thus enable the MINORITY to determine the choice of a President next year. And it is among the possibilities that the act of the Michigan legislature in dividing the electoral vote of that State, may defeat the will of a large majority of the people of Michigan and of the nation in their choice of a President in 1892. The new apportionment increases the vote in the Electoral College to 444, of which number 223 are a majority. If the Democratic candidate in 1892 should carry all the States which voted for Mr. Cleveland in 1884, he would have 225 electoral votes and be elected. If he should lose West Virginia, and secure six or eight votes from Michigan, because of the appointment of the electors in that State by districts, he would still be elected.

It will be granted without argument, that if a MINORITY

party in any State which, by accident or because of the indifference of the MAJORITY, has secured control of its legislature, may in its partisan zeal repeal the law providing for the choice of presidential electors by the people of such State, and by any device secure to its party the appointment of the ENTIRE NUMBER of presidential electors to which the State is by law entitled, or a MAJORITY of them, that our Constitution cannot be too speedily amended in this particular.

Should a MAJORITY of the voters in Michigan, or in any State, attempt to appoint (as has been suggested) electors of President and Vice-President for 1892, under the law long in use, but which may have been repealed by any State legislature, such action would probably ultimate in two or more sets of electoral certificates being sent from such States to Washington, and result in a contest in Congress such as we had in 1876-77; and might end in the selection of the President by the House of Representatives.

Another objectionable feature of our electoral system is that which permits each member of a College of Electors to vote a secret ballot for any person he may wish for President; and then, the officers of any pivotal State may corruptly certify to the election of presidential electors who have NOT been elected by the people of such State; and Congress may refuse to go back of the returns from any State, so certified by its corrupt or partisan officials.

That we have reached a point in our history when the nation must give serious consideration to the impending danger which thus confronts us will not be questioned.

The majority of the American people might refuse to submit to a repetition of such injustice and wrong.

Another Electoral Commission might inaugurate a partisan conflict that would end in revolution.

The adoption of the proposed constitutional amendment herewith submitted, will at once put an end to all such dangerous possibilities. When there are no longer "pivotal States," there will be no such desperate efforts as we now witness at each presidential election to carry such States by improper and dangerous methods.

A whole people cannot be corrupted, and manifestly it

would be impossible, when the nation voted as a unit, to secure a majority of the total vote by trickery and fraud.

During the next ten years, if an election of a President should devolve on the House of Representatives, composed of 356 members, as it is under the present apportionment, fifty-five (55) members from twenty-three States can, by uniting, elect the President. It will be seen that under our present Constitution LESS than ONE-SIXTH of the members of the House, representing LESS than ONE-SIXTH of the population of the nation, can elect the President.

The following twenty-three States would make a majority of forty-four States:

	No. OF VOTES.		No. OF VOTES.
1. Delaware.....	1	14. Washington....	2
2. Idaho.....	1	15. Connecticut....	4
3. Montana.....	1	16. Maine.....	4
4. Nevada.....	1	17. West Virginia..	4
5. North Dakota..	1	18. Arkansas.....	6
6. Wyoming.....	1	19. Louisiana.....	6
7. Florida.....	2	20. Maryland.....	6
8. Colorado.....	2	21. Nebraska.....	6
9. New Hampshire	2	22. South Carolina.	7
10. Oregon.....	2	23. Mississippi....	7
11. Rhode Island..	2		
12. South Dakota..	2	Total Vote....	72
13. Vermont.....	2		

Of these SEVENTY-TWO VOTES, FIFTY-FIVE may cast the vote of the above-named twenty-three States (each State having one vote), and thus FIFTY-FIVE members, in a House of 356, can elect the President.

It will not be questioned that it would be difficult to devise a more anti-democratic provision than that which our present Constitution provides for the election of a President by the House of Representatives.

The slave barons forced this anti-democratic provision in the Constitution, and political progress was thus retarded a century.

That less than **ONE-SIXTH** of the members of the House of Representatives can, by uniting, select as President the person having the smallest popular vote and the smallest number of electoral votes of the three candidates returned to the House, is a fact which forms one of the political anomalies in our history.

Why a practical people, such as ours, should for a hundred years have submitted to a system so anti-democratic and repugnant to all fair-minded, intelligent men, is something I am unable to explain.

When an election for President devolves on that body, **ONE-THIRD**, and sometimes one-half of its members who vote to make the President, are men who have not been elected to the new Congress.

As their terms expire on the 4th of March immediately after such an election for President, a majority of such retiring members are usually in condition and ready to accept appointments from the man whom they have just voted to make President.

#### LARGE AND SMALL STATES.

During my early reading of the Constitution, I often regretted that a clause had not been added to Article V., providing that at some time after its adoption, say in fifty or even in a hundred years, Senators of the United States should be apportioned among the several States as Representatives are allotted to each, in proportion to the population of each.

You will remember that Section 3 of Article I. provides that each State shall have two Senators, and that Article V. contains this extraordinary provision: "And no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate." These two provisions and the clause in Article II., which provides that "each State shall have **ONE VOTE**," when the choice of a President devolves on the House of Representatives, are quite as objectionable to me now, as when I first began the study of the Constitution, for the

reason, that they are a positive denial of the representative principle, and a flagrant violation of the democratic idea in government.

I would not vote to-day for the admission of a new State out of any State, or for the admission of a Territory as a State, unless I could be satisfied that its population would, within a reasonable time, entitle it to not less than four (4) Representatives in Congress, under any apportionment which would result by dividing the population of the nation by 356, the number of members of the House fixed by law under the present census.

So long as any State, without regard to population, is clothed with the political power of two Senators, a State with less than four members is simply a "rotten borough."

Until the Senate is remodeled, and Senators of the United States are apportioned among the several States on the basis of population, or, better yet, on the basis of the votes cast at each election for President, the admission of rotten borough States ought to be resisted by all who believe in a democratic government, and an equitable representation of all the people in the national Congress.

I regret to say that within a year we have witnessed the remarkable spectacle of six new States being dragged into the Union, with unexampled haste, whose combined population is not more than enough to make one commonwealth, and three of them will probably never have a population sufficient to entitle them to more than one Representative in Congress. And this was done with the example of Nevada before us as a warning.

Every student of political science must look with amazement on the reckless distribution of political power which we have witnessed in the recent admission of these six new States.

Nevada contains to-day a territorial area of 109,740 square miles, and is larger by seventy-four square miles in territorial area than all the six New England States with New York added.

When this barren waste of sand and desert was admitted as a State in 1864, the claim was made by its embryo statesmen that it THEN contained a population of ONE HUNDRED



THOUSAND or more, and that with its fabulous and inexhaustible mineral and pastoral wealth and its large territorial area, nothing could prevent it becoming the "Empire State" west of the Missouri River and east of California.

Whatever may have been its population in 1864, its population after twenty-seven years in the wonderful development promised by its romancing officials is now reported by the census just taken at the astonishing number 40,019. In round numbers call the population of this marvelous "Empire State" 40,000, and that of New York six millions, and we are face to face with the fact that each voter on this 109,740 square miles of sand and sage-brush has more than FOUR TIMES the political power of a voter in New York in the House of Representatives, and one hundred and fifty times the power of a voter in New York in the Senate of the United States, and yet Senators from the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois, voted not only to perpetuate this inequality of political power, but to increase it, by making precedents for future Congresses to follow.

Instead of creating "rotton borough" States, the statesmen or party which shall devise a popular movement for merging two or more such undesirable States into ONE State, so that such reorganized State shall contain a population sufficient for a respectable commonwealth, will be entitled to the thanks and gratitude of the nation.

There are now seventeen States in the Union whose combined population IS LESS THAN THAT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

These seventeen States, as all know, have THIRTY-FOUR SENATORS to represent them in the Senate of the United States, New York but two.

In case the election of a President devolves on the House of Representatives, these seventeen States have each ONE VOTE, while New York has but ONE VOTE, PROVIDED her Representatives in the House are not equally divided, in which event HER VOTE IS LOST.

I voted against the admission of West Virginia during the war, for the reason that I was unwilling to increase the political power of any State, in the Senate, by consenting to

divide States of the third or fourth class into two or more States.

Before her dismemberment, old Virginia had less than half the population of Pennsylvania, and the population of West Virginia when admitted was but one-seventh that of Ohio. I voted against it, for the additional reason that, as I interpreted Section 3 of Article IV. of the Constitution, its dismemberment was a clear violation of that instrument in both its letter and its spirit.

And then I had a sentiment which impelled me to vote against the dismemberment of the old State. However unsparingly I may have condemned, as I did, her indefensible acts of secession and war on the Union, I could not forget that she was the mother of States and statesmen. I could not forget the heroic deeds and great acts of her Revolutionary history, and especially that one great act, which as time rolls on, rises higher and higher in moral grandeur — I mean her cession to the nation of all that territory which to-day comprises the five great States of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin. And then, I remembered with gratitude the fact that she enriched that priceless gift, by uniting with her sister States in passing the ordinance of 1787, which prohibited slavery and involuntary servitude forever in all that vast territory. I thought then, and think now, that that one sublime act ought to have saved the old commonwealth of commonwealths from the humiliation of such a spoliation and dismemberment. But this was one of the mad and unstatesmanlike acts of the war, and grievously has the party which did it, expiated it.

#### THE NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES.

At all nominating elections for President, or for Senators and Representatives in Congress, and for members of the College of Deputies, the voters in each State are secured in the right to vote direct by ballot for the nomination of candidates for each of the officers to be elected, and from the FOUR highest on the list for each office, voted for at such election, each party or group of electors must select its candidates to be voted for at the final election in November.

In voting for the nomination of a President, or for United States Senator or for a Representative in Congress for States entitled to but one member, each elector can give but one vote for each candidate. Only when there are two or more candidates to be nominated for Representatives in Congress and THREE or more members of the College of Deputies for a State, can an elector cumulate his vote at any nominating election.

All electors and each organized party or GROUP of electors, must, under this plan, prepare their own ballots and vote directly, as provided by law, to nominate their first choice. That they can do this, free from the dictation of party conventions, party bosses, or "managing statesmen," will be clear enough to any man of ordinary intelligence.

There are certain to be FOUR candidates on the list voted for, at each nominating election, who will have received a sufficient number of votes to be included with the four candidates to be nominated; that is, there will always be FOUR CANDIDATES WITH A PLURALITY OVER THEIR COMPETITORS, unless there be two or more candidates who may have received an EQUAL NUMBER OF VOTES at any nominating election (which will seldom happen). In case a tie vote should occur in any State or district, the College of Deputies for the State will be required by law to determine by LOT OR OTHERWISE, which of the candidates having an equal number of votes shall have his name printed on the official ballot and be eligible to be voted for at the regular election in November.

In Ohio, by the apportionment provided for under the new census, there would be one candidate for Congress to be nominated for the State at large. In order that there shall be not less than four candidates for each office, to represent not less than four parties, or FOUR groups of electors, it is provided that from the FOUR names highest on the list voted for at each nominating election in August, the electors of each party shall select their candidates for the regular election in November. By providing that the number of candidates from which the electors may select shall be FOUR for each office to be filled at any regular election, each of the great parties will uniformly and without question name its favorite candidates, and smaller groups of electors or new

parties can by this plan always secure their own candidates, provided they poll a sufficient number of votes, by cumulating them, to place their candidate among the FOUR highest on the list voted for at any nominating election.

Each of the old parties would, after conference and public discussion through its party papers, be certain to concentrate its vote, so as to put its own candidates at the head of the list, at all nominating elections.

The Prohibitionist, the National Alliance, and other party organizations, would, as a rule, be able to unite and cumulate their vote so as to secure one, if not two, of the four candidates. If, however, they failed to do this in any State or district, then and in that event they can select from the list of the FOUR highest which may have been voted for, at each nominating election, AND FROM NO OTHERS, one or more of such candidates as they may prefer. In this way each minority party, or group of electors, could make up a ticket, as any party would be compelled to do, in order that the "College of Deputies" for each State might prepare and have printed and distributed the official ballots containing the names of all candidates duly nominated as prescribed by law, as only official ballots would be received at any regular election in November.

In the State of Ohio there would be one candidate for Congress to be elected for the State at large, and four candidates from which to select. Each of the great parties would be compelled to make up its ticket from one of the FOUR highest candidates on the list voted for, in the State at large, at any nominating election in August. And any group of electors, whether Prohibitionists or National Alliance, or any party with a public organization, could make up a ticket from the list nominated, and require the "College of Deputies" in each State to print the name or names of the candidates designated by such party, or group of electors, on an official ballot to be voted for by them; and, besides, each individual elector would be authorized to erase any name on his official ballot, and use a "paster" or WRITE the name of any one of the duly nominated candidates in the place of the name of any candidate whose name he might decide to erase.

In Congressional districts of FIVE, there would be FOUR

candidates nominated for each member of Congress to be elected, or twenty candidates for each district of five members.

The old parties would of course always have their own candidates, that is five candidates each, or one-half the number of the twenty highest on the list. The next highest on the list would probably represent the National Alliance and the Prohibitionists, and perhaps in some States other groups of electors. They could select their tickets from the ten that did not represent the two dominant parties, or if they were a group of "high-kickers" or fighting independents, they could select one from each of the candidates nominated, and thus have one or more candidates from each party, as they might elect.

It will be seen that this plan, while preserving intact the two old parties, provides for securing to the minority, or to any new party, or to individual citizens, all the rights that legitimately belong to an independent voter in a democratic republic.

In all States and in all cities this plan can be applied with mathematical accuracy, and with such unquestioned fairness to the MAJORITY and to the MINORITY that one is often amazed that it has not long ago been adopted, and made part of our national Constitution, and also been engrafted in our State constitutions and put in force in the administration of all cities of the first and second class in every State.

#### DISUNION IMPOSSIBLE WITH SUCH A CONSTITUTION.

As the fatal dogma of secession, was buried in a common grave with the great rebellion, it is fitting and proper that the national Constitution should be so amended, as to conform to the new and broader conditions of our national life.

If this proposed amendment, which cannot be misinterpreted nor misunderstood, had formed part of our national Constitution prior to the War of the Rebellion, that colossal and indefensible crime would have been impossible.

Make this plain democratic provision part of our national Constitution, and we shall thus take security of the future, that no such rebellion can happen again.

Adopt this amendment, and a crisis, such as that which happily ended in the expedient of the Electoral Commission of 1877, will never confront us thereafter.

Adopt it, and the House of Representatives will never again be the theatre of intrigue for the election of a President.

Adopt it, and the menace of a solid South, and of pivotal States in the North, will nevermore be known in our history.

And all citizens of the United States in each State will have the right, which ought to be secured to them in a democratic republic, of nominating and electing their President by a direct vote of the duly qualified electors by ballot, without the intervention of national nominating conventions, State legislatures, a College of Electors or the House of Representatives.

Adopt the amendments providing for the nomination and election of Senators of the United States, and Representatives in Congress, and no State or district in a State will have cause to blush for the character or ability of her representatives in either House of the Congress at Washington.

Before the colossal political power which such a constitution will secure, and such a government represent, we may well pause and ask ourselves, "What of the future?" With a population such as I estimate within fifty years of one hundred and sixty-one millions or more, speaking the same language and having a common interest and a common destiny, represented by an indissoluble Union, whose sovereignty resides in the whole people as a unit, and not in territorial subdivisions called "sovereign States," we shall present to the world, as I see it, the freest, the strongest and the best form of democratic representative government on earth.

So thoroughly am I impressed with the magnitude of this subject, and, after years of reflection, so thoroughly does it command the approval of my judgment, that, had I the time, it would be an easy and welcome task to extend this address into a volume. What I now present has been written in odd hours, as time and the cares of an exacting business permitted.

In submitting thus briefly, these observations for dis-

cussion by the Ohio Society of New York, I feel that I but discharge the duty of a citizen, by contributing something to a subject on which many of the most thoughtful men in this country are now thinking, to the end that I may aid in calling public attention to the changes which now confront us—changes which I believe demand the serious consideration of the foremost citizens of all parties and all sections.

To those of my faith and sanguine temperament this impending change represents the life and hope and onward march of the nation, and is the natural outgrowth of that unrest which in the history of mankind always precedes great reforms.

To me, it is the Spirit of Progress born of the aspirations of a great people for an indissoluble Union and a democratic continental commonwealth.

As I watch, this spirit points the way to a higher and broader conception of one's rights and duties as a citizen. In its inspiring presence our prophets and leaders are thrilled with an enthusiasm which glows in face and speech, as they direct the advancing columns of those who are marching in the pathway of progress. And all who march abreast and battle with them, shall feel that

“Each epoch hath its work to do,  
Its thought to think, its wrong to right,  
Its leaders and its prophets too—  
Its beacon lamp to trim and light.”

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## APPENDIX.

Containing the history and text of the proposed constitutional amendment, with suggestions for the form of all official ballots—national, State and city, together with census statistics for the first one hundred years of the republic.

Also map showing the States and parts of States in which the Afro-American will outnumber the whites after the year 1940.

HISTORY OF THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT.

It may not be uninteresting if I give a brief history of this constitutional amendment, and the reasons which led me to prepare it nearly a quarter of a century ago.

In 1841, when a boy, I visited Washington to see Gen. Wm. Henry Harrison inaugurated President. Before returning home, President Harrison died, and I saw John Tyler, the first Vice-President in our history, inaugurated President, as provided in the Constitution.

In less than three months after Mr. Tyler entered upon the duties of the presidential office, it began to be quietly whispered about among the Democrats of Kentucky and Southern Ohio, that Tyler (who had been elected Vice-President on the ticket with Gen. Harrison by the Whig party) "had come over to our side."

Within a year it was generally suspected that Tyler had formed some kind of a secret alliance with the Calhoun wing of the Democratic party, and this proved to be true, as is evidenced by the history of his administration.

I was a looker-on in the Democratic National Convention which met at Baltimore in 1844. By the favor of Col. Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, ex-Vice-President, I had a seat on the floor of that Convention with the Kentucky delegation.

More than two-thirds of all the delegates elected to that convention had been, when appointed, instructed to vote for the renomination of the old ticket, which had been defeated by Harrison and Tyler in 1840.

By intrigue, betrayal of trust, and deliberate violation of instructions on the part of delegates to that convention, Mr. Van Buren was defeated, and James K. Polk, of Tennessee, was nominated and elected President, defeating Henry Clay.

Afterwards, I saw the Electoral College for Ohio meet at Columbus and go through the mummery of voting by ballot for President and Vice-President.

The members of the college then appointed one of their



own number to carry one of the three certificates of the result of that election by the electors in Ohio to Washington.

To me, it seemed like a solemn farce, and as if each member of the College was cognizant of the fact.

These events impressed me deeply and so unfavorably that I never thereafter affirmed (as I had been taught to do) "that our national Constitution was the perfection of human wisdom"; on the contrary, the more I studied it, the clearer did its defects and objectionable provisions appear to me.

But the fact must not be forgotten that the fathers of the Constitution were environed on every hand, and that only by yielding as they did, to the slave-holding interests, and also to the selfish demands of some of the States, was the organization of a National Government in 1789 possible.

If, when the national Constitution was under discussion in 1789, its authors had been confronted with the simple proposition of framing a democratic representative government and securing to the people of all the States an equitable distribution of political power, there is no question that more than one of the unphilosophical provisions embodied in our present Constitution would never have found a place in it.

Instead of occupying themselves in discussing practical democratic questions, as many of the members of the Convention of 1789 were pre-eminently qualified to do, the time and skill of the ablest men in that remarkable body were largely taken up in devising plans to defeat the petty schemes of narrow and selfish men, and to secure harmony of views among some of its impracticable members and adjust the supposed conflicting interests of the larger and smaller States.

The practical problem before them was not the best form of an ideal democratic republic, with an equitable distribution of political power, but the organization of a national government that would be accepted and ratified by each of the thirteen States. As all know, the Constitution as finally adopted could only have been formed by concession and compromise, and all compromise is, of necessity, patchwork.

From the day I witnessed the inauguration of Vice-President John Tyler as President, and the defeat of Mr. Van Buren in the nominating convention in Baltimore in 1844, I have been opposed to the caucus and convention system, national, State and city; as also the machinery by which the President is now elected, and in favor of the abolition of the office of Vice-President.

Instead of electing a President as now provided by law and the Constitution, and by the convention system to which custom and usage has given the force of law, I propose that there shall be no Vice-President and that the nomination and election of a President shall be by a direct vote by ballot of the qualified electors in all the States; without the intervention of national conventions, a College of Electors, or the House of Representatives.

The amendment as now presented (except one or two immaterial changes) was prepared by me during the time the patchwork known as the Fourteenth Amendment was under consideration, as it now appears in the Constitution.

In my original draft, but three members of Congress were apportioned to each congressional district in States entitled to six members or more. In the draft now submitted, not less than four nor more than five members are allotted to each congressional district in States entitled to eight members or more.

As a practical solution of the difficulties which environ us, and for securing an equitable distribution of political power, national, State and municipal, the plan has steadily grown upon me for twenty years or more, and I am confident that substantially as herein outlined it will at no distant day be approved by a majority of all parties in this country.

When first prepared, I submitted it (as was my custom with any important work which I attempted, while in Congress) to my personal friend, Mr. Beaman, of Michigan, for his legal criticism and suggestion. After his approval, it was printed and submitted to Governor Chase and to Sumner, Wade and Howard of the Senate, and to Thaddeus Stevens and Henry Winter Davis of the House.

Their general judgment was, that while the reconstruction measures were before us and the controversy with the

acting President (Andrew Johnson) was occupying the attention of Congress, the country was not prepared for changes so far-reaching as I proposed, and they advised me to confine my amendment to the nomination and election of the President by a direct vote of the people, and to abolishing the office of Vice-President (to which they all, at that time, heartily assented), and to secure a modification of the veto power. Instead of a College of Deputies, such as I proposed, for the choice of a President in case of a vacancy in that office, they suggested that the power should be conferred on the Senate and House in joint convention, each Senator and Representative having one vote. These members of the Senate and House were representative men and my seniors in years and political experience. After conferring with them, I finally accepted their judgment, and in accordance with their suggestions prepared a modified form of my original plan, omitting the provision for the creation of the National College of Deputies, the election of United States Senators by the people, and for PROPORTIONAL or EQUITABLE representation.

The modified plan as then prepared, and the speech which I made in the House in support of it, may be found in the CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE for the second session of the Fortieth Congress, Vol. 3, page 2713.

Had I been re-elected to Congress in 1868, I should have presented this amendment as originally prepared and as now submitted for your consideration.

Failing to be re-elected, I resolved to present it through some representative member of the Senate or House on the first occasion when I thought public opinion would warrant the probability of a favorable reception of it.

When the Electoral Commission of 1877 declared Mr. Hayes the duly elected President, I believed that the time had come, when the statesmen of all parties would be forced by public opinion to give prompt consideration to some such plan as mine, for the election of the President, to the end that another perilous contest such as that adjusted by that extraordinary commission, should never happen again.

Accordingly, I went with it to Senator Chandler of Michigan, and outlined it to him and urged him, as Chair-

man of the National Republican Committee, and the man who had done more to elect Mr. Hayes than any other, to take the proposed amendment and go to Mr. Hayes with it and see if he could not induce him to adopt it, and have him in his inaugural address present it, and say that he proposed to call an extra session of Congress to act upon it, and state that on its adoption and ratification as part of the national Constitution he would resign the Presidency and submit his title to the office to a vote of the people at the first election under it. I presented the subject to Mr. Chandler with much earnestness, because I felt confident that such a proposition, coming from him at that time, would be acceptable to the Republican party and to the great body of Democrats North and South, and that some such amendment could be passed by Congress and submitted to the States for their ratification, which might then have been done within a year.

I urged that if Mr. Hayes would do this, and the amendment became part of the national Constitution, that his nomination and election would most certainly follow, and that he would thus become a marked and historic figure, and much more of the same import.

But Mr. Chandler was in no frame of mind to entertain my proposition, nor for that matter, any other. He was in fact jubilant and defiant, and in the strongest language expressed his determination to stamp out all opposition.

I have often regretted that I did not, at that time, go personally to Mr. Hayes with my amendment, and urge him to do as I should have done had I been in his position.

Since that lost opportunity, I have seen no time for its acceptable presentation. The impelling motive which prompted me to accept a nomination for Congress last fall was, that in such a canvass I might have an opportunity to discuss the questions presented in this amendment; and in the event of my election, would hold a position from which I could legitimately command a hearing on it before the country.

For nearly a quarter of a century I have regarded the affirmative settlement of the questions involved in this amendment, as of vastly more importance to our future peace and national unity, than any question growing out of

tariff reform, or silver coinage, or any ordinary economic or commercial legislation. But during my ten days' canvass last fall, I found that public opinion was entirely engrossed with tariff discussion and the free coinage of silver, and that the time was not opportune for the public discussion of questions involving important constitutional reforms. So I now come with this amendment, which I have guarded for years with paternal care, and present it for the consideration of the members of the "Ohio Society of New York," and through them, to the judgment of all who may do me the honor to read it.

The adoption of this proposed amendment will necessitate the omissions and changes indicated below by small capitals in Articles One and Two of our present Constitution.

Article One, when amended, will read as follows:

#### ARTICLE I.

**SECTION 1.** All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

**SECTION 2.** The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite **UNDER THIS CONSTITUTION TO VOTE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.**

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, **THE COLLEGE OF DEPUTIES FOR SUCH STATE SHALL FILL SUCH VACANCIES, UNTIL THE NEXT REGULAR ELECTION FOR REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS.**

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

[~~THE~~ Amendments to Article One when adopted will be inserted here as part of Section 2.]

SECTION 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators for each State, AND SHALL BE CHOSEN BY BALLOT BY THE QUALIFIED ELECTORS THEREOF, for six years, and each Senator shall have one vote.

When vacancies happen in the Senate from any State by resignations or otherwise, ~~THE COLLEGE OF DEPUTIES FOR SUCH STATE SHALL FILL THE VACANCY UNTIL THE NEXT REGULAR ELECTION FOR SENATOR.~~

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not when elected be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Senate shall choose its own presiding and other officers.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose they shall be on oath or affirmation; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the Senators present and voting.\*

Judgment in case of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

SECTION 5. A majority of each House shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members in such manner and under such penalties as each House may provide.

The fifth section of this article is amended by OMITTING THE WORDS "Each House shall be the judge of the election returns, and qualifications of its own members," and thus takes from the Senate and House the power, now often

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\*The provision for the impeachment of the President is stricken out. Jefferson properly characterized that provision of the Constitution as a "scarecrow," and as all will remember, the attempt to impeach Andrew Johnson ended in a national farce.

exercised by a partisan majority, of excluding persons who present duly authenticated certificates of election, and admit to seats persons who have not been elected.

The proposed amendment prescribes the "qualifications" of Senators and Representatives; and the Circuit or District Court of the United States in the State or District where any contest may arise is authorized and required to determine the validity of all election returns where a contest is made, and from such determination there can be no appeal to the Senate or House of Representative

All clauses relative to the Vice-President are stricken out, and such parts of Article One not above quoted down to the end of Section Five.

Section One of Article Two is stricken out, except the clauses which provide that "the President shall be a natural born citizen of the United States and shall have attained the age of thirty-five years," and "shall at stated times receive for his services a compensation, which shall not be increased or diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them."

"Before he enter on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation:"

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Sections Two, Three and Four of Article Two remain unchanged, except the word Vice-President is stricken out of Section 4.

Article Twelve of the amendments is entirely eliminated.

The presidential term is made six years.

The paragraphs above quoted will advise the reader of the changes necessary in our present Constitution to make it conform to the amendment as herein proposed.

**PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION.**

Providing for the NOMINATION and ELECTION, by a direct vote of the duly qualified electors in the several States, of a President of the United States, and Senators and Representatives of the several States in Congress, and for the creation and election of a National College of Deputies, in the several States.

Said College of Deputies, when duly chosen and organized in the several States, and at the seat of government of the United States, shall be charged with the authority and duty of conducting all national elections in their respective States, and with the power and duty of filling such vacancies as may from time to time happen in the office of President of the United States and Senators and Representatives in Congress and members of the National College of Deputies for any State.

**AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE ONE.—WHO SHALL BE ELECTORS.**

All native-born male citizens of the United States, of the age of twenty-one (21) years and upwards, and each person of like age who shall have been duly naturalized, in pursuance of the laws of the United States, and who shall have been a resident of the State in which he may offer to vote for one year next preceding any election herein provided for, shall be an elector, and qualified to vote in such State for the nomination and election of a President of the United States, and for Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States, and for the members of a National College of Deputies in such State.

The duly qualified electors in each State shall vote at all national elections, under such rules and regulations as the Congress may by law prescribe; provided that no insane or idiotic person, nor any person duly convicted of a felony, shall be permitted to vote at such elections.



**AMENDMENT TO ARTICLES TWO AND TWELVE.— THE MANNER  
OF NOMINATING AND ELECTING A PRESIDENT.**

The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States. The term for which he shall be elected shall be six years. He shall enter upon the duties of his office at 12 o'clock m., on the fourth Monday in the April next succeeding his election in November.

No person nominated and elected President by the voters of the several States, as herein provided, shall be eligible for re-election.

The year in which the first election for the nomination and choice of a President shall take place, after the ratification of this amendment, shall be prescribed by the Congress, and special provision shall be made by law for the appointment of such officers as may be required, to conduct all national elections, in their respective States, until the College of Deputies herein provided for shall have been duly chosen.

The President shall be nominated and elected as follows:

On the first Tuesday of August, in the year appointed by the Congress for the first election, and on the first Tuesday of August every six years thereafter, the electors qualified as hereinbefore provided shall assemble in their respective States, as the Congress may prescribe by law, and vote by ballot for the nomination of a citizen of the United States for President, eligible under this Constitution. Such election for the nomination, or for the election of a President, shall not be held in any room in which an election is being conducted on the same day for State or local officers, in such State. But no voting district or precinct in any State shall be larger in territorial extent than districts designated by State law for State elections.

The College of Deputies in each State charged by law with the conduct of such nominating elections for President shall make distinct lists of all candidates voted for at such elections, together with the number of votes cast in their

respective States for each candidate, which list they shall officially sign, seal and certify, in triplicate, and within twenty (20) days after such nominating election in each State, they shall transmit, in such form and manner as the Congress may by law prescribe, one copy of such certified returns to the chairman of the National College of Deputies, at the seat of government of the United States; one copy to the Secretary of the Interior of the United States, and one copy to the Secretary of State for the State in which they, as officials, reside.

The Chairman of the National College of Deputies, and the chief clerk of such college, together with the Secretary of the Interior of the United States, shall meet at the seat of government of the United States on the first Tuesday in September, at 12 o'clock m., after each nominating election for President on the preceding first Tuesday in August, and shall, in the presence of such persons as the Congress may by law direct, open all the certificates from each State containing a list of the candidates voted for and the votes cast for each at such nominating election, and they, or any two of them, shall within the time fixed by law, jointly canvass, certify and officially publish the result, stating the number of votes cast for each candidate for President in the several States, and the total vote for each in all the States.

#### THE ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT.

On the first Tuesday of November, after each nominating election for President, the qualified electors shall again assemble in their respective States, and from the list of candidates officially certified as having the highest votes, not exceeding four (4) on the list voted for, at such nominating election on the first Tuesday of August preceding, the electors shall by ballot choose a President, and the person having the greatest number of votes cast at such election for President, in all the States, shall be the President.

The persons in each State charged by law with the conduct of the election appointed for the first Tuesday of November, for the choice of a President, shall make a distinct list of all the candidates voted for at such elections,

together with the number of votes cast in their respective States for each, which list they shall sign, seal and officially certify in triplicate, and within thirty days after such election they shall transmit, under such regulations as the Congress may by law prescribe, one copy to the Chairman of the National College of Deputies, at the seat of government of the United States; one copy to the Secretary of the Interior of the United States, and one copy to the Secretary of State for the State in which they reside.

The Chairman or the acting Chairman of the National College of Deputies, and the chief clerk or acting chief clerk of such college, together with the Secretary or acting Secretary of the Interior of the United States, shall meet at the seat of government of the United States, at such place as the Congress may by law provide, on the second Tuesday in December, at 12 o'clock m., after each election for President, and shall in the presence of such members of the College of Deputies as may be present, and such other persons as the Congress may by law authorize, open all the certificates containing the official returns of the votes cast for President on the preceding first Tuesday of November, and they or any two of them shall forthwith jointly certify and publish the total number of votes cast for each candidate, and officially declare the person having the highest number of votes to be the duly elected President of the United States for six years from and after the fourth Monday in the April next succeeding such election in November.

But no Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, nor Judge of any Circuit or District Court of the United States, nor Judge of the Supreme Court or highest appellate court in any State, shall be eligible to be elected President of the United States.

The President of the United States may at any time resign his office and appoint a day when his resignation shall take effect, or he may designate that it shall take effect on a given day after his successor shall have been chosen by the College of Deputies. And the Congress shall provide by law for such contingency.

THE NATIONAL COLLEGE OF DEPUTIES.

A College of Deputies, composed of members from each State, equal in number to its Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States, shall be chosen every six (6) years by the people of the several States; and the voters in each State authorized to choose members of the College of Deputies shall have the qualifications requisite to vote for President of the United States.

Members of the College of Deputies shall be elected for the term of six years, and their term of office shall begin on the first Tuesday in December after their election in November.

No person shall be a member of the College of Deputies who shall not have attained the age of thirty years, and who shall not have been a voter for seven years in the State for which he shall be chosen.

All authority herein granted for the choice of a President of the United States, to fill any vacancy which may happen, by death or otherwise, in the office of President, shall be vested in the National College of Deputies, as herein provided.

The members of the College of Deputies for each State shall be nominated and voted for in States and congressional districts of each State as herein provided.

The duly qualified electors in each State shall be entitled to nominate and to elect two members of the College of Deputies for the State at large, who shall be designated "the Senatorial Deputies."

The members of the College of Deputies to which each State is entitled shall be elected on the same ballot with the President of the United States and Senators and Representatives in Congress.

In addition to the two Senatorial Deputies, the voters in each State entitled to seven or to less than seven Representatives in Congress, shall nominate and elect on a general ticket for the State at large, one member of the College of Deputies for each Representative in Congress allotted to such State.

In States entitled to eight Representatives in Congress, or to any additional number, the members of the College of Deputies shall be nominated and elected in districts corresponding to the congressional districts in such States of not less than four nor more than five members each.

In States entitled to ONE and not to exceed two additional members of the College of Deputies, to correspond with the number of Representatives in Congress, not included in any district, such additional member or members shall be voted for and nominated and elected for the State at large, on the same ballot with the two Senatorial Deputies and the members to be elected in districts.

On the first Tuesday in December after each election for members of the College of Deputies, the persons duly chosen from each State shall be convened at the seat of government of the United States, and they shall then organize by choosing one of their own number for chairman, and he shall hold such office for the term of six years.

The College of Deputies shall choose a Chief Clerk and Sergeant-at-Arms, who shall hold their offices for six years, and the Chief Clerk and Sergeant-at-Arms shall appoint such additional clerks and assistants as the Congress may, by law, authorize.

In case of the death, resignation or removal of the Chairman, the Chief Clerk or other officers of the National College of Deputies, such vacancy for the unexpired term shall be filled as may be provided by law.

In national assemblies, a majority of all the members of the National College of Deputies, and in State assemblies, a majority of all the Deputies for such State, shall be requisite to make a quorum for the transaction of business, but a less number than a quorum in each may adjourn from day to day, and they may compel the attendance of absent members in such manner and under such penalties as they shall prescribe in rules for their own government.

A member of the National or of the State Assembly of Deputies, who shall violate such rules, may be suspended or expelled, by an affirmative vote of TWO-THIRDS of the Deputies present in either body.

A Deputy who may have been suspended or expelled

from his office by an Assembly of Deputies for any State, may appeal to the District or Circuit Court of the United States, for such State, and the Court shall grant him a summary hearing, and promptly determine the questions involved in such appeal.

If a Deputy shall be suspended or expelled from his office by the National College of Deputies, such Deputy may appeal to any Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and the determination of such appeals by the District or Circuit Court of the United States, in any State, or by any Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, shall be final, touching the matters in controversy.

The Congress shall by law provide for the assembling of the members of the College of Deputies for each State at their respective State Capitols within thirty (30) days after their election, and prescribe the manner in which they shall organize by selecting one of their own number for Chairman, together with a Chief Clerk and Sergeant-at-Arms, who shall not be members of the College of Deputies, and each of whom shall hold such office for six years.

The College of Deputies for each State shall be charged with the conduct of all national elections in their respective States for the nomination and election of the President, Senators of the United States, Representatives in Congress and members of the College of Deputies.

The Chairman of the College of Deputies in each State shall give public notice of all national elections, as the Congress may by law prescribe, for the nomination and election of the President, Senators and Representatives in Congress and for members of the College of Deputies, and they shall be the custodians of all election returns of such State, for President, Senators and Representatives in Congress and members of the College of Deputies.

The members of the National College of Deputies and the Chairman and Chief Clerk and such officers as they shall be authorized by law to appoint, and the Chairman of the College of Deputies for each State, together with the Chief Clerk and such other officers as they may be authorized by law to appoint in each State for the conduct of national elections, shall receive a compensation for their services to be

fixed by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States.

Except for offenses such as the Congress shall prescribe, the members of the College of Deputies shall be privileged from arrest, or from service of legal process of any kind, during attendance at any meeting of their body in any State, or when convened at the seat of government of the United States, for the choice of a President, or when going to or returning from the same.

In case of the death of the President, or of his resignation, disability or removal from office, the Secretary of State of the United States, if there be one, and if not, then such member of the Cabinet as the Congress may designate by law, shall act as President until a successor to fill the vacancy shall have been duly chosen and qualified.

The acting President shall by proclamation convene the members of the College of Deputies from all the States at the seat of government of the United States within thirty days from the date of any vacancy in the office of President, and the members of the College of Deputies shall assemble in such hall or building as the Congress may by law prescribe, and forthwith proceed to the choice of a citizen of the United States qualified under this Constitution for the office of President to fill out the unexpired term.

On the assembling of the College of Deputies in pursuance of the proclamation of the acting President, the Chairman of the College, if he be present, and if not, then the senior member of the College of Deputies, shall call the members to order, and direct the clerk of the body to call the States alphabetically and the roll of members in alphabetical order. A majority of all the members elected and qualified shall be necessary for a quorum to transact business.

On the assembling of a quorum, in the absence of the Chairman, the College shall select a Chairman *PRO TEM.*, and at once proceed to the choice of a President to fill the vacancy for the residue of the unexpired term as herein prescribed, and no other business shall be in order, until a President shall have been chosen.

On the call of the roll each member of the College shall

rise in his place, name his choice, and vote VIVA VOCE for President, and each member shall have one vote.

If any person shall receive on any roll-call a majority of all the votes given for President, he shall be declared by the Chairman of the College of Deputies the duly elected President of the United States for the residue of the unexpired term.

The members of the College of Deputies, after organizing, shall vote for President at least once each day until a President is chosen.

No member of the College shall speak more than once on any subject or motion on the same day, nor more than ten minutes except by unanimous consent.

If no person shall receive a majority of the votes given on the first roll-call, the roll shall again be called, and from the persons having the highest vote on the list, not exceeding five of those voted for on the first roll-call, the college shall proceed to choose a President.

If no person shall receive a majority of all the votes given on the second roll-call, the College shall again proceed to vote a third time, and from the persons having the highest vote on the list, not exceeding four of those voted for on the second roll-call, the College shall secure a President.

If no person shall have a majority of all the votes given on the third roll-call, the College shall proceed to vote a fourth time, and from the persons having the highest vote, not exceeding three of those voted for on the third roll-call, the College shall choose a President, and the person having the highest vote on the fourth roll-call, shall be declared by the Chairman to be elected, to fill the vacancy for the residue of the unexpired term.

In the event that no person shall receive a plurality vote on the fourth roll-call, the roll shall at intervals of not exceeding one day again be called, until one of the three candidates highest on the list shall receive more votes than either of his competitors.

The Congress shall have power to enforce this amendment by appropriate legislation.



**THE NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF UNITED STATES SENATORS.**

Senators of the United States shall be nominated and chosen by the electors of each State qualified to vote under this Constitution for President, as follows :

On the first Tuesday of August next preceding the expiration of the term of any Senator, the electors duly qualified to vote for Senator shall assemble in their respective States and counties, as provided by law for the election of President and Representatives in Congress, and vote by ballot for the nomination of a candidate for Senator of the United States.

All nominating elections for Senator shall be held in each State at the time and places in which Representatives in Congress for such State are nominated and elected, and at no other time.

The Congress shall provide by law the manner in which the members of the College of Deputies and the officials charged in each State with the conduct of such nominating elections for Senators of the United States shall conduct the same, and such officers in each county shall make distinct lists of all the persons voted for at such election for Senator, together with the number of votes cast in the several counties for each candidate, which list they shall sign, seal and officially certify in triplicate, and within ten (10) days after such nominating elections they shall transmit, in such form and manner as the Congress may prescribe by law, one copy of such certified election returns to the Chairman of the College of Deputies for such State at the Capitol thereof, one copy to the Secretary of State for such State, and one copy to the clerk of the county of which they are residents.

The Chairman and Chief Clerk of the College of Deputies for each State, together with the Secretary of State for each State (if there be such an officer, AND IF NOT, then such person as the State may appoint), shall be in session at the Capitol thereof, on the fourth Tuesday of August, at twelve o'clock m., after each nominating election for Senator of the

United States, on the previous first Tuesday of August, and they or any two of them shall, in the presence of such persons as the Congress may by law designate, jointly canvass, certify and officially publish the result, stating the total number of votes cast in the State for each candidate.

On the first Tuesday of November following such nominating election for United States Senator the qualified electors in such State shall again assemble, at the places appointed by law, in their respective counties, and from the candidates officially certified as having the highest vote for Senator, not exceeding four (4) on the list of those voted for, at such nominating election on the preceding first Tuesday of August, shall choose by ballot a Senator, and the person having the greatest number of votes cast for Senator at said election in such State shall be the Senator. The term of office of each Senator shall begin on the fourth Monday in April, at 12 o'clock m., succeeding his election in November. The Chairman and Chief Clerk of the College of Deputies for each State shall canvass and certify the election of Senators and Representatives in Congress and members of the College of Deputies.

The Congress shall have power to enforce this amendment by appropriate legislation.

#### THE NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS.

Representatives in Congress shall hold their office for the term of two years, and shall be nominated and chosen by the electors in each State qualified by law to vote for President.

On the first Tuesday of August (beginning with the time appointed by Congress for the nomination and election of a President), and every second year thereafter, the electors qualified to vote, as hereinbefore provided, shall assemble in their respective States and counties, at such places as the Congress shall by law direct for the holding of such elections, and vote by ballot for the nomination of such number of candidates for Representatives in Congress as each elector

shall be authorized by law to vote for in such State or districts, or both.

In a State entitled under any apportionment to seven Representatives in Congress, or to less than seven, the duly qualified electors thereof shall nominate and elect such Representative or Representatives on one general ticket for the State at large.

If under any apportionment a State shall be entitled to eight Representatives in Congress, or to more than eight, the College of Deputies for that State shall, after each regular election for President, divide it into Congressional districts of contiguous territory, of not less than four nor more than five members each, and in such manner, that no State which may be entitled to two or more such Congressional districts, shall elect for the State at large a greater number than two Representatives in Congress, and such Representatives for the State at large shall be nominated and elected on the same ballot with the members in each district. And every apportionment shall be made, by dividing the total vote for President in the State by the number of Representatives in Congress to which each State is by law entitled.

No Representative district in any State shall be changed by the College of Deputies thereof until after the next presidential election, nor until after Congress shall have apportioned the Representatives among the several States ; but the Congress may by law, on the application of one-fourth of the College of Deputies in any State, change the districts in such State, should such change in the opinion of the Congress be necessary to secure the minority of the electors thereof an equitable representation in Congress in proportion to the total vote cast at the last presidential election in such State.

The Congress shall by law prescribe the manner and form in which the returns of all elections shall be made for the nomination of Senators and Representatives in Congress in each State or Congressional Districts in any State ; and the result of such nominating elections shall be officially published in such manner and form as shall be provided by law.

At such nominating election for Representatives in Congress, each qualified elector may cumulate his vote and cast

all the votes to which he is entitled for one candidate, or for more than one, as he may elect.

On the first Tuesday of November following such nominating election, the electors in each State qualified to vote for Representatives in Congress shall again assemble in their respective counties, and from the candidates officially certified as having the highest vote on the list of those voted for at the nominating election on the preceding first Tuesday of August, not exceeding four candidates for each Representative to be chosen, either in Congressional districts or for a State at large, or in both State and districts as the case may be, shall choose the number of Representatives in Congress for such State or districts, or both, as they may be authorized by law to elect; and the person or persons having the highest number of votes cast at said election in such State or district, or both, for Representative in Congress, shall be the Representative.

Each elector shall have the right to cumulate his vote and cast all the votes to which he is entitled in the district of his residence, or for the State at large, or both as he may elect, for one candidate, or for more than one candidate, under such regulations as the Congress may by law prescribe.

No Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, nor Judge of any Circuit or District Court of the United States, nor Judge of the Supreme Court or highest appellate court or court of record in any State, shall be eligible to be chosen a Senator or Representative in Congress or member of the College of Deputies.

#### MISCELLANEOUS PARAGRAPHS.

All electors and each organized group of electors in the several States shall prepare and print their own ballots for use at all nominating elections, in such form and manner as the Congress may by law prescribe.

After the result of each nominating election for President, and for members of the College of Deputies, or for Senators and Representatives in Congress, shall have been declared, the College of Deputies for each State shall cause to be prepared and printed all official ballots, and shall furnish

such ballots to the electors thereof, free of cost to them, as the Congress shall by law direct, and said official ballots shall be the only legal ballot to be used at any final election in November.

Any elector or group of electors in any State or district shall select from the candidates officially declared as hereinbefore provided to be duly nominated for President or Senator or Representatives in Congress, or for members of the College of Deputies, AND FROM NO OTHERS, the names of such person or persons as he or they may desire to vote for at the final election in November, not exceeding the number of Representatives in Congress or members of the College of Deputies authorized by law to be elected by any constituency. And the names of all candidates on any national ticket shall be printed on a plain white paper ballot, as the Congress may by law direct.

In case two or more candidates for nomination to any office shall receive an equal number of votes at such nominating election, the Congress shall provide by law the manner of determining which of the candidates shall have his name printed on the official ballot.

In case of the death, resignation or disability of any Senator of the United States, or Representative in Congress, or member of the College of Deputies, the College of Deputies for the State in which such vacancy may happen shall, on receiving official notification thereof, be convened at the Capitol of such State and vote to fill such vacancy, in the manner prescribed for filling vacancies in the office of President, as the Congress may by law prescribe.

The person so appointed shall be a resident of the State and district in which such vacancy shall have happened, and he shall, when appointed, be a member of the same party to which the Senator or Representative or Deputy belonged, whose vacancy is to be filled.

All appointments made by the College of Deputies, in any State, shall be for the residue of the unexpired term.

The College of Deputies for each State shall once in six years, at least thirty days prior to the time fixed in this Constitution for the nomination of candidates for President, cause a registration to be made of all electors in the several States,

duly qualified to vote for President, and shall provide for verifying and correcting such national registration thirty days prior to each election for the nomination of Senators and Representatives in Congress.

Offenses committed against the peaceful conduct of national elections, by the inhabitants of any State, or against the persons of voters when going to or returning from such elections, or against the members of the College of Deputies for such State, or against any official charged by law with the conduct of such elections, shall, on trial and conviction before any District or Circuit Court of the United States for such State, be punished as the Congress may by law prescribe.

The Congress shall by law provide the manner in which elections shall be conducted for President and Senators and Representatives in Congress, and for members of the College of Deputies in each State, and prescribe for the counting and officially declaring and certifying the result of such vote at each election.

If a citizen who has been elected a member of the College of Deputies for any State, shall refuse or neglect to qualify, or after qualifying, shall refuse or neglect to discharge the duties of his office, as prescribed by law, any one or more electors may file a petition before any Judge of the District or Circuit Court of the United States in such State, asking for an order directing such Deputy to appear forthwith and show cause why he should not be removed from his office, or why the office should not be declared vacant.

In case such Deputy should fail or refuse to obey the process of Court, or its order, he shall be summarily removed from his office by the Court; and may, in addition to such removal from office, be punished, as for contempt, by fine or imprisonment, or both, at the discretion of the Court.

In case of a contest touching the conduct and returns of an election in any State under this Constitution for President or Senator of the United States, or Representatives in Congress, or for members of the College of Deputies, the matter in controversy shall be immediately heard and determined by the Circuit or District Court of the United States for the district and State in which such controversy arose, in such

manner as the Congress may provide by law, and from the decision of such Court touching the matters in controversy there shall be no appeal.

The Secretary of the Interior and such officers as the Congress may by law designate shall be authorized and required every six years to determine and officially to announce the number of Representatives in Congress to which each State is entitled under each new apportionment. Such representation to be determined by assigning to each State such proportion of the number of Representatives fixed by law as the number of the votes cast for President, at the election next preceding in such State, bears to the total number of votes so cast in all the States. But each State shall have at least ONE Representative.

The qualified electors in the District of Columbia and in each of the duly organized Territories of the United States, shall have the right to vote at all elections for the nomination and election of President of the United States.

The Congress MAY provide by law that a delegate elected in any duly organized Territory, which contains a population equal to ONE-HALF that required under any apportionment for one Representative in Congress, shall have secured to him all the privileges of a member of the House of Representatives, including the right to vote.

The Congress shall by law define specifically in what the term "inability of the President to discharge the powers and duties of his office" shall consist; and in case of such "inability" happening, may by a CONCURRENT VOTE OF TWO-THIRDS of both the Senate and House of Representatives, suspend the President from the function of his office during such inability, or may by a like vote of the Senate and House remove him from office because of such inability.

All amendments which shall be proposed to this Constitution, by the Congress, or by any duly authorized constitutional convention, shall be submitted to the qualified voters of the United States residing in the several States, for their ratification or rejection.

Such submission shall be at any national election when Representatives in Congress are chosen, and a majority of all the votes given at such election for and against such

amendment or amendments, shall be necessary for its ratification as part of this Constitution.

The Congress shall have power to enforce the several provisions of this amendment by appropriate legislation.

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MEMORANDUM.

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**FIRST.**—The stability and safety of democratic government, both national and State, depend so largely on their clearly defined powers, that the Constitutions of each must of necessity limit the power to be exercised, and specifically define the manner in which all branches of the several departments of each shall be administered.

This fact is universally recognized in all our modern State constitutions. The constitutions of Ohio and New York contain nearly TWO AND ONE-FOURTH times the number of words found in the national Constitution, while the constitution of California will exceed it in length more than three times.

Our fathers, when framing the national Constitution, attempted to settle and define in concise language the principles on which the National Government should be FOUNDED.

After a hundred years, their descendants are waking up to the necessity of demanding that the principles on which the National Government must be ADMINISTERED shall be more clearly and intelligently defined. That which has obtained in all our State constitutions, has become a necessity in our national Constitution. This is all the answer that needs be given to the objections, which many will doubtless make to the length of my proposed amendment.

As originally drafted, there was in this amendment a clause which provided, that a majority of all the duly qualified voters in any State might abolish their State governments and, with the consent of Congress, unite the whole or any part of the territory of such State with one or more adjacent States, or, that they might be remanded to a Terri-



torial condition, whenever its people determined, for any cause, that they no longer desired to support a State government.

That clause is omitted in the amendment as herewith submitted, for the reason, that during the reconstruction period, immediately after the War of the Rebellion, the practical working of the Constitution taught us that a majority of the electors in any State could, as they in fact did in all the rebel States, abolish constitutional State governments, and that Congress had no power, except force, to compel a majority of the people in any State to maintain a State government and elect Senators and Representatives to Congress, and vote for electors of President and Vice-President.

When such a condition obtains in any State, the sovereignty of the nation over such people and territory remains unchanged and unquestioned, under the Constitution, as it is — and therefore such an amendment is not now required.

The suggestion made by Mr. Lincoln, during the war, “that whenever ONE-TENTH of the voters in any State which had abolished their constitutional State governments, and united with other rebellious States in organizing the so-called confederate government, should signify their desire to establish constitutional State governments, in subordination to the national Constitution, that they should be authorized by Congress to do so,” was a proposition so objectionable to the majority that it was, after a brief discussion, abandoned, and the sovereignty of the nation over all citizens residing in the rebellious States was fully and distinctly affirmed and recognized, in the plan of reconstruction adopted by Congress.

Of the defects of that plan, I have neither the time nor the disposition to say a single word.

It will be observed — in case a majority of the voters in any State should determine to alter or abolish their State governments in the form and manner prescribed in their State constitutions, and to ask Congress to establish for them a Territorial government instead — that, under my proposed amendment, the citizens of such Territory would have

secured to them the right to vote for President of the United States and for at least one Representative in Congress.

**SECOND.**—This plan provides that, at all November elections, the official ballots must contain the names of candidates for every office to be elected, and each party or group of electors sufficiently numerous in any State or district in a State to demand under the law the printing and the distribution of official ballots by the College of Deputies must make up a complete ticket by selecting, from among the **FOUR HIGHEST** nominated for any office at the preliminary election in August, a candidate for every office to be elected for the State or district in November.

This provision is important, because it enables every elector when cumulating his vote, or when substituting the name of a duly nominated candidate of any party or group of electors, in place of any name he may desire to erase on his own party ticket, to do so, without trouble, and to indicate intelligently and unmistakably, on the face of his ballot, to the judges of election the change he has made. With such a ticket no voter of ordinary intelligence can make a mistake, when changing his ballot, nor can election judges be in doubt as to the intention of an elector, even if he blur his ticket when making such changes, because the name of a candidate must be erased before another can be substituted.

Congress must provide by law the form of all official ballots and the size of the type in which the names of the several candidates shall be printed, the space which shall appear on such ballot between the names of each candidate, so that the voter shall have room to write or paste in the name of any candidate for whom he may desire to vote, instead of the candidate whose name is printed on the official ballot of his party.

**THIRD.**—It provides that a plurality of the votes cast at all nominating elections shall designate the persons to be voted for at each final election in November. It provides that a plurality shall, after the fourth ballot, elect, when the National College of Deputies may be called upon to fill vacancies in the office of President, or the College of Deputies for any State shall vote to fill the office of Senator or Representative in Congress, so that there can be no deadlock,

or failure to nominate or to elect candidates at any election.

FOURTH.—It provides that the legislatures of the several States shall no longer be charged with the duty of electing Senators of the United States, and confers that power directly on the people of each State, thus enabling the legislatures of the several States to attend strictly to the local business of their States, and to save time and expense—now recklessly thrown away, as witness the one hundred days lost last winter in electing a Senator from Illinois. This amendment will also relieve the average legislator from the dangerous mental strain which now oppresses him, as he lies awake nights devising gerrymandering schemes, whereby a large part of the people in a MAJORITY OF STATES are disfranchised, by a dishonest distribution of political power, in the districting of States into Congressional districts, and DISTRICTS for the choice of electors of President and Vice-President, as was done in Michigan last winter.

FIFTH.—It provides for making ineligible for President or Senator or Representative in Congress, or member of the College of Deputies, any “Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, or Judge of any Circuit or District Court of the United States, or Judge of the Supreme Court or highest appellate court in any State.” This provision was inserted with the hope that, when adopted, it will materially aid in reducing the number of ambitious politicians now on the bench in every State, who are officially pandering to the worst element of our population, and appealing to them for political recognition and promotion.

In my opinion, an able and pure judiciary can best be secured by permanently excluding all judges from eligibility to political office, national or State.

It would be desirable if all elections for governors and State officers in the several States were held either the YEAR BEFORE or the YEAR AFTER each presidential election, or in any year other than the one in which the presidential election must be held under this proposed amendment.

And as the expenses of all national elections must be paid by the National Government, there can be no valid objection to holding all national and State elections as suggested. This would ultimate in a complete divorce of

national and State politics, and confine the business of State legislatures strictly to local matters in their respective States.

If to this suggestion could be added the nominating and election in March and April, of all State judges made elective by the people, and the officials of all cities (say that such final election of all such officials should be on the first Monday in April), we should, at a much earlier day than now seems possible, witness THE ELECTION OF A MAJORITY OF non-partisan judges and a majority of non-partisan city officials, and thus secure an abler and purer judiciary than we now have, and also a better and more competent class of city officials than is possible under our present system.

It will be observed that this amendment provides that at each national election the names of every candidate for whom any elector is authorized to vote must be printed on one ballot.

In order that the reader may the more readily understand how impossible it will be to commit fraud when voting such a ballot, I have prepared four tickets such as each elector or party in any State must make up in order to have all tickets printed by the College of Deputies, after the nominations are made, as an elector can only vote for candidates whose names appear on official ballots.

Tickets for States and cities are also printed herewith.



FORM OF OFFICIAL BALLOTS SUGGESTED

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN TICKET.	NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC TICKET.
<p><i>For President of the United States:</i> John Doe, of Pennsylvania.</p> <p><i>For United States Senator:</i> David Gibbs, of Sciota.</p> <p><i>For Representative in Congress for the State at Large:</i> Moses McCoy, of Franklin.</p> <p><i>For Representatives in Congress for the First District:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Hezekiah Brown.</li><li>2. Israel M. Hale.</li><li>3. Joseph Wilkins.</li><li>4. Peter J. Fairfield.</li><li>5. Mathew Zane.</li></ol> <p><i>For Senatorial Deputies:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Azariah C. Long.</li><li>2. Salmon A. Hooper.</li></ol> <p><i>For Member of the College of Deputies for the State at Large:</i> Abraham Knull.</p> <p><i>For Members of the College of Deputies for the First District:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Washington Hunter.</li><li>2. Martin Simmonds.</li><li>3. Sampson Varner.</li><li>4. William Houston.</li><li>5. Robert Montgomery.</li></ol>	<p><i>For President of the United States:</i> Richard Roe, of Kentucky.</p> <p><i>For United States Senator:</i> Norman B. Cook, of Hamilton.</p> <p><i>For Representative in Congress for the State at Large:</i> Albert Sydney, of Wood.</p> <p><i>For Representatives in Congress for the First District:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Hugh McBride.</li><li>2. Zachariah Holmes.</li><li>3. Nimrod Hunter.</li><li>4. Milton R. Smith.</li><li>5. Noah Jackson.</li></ol> <p><i>For Senatorial Deputies:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. John Newman.</li><li>2. Prosper W. Clay.</li></ol> <p><i>For Member of the College of Deputies for the State at Large:</i> Moses Norton.</p> <p><i>For Members of the College of Deputies for the First District:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. James Lyons.</li><li>2. John K. Ledwick.</li><li>3. Ralph Lect.</li><li>4. Joseph Barber.</li><li>5. Aaron Vance.</li></ol>

FOR NATIONAL ELECTIONS IN OHIO FOR 1896.

NATIONAL ALLIANCE FEDERATION TICKET.	NATIONAL PROHIBITION TICKET.
<p><i>For President of the United States :</i> Frank Granger, of Kansas.</p> <p><i>For United States Senator :</i> Alexander Farmer, of Clinton.</p> <p><i>For Representative in Congress for the State at Large :</i> Israel Putnam, of Washington.</p> <p><i>For Representatives in Congress for the First District :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Columbus Fairplay.</li><li>2. Paul B. Miller.</li><li>3. Butler F. Benjamin.</li><li>4. Lawrence Ainsworth.</li><li>5. Job Leadbetter.</li></ol> <p><i>For Senatorial Deputies :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Andrew Jackson.</li><li>2. William J. Marvin.</li></ol> <p><i>For Member of the College of Deputies for the State at Large :</i> Jacob Cone.</p> <p><i>For Members of the College of Deputies for the First District :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. John P. Turly.</li><li>2. Asher J. Flanders.</li><li>3. Oliver P. Hall.</li><li>4. Kingsley G. Baird.</li><li>5. Moses Goodridge.</li></ol>	<p><i>For President of the United States :</i> Paul St. John, of Maine.</p> <p><i>For United States Senator :</i> Gideon Stewart, of Fulton.</p> <p><i>For Representative in Congress for the State at Large :</i> John B. Gough, of Ashtabula.</p> <p><i>For Representatives in Congress for the First District :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Gideon J. Stewart.</li><li>2. Benjamin Brown.</li><li>3. Philo B. Scott.</li><li>4. Samuel C. Hunter.</li><li>5. Nathan Owens.</li></ol> <p><i>For Senatorial Deputies :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Allen G. Marx.</li><li>2. Zebulon Vance.</li></ol> <p><i>For Member of the College of Deputies for the State at Large :</i> Isaac Rodney.</p> <p><i>For Members of the College of Deputies for the First District :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Thomas M. Davey.</li><li>2. Robinson McCane.</li><li>3. Carl Pomeroy.</li><li>4. George Kinney.</li><li>5. John McDowell.</li></ol>

THE OFFICIAL BALLOTS SUGGESTED FOR

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN TICKET.	NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC TICKET.
<i>For President of the United States:</i> John Doe, of Pennsylvania.	<i>For President of the United States:</i> Richard Roe, of Kentucky.
<i>For Representatives in Congress for the State at Large:</i> 1. Azariah Flagg. 2. Benj. F. Jarvjs.	<i>For Representatives in Congress for the State at Large:</i> 1. Langdon Smith. 2. Moses B. Jordan.
<i>For Representatives in Congress for the Eighth District:</i> 1. Able M. Cooney. 2. James C. Banks. 3. George W. Davis. 4. David A. Wilder.	<i>For Representatives in Congress for the Eighth District:</i> 1. Abraham Long. 2. Solomon Bliss. 3. Addison St. Clair. 4. Charles S. Brown.
<i>For Senatorial Deputies:</i> 1. Jackson Donaldson. 2. David McPherson.	<i>For Senatorial Deputies:</i> 1. Madison J. Bell. 2. Paul Jones.
<i>For Members of the College of Deputies for the State at Large:</i> 1. Lafayette Jones. 2. Andrew J. King.	<i>For Members of the College of Deputies for the State at Large:</i> 1. Norton C. Bacon. 2. Wm. Henry Brady.
<i>For Members of the College of Deputies for the Eighth District:</i> 1. Arthur Doe. 2. Melanthon Doe. 3. Hezekiah Doe. 4. Jeremiah Doe.	<i>For Members of the College of Deputies for the Eighth District:</i> 1. Able J. Roe. 2. Solomon Roe. 3. Peter Roe. 4. Timothy Roe.



NATIONAL ELECTIONS IN NEW YORK FOR 1896.

NATIONAL ALLIANCE FEDERATION TICKET.	NATIONAL PROHIBITION TICKET.
<i>For President of the United States :</i> Frank Granger, of Kansas.	<i>For President of the United States :</i> Paul St. John, of Maine.
<i>For Representatives in Congress for the State at Large :</i> 1. Nathan G. Cole. 2. Allen B. Jones.	<i>For Representatives in Congress for the State at Large :</i> 1. William Gibbs. 2. Galen Morris.
<i>For Representatives in Congress for the Eighth District :</i> 1. James Emmerson. 2. Thomas J. Smith. 3. Amos Doolittle. 4. Lyman Cross.	<i>For Representatives in Congress for the Eighth District :</i> 1. Samuel Carey. 2. Noah Chance. 3. Arthur Coldwater. 4. Calvin Tucker.
<i>For Senatorial Deputies :</i> 1. Eli Z. Hooper. 2. Luke McDay.	<i>For Senatorial Deputies :</i> 1. Isaac Clearwater. 2. Jacob Clingman.
<i>For Members of the College of Deputies for the State at Large :</i> 1. John B. Walker. 2. Weller J. Fuller.	<i>For Members of the College of Deputies for the State at Large :</i> 1. Wilkins Micauber. 2. Asa B. Downing.
<i>For Members of the College of Deputies for the Eighth District :</i> 1. Andrew Kirk. 2. Allen Kirk. 3. Abraham Kirk. 4. Isaac Kirk.	<i>For Members of the College of Deputies for the Eighth District :</i> 1. James Clearwater. 2. John Clearwater. 3. Paul Clearwater. 4. Peter Clearwater.

FORM OF TICKETS FOR NEW YORK OR OHIO

REPUBLICAN STATE TICKET.	DEMOCRATIC STATE TICKET.
<p style="text-align: center;"><i>For Governor :</i> William McKinley, Jr.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">•   •   •   •   •</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>For Governor :</i> James E. Campbell.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">•   •   •   •   •</p>
<p><i>For Senators for the State at Large :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Orlando Stevens.</li><li>2. Henry J. Howard.</li><li>3. Jacob Cable.</li></ol>	<p><i>For Senators for the State at Large :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Patrick Noland.</li><li>2. John Marks.</li><li>3. Bailey McBride.</li></ol>
<p><i>For Senators for the Sixth District :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Andrew J. Knapp.</li><li>2. Charles Godfrey.</li><li>3. Hamilton Houghton.</li><li>4. Horace J. Smith.</li><li>5. David Rathbourne.</li></ol>	<p><i>For Senators for the Sixth District :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Mathew C. West.</li><li>2. Jackson Oakland.</li><li>3. Harding Kellogg.</li><li>4. Marshall King.</li><li>5. Obediah Mills.</li></ol> <p style="text-align: center;">•</p>
<p><i>For Representatives in the Legislature for the State at Large :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. James Long.</li><li>2. John Wentworth.</li><li>3. Jacob Williams.</li></ol>	<p><i>For Representatives in the Legislature for the State at Large :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Jason Quinsey.</li><li>2. Allen Quinsey.</li><li>3. Morris Quinsey.</li></ol>
<p><i>For Representatives in Legislature for the Eighteenth District :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Stanton Brown.</li><li>2. Heber Zimmerman.</li><li>3. Anthony Moore.</li><li>4. George A. Rhodes.</li><li>5. Clayton Brewer.</li></ol>	<p><i>For Representatives in Legislature for the Eighteenth District :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. John Knowlton.</li><li>2. James Knowlton.</li><li>3. Henry Knowlton.</li><li>4. Charles Knowlton.</li><li>5. Abner Knowlton.</li></ol>

STATE ELECTIONS. FOUR OFFICIAL BALLOTS.

ALLIANCE FEDERATION STATE TICKET.	PROHIBITION STATE TICKET.
<p style="text-align: center;"><i>For Governor ?</i> John Seitz.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">•   •   •   •   •</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>For Governor :</i> John J. Ashenhurst.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">•   •   •   •   •</p>
<p><i>For Senators for the State at Large :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Abner L. Jones.</li><li>2. Benjamin Briggs.</li><li>3. Allen G. Holmes.</li></ol>	<p><i>For Senators for the State at Large :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Peleg G. Scott.</li><li>2. Samuel Ramsey.</li><li>3. Barney May.</li></ol>
<p><i>For Senators for the Sixth District:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Chancy N. Olds.</li><li>2. Arthur Cook.</li><li>3. Jonathan Wynn.</li><li>4. George A. Greene.</li><li>5. Michael Sheridan.</li></ol>	<p><i>For Senators for the Sixth District :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Willard Warner.</li><li>2. Francis G. Scott.</li><li>3. Asa Sherwood.</li><li>4. Nathan Jewell.</li><li>5. William J. Bell.</li></ol>
<p><i>For Representatives in the Legislature for the State at Large :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Able Adams.</li><li>2. Nicholas Adams.</li><li>3. Philander Adams.</li></ol>	<p><i>For Representatives in the Legislature for the State at Large :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Morrison Roach.</li><li>2. Dennison Hale.</li><li>3. Robinson Holmes.</li></ol>
<p><i>For Representatives in Legislature for the Eighteenth District :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Benjamin Stanton.</li><li>2. Oliver Hutchings.</li><li>3. Wilbur Ford.</li><li>4. Thomas H. Ford.</li><li>5. Frederick Beaman.</li></ol>	<p><i>For Representatives in Legislature for the Eighteenth District :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Mason G. Thorp.</li><li>2. Hezekiah Hooper.</li><li>3. Waldron Dugan.</li><li>4. Joseph Stewart.</li><li>5. Abram Benson.</li></ol>

FOUR OFFICIAL TICKETS FOR CITIES OF THE

REPUBLICAN CITY TICKET.	DEMOCRATIC CITY TICKET.
<p data-bbox="358 503 474 526"><i>For Mayor :</i></p> <p data-bbox="323 539 502 562">John Paul Jones.</p> <p data-bbox="242 593 585 611">• • • • •</p> <p data-bbox="242 646 585 704"><i>For Board of Aldermen for the City at Large :</i></p> <ol data-bbox="308 718 506 802" style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Allen G. Mason.</li><li>2. Franklin Fuller.</li><li>3. Aaron Winfield.</li></ol> <p data-bbox="242 835 585 892"><i>For Board of Aldermen for the Fourth District :</i></p> <ol data-bbox="308 906 512 1059" style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. John Smyth.</li><li>2. Jason Smyth.</li><li>3. Jackson Smyth.</li><li>4. James Smyth.</li><li>5. Jonathan Smyth.</li></ol> <p data-bbox="242 1085 585 1143"><i>For Members of the Council for the City at Large :</i></p> <ol data-bbox="308 1157 527 1241" style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Anthony Salisbury.</li><li>2. Arthur Salisbury.</li><li>3. Albert Salisbury.</li></ol> <p data-bbox="242 1274 585 1331"><i>For Members of the Council for the Twelfth District :</i></p> <ol data-bbox="308 1345 533 1498" style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. John Bingham.</li><li>2. James Bingham.</li><li>3. Jackson Bingham.</li><li>4. Jason Bingham.</li><li>5. Jasper Bingham</li></ol>	<p data-bbox="739 503 854 526"><i>For Mayor :</i></p> <p data-bbox="704 539 882 562">Marshall P. Hall.</p> <p data-bbox="627 593 970 611">• • • • •</p> <p data-bbox="627 646 970 704"><i>For Board of Aldermen for the City at Large :</i></p> <ol data-bbox="693 718 912 802" style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Jacob Brown.</li><li>2. Isaac Brown.</li><li>3. Zachariah Brown.</li></ol> <p data-bbox="627 835 970 892"><i>For Board of Aldermen for the Fourth District :</i></p> <ol data-bbox="693 906 892 1059" style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Milton Brown.</li><li>2. Obediah Brown.</li><li>3. Paul Brown.</li><li>4. Peter Brown.</li><li>5. Moses Brown.</li></ol> <p data-bbox="627 1085 970 1143"><i>For Members of the Council for the City at Large :</i></p> <ol data-bbox="693 1157 888 1241" style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Norman Lang.</li><li>2. Henry J. Lang.</li><li>3. Allen B. Lang.</li></ol> <p data-bbox="627 1274 970 1331"><i>For Members of the Council for the Twelfth District :</i></p> <ol data-bbox="693 1345 930 1498" style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Washington Brady.</li><li>2. Worthington Brady.</li><li>3. William Brady.</li><li>4. Worden Brady.</li><li>5. Walden Brady.</li></ol>

POPULATION OF CINCINNATI AND NEW YORK.

CITIZENS' NON-PARTISAN CITY TICKET.	PROHIBITION CITY TICKET.
<p><i>For Mayor :</i> Jacob Zeigler.</p> <p>• • • • •</p>	<p><i>For Mayor :</i> Arthur Brown.</p> <p>• • • • •</p>
<p><i>For Board of Aldermen for the City at Large :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Otho Blake.</li><li>2. Norton Blake.</li><li>3. James G. Blake.</li></ol>	<p><i>For Board of Aldermen for the City at Large :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Melville Frank.</li><li>2. Melanthon Fay.</li><li>3. Orlando Brown.</li></ol>
<p><i>For Board of Aldermen for the Fourth District :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. John J. Jones.</li><li>2. John Paul Jones.</li><li>3. Jackson Jones.</li><li>4. James J. Jones.</li><li>5. Jephtha Jones.</li></ol>	<p><i>For Board of Aldermen for the Fourth District :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. William Aikens.</li><li>2. John Aikens.</li><li>3. Jason Aikens.</li><li>4. Jephtha Aikens.</li><li>5. James Aikens.</li></ol>
<p><i>For Members of the Council for the City at Large :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. William Banks.</li><li>2. Washington Banks.</li><li>3. Walter J. Banks.</li></ol>	<p><i>For Members of the Council for the City at Large :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Alford Gleason.</li><li>2. Aaron Gleason.</li><li>3. Addison Gleason.</li></ol>
<p><i>For Members of the Council for the Twelfth District :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Elliot Zane.</li><li>2. Elbert Zane.</li><li>3. Elihu Zane.</li><li>4. Ezekiel Zane.</li><li>5. Elijah Zane.</li></ol>	<p><i>For Members of the Council for the Twelfth District :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. John Coldwater.</li><li>2. Jason Coldwater.</li><li>3. Moses Coldwater.</li><li>4. Paul Coldwater.</li><li>5. St. John Coldwater.</li></ol>

	POPULATION.		POPULATION.			
	White. 1790.	Colored. 1790.	White. 1800.	Increase. 1790-1800.	Colored. 1800.	Increase. 1790-1800.
				%		%
District of Columbia			10,066		4,027	
Delaware	46,310	12,786	49,852	8	14,421	13
Pennsylvania	424,099	10,274	586,095	38	16,270	58
New Jersey	169,954	14,185	194,325	14	16,824	19
Georgia	52,886	29,662	102,261	93	60,425	104
Connecticut	232,374	5,572	244,721	5	6,281	13
Massachusetts	373,324	5,463	416,393	12	6,452	18
Maryland	208,649	111,079	216,326	4	125,222	13
South Carolina	140,178	108,895	196,255	40	149,336	37
New Hampshire	141,097	788	182,998	30	860	9
Virginia	442,117	305,493	514,280	16	365,920	20
New York	314,142	25,978	557,731	78	31,320	21
North Carolina	288,204	105,547	337,764	17	140,339	33
Rhode Island	64,470	4,355	65,438	2	3,684	Dec. 15
Vermont	85,154	271	153,908	81	557	106
Kentucky	61,133	12,544	179,873	194	41,082	228
Tennessee	31,913	3,778	91,709	187	13,893	268
Maine	96,002	538	150,901	57	818	52
Ohio			45,028		337	
Louisiana						
Indiana			5,343		298	
Mississippi			5,179		3,671	
Illinois						
Alabama						
Missouri						
Arkansas						
Michigan						
Florida						
Texas						
Iowa						
Wisconsin						
California						
Minnesota						
Oregon						
Kansas						
West Virginia						
Nevada						
Nebraska						
Colorado						
North Dakota						
South Dakota						
Montana						
Washington						
Wyoming						
Idaho						
Utah						
New Mexico						
Arizona						
Alaska						
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,172,006</b>	<b>757,208</b>	<b>4,306,446</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>1,002,037</b>	<b>32</b>



	POPULATION.				POPULATION.			
	White.	Increase.	Colored.	Increase.	White.	Increase.	Colored.	Increase.
	1830.		1830.		1840.		1840.	
	%		%		%		%	
Dist. Columbia	27,563	22	12,271	18	30,657	11	13,055	6
Delaware	57,501	4	19,147	10	58,561	2	19,524	2
Pennsylvania	1,309,900	29	38,333	26	1,676,115	28	47,918	25
New Jersey	300,266	17	20,557	3	351,583	17	21,718	6
Georgia	296,806	57	220,017	45	407,695	37	283,697	29
Connecticut	289,603	8	8,072	1	301,856	4	8,122	1
Massachusetts	603,359	17	7,049	5	729,030	21	8,669	23
Maryland	291,108	12	155,932	6	318,204	9	151,815	Dec. 3.
South Carolina	257,863	9	323,322	22	259,084	4	335,314	4
N. Hampshire	268,721	10	607	Dec. 23	284,036	6	538	Dec. 11.
Virginia	694,300	15	517,105	12	740,968	7	498,829	Dec. 4.
New York	1,873,663	41	44,945	14	2,378,890	27	50,031	11
North Carolina	472,843	13	265,144	21	484,870	3	268,549	1
Rhode Island	93,621	18	3,578	Dec. 1.	105,587	13	3,243	Dec. 9.
Vermont	279,771	19	881	Dec. 2.	291,218	4	730	Dec 17.
Kentucky	517,787	19	170,130	31	590,253	14	189,575	11
Tennessee	535,746	58	146,158	76	640,627	20	188,583	29
Maine	398,263	34	1,192	28	500,439	26	1,355	14
Ohio	928,329	61	9,574	103	1,502,122	62	17,345	81
Louisiana	89,441	22	126,298	59	158,457	77	193,954	54
Indiana	339,399	133	3,632	156	678,698	100	7,168	97
Mississippi	70,443	67	66,178	99	178,074	154	196,577	197
Illinois	155,061	188	2,384	74	472,254	205	3,929	65
Alabama	190,406	123	119,121	181	335,185	76	255,571	115
Missouri	114,795	105	25,660	143	323,888	182	59,814	153
Arkansas	25,671	104	4,717	181	77,174	201	20,400	332
Michigan	31,346	265	293	68	211,560	575	707	141
Florida	18,385	---	16,345	---	27,943	52	26,534	62
Texas	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Iowa	---	---	---	---	42,924	---	188	---
Wisconsin	---	---	---	---	30,749	---	196	---
California	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Minnesota	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Oregon	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Kansas	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
West Virginia	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Nevada	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Nebraska	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Colorado	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
North Dakota	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
South Dakota	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Montana	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Washington	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Wyoming	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Idaho	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Utah	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
New Mexico	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Arizona	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Total	<sup>a</sup> 10,537,378	34	2,328,642	31	<sup>b</sup> 14,195,805	35	2,873,648	23

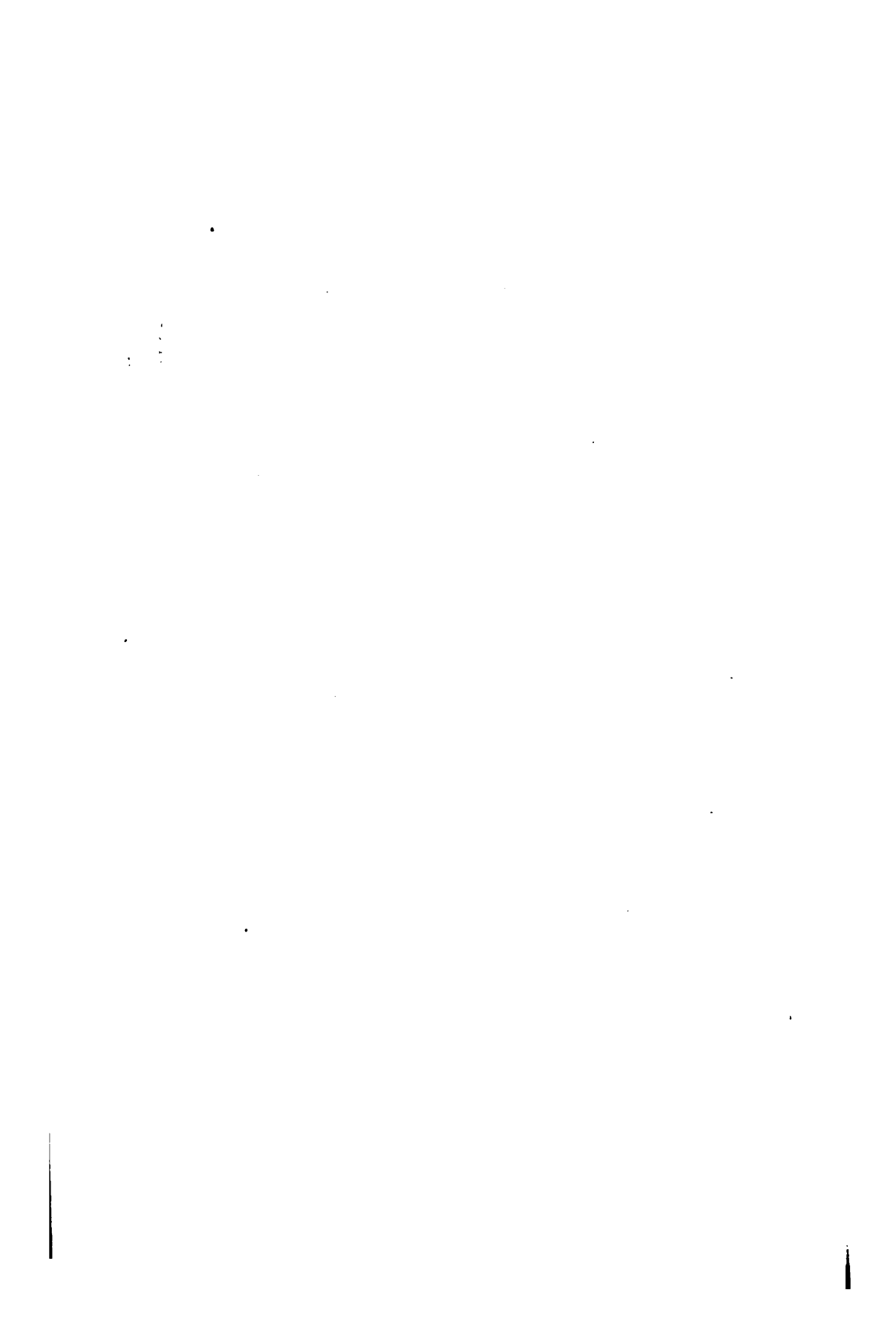
<sup>a</sup> Includes 5,318 persons on public ships in the service of the U. S.  
<sup>b</sup> Includes 6,100 persons on public ships in the service of the U. S.



POPULATION.				POPULATION.			
White. 1850.	Increase.	Colored. 1850.	Increase.	White. 1860.	Increase.	Colored. 1860.	Increase.
	%		%		%		%
37,941	24	13,746	5	60,763	60	14,316	4
71,169	22	20,363	4	90,589	27	21,627	6
2,258,160	35	53,626	12	2,849,259	26	56,949	6
465,509	32	24,046	11	646,699	39	25,336	5
521,572	28	384,613	36	591,550	13	465,698	21
363,099	20	7,693	Dec. 5	451,504	24	8,627	12
985,450	35	9,064	5	1,221,432	24	9,602	6
417,943	31	165,091	9	515,918	23	171,131	4
274,563	6	393,944	17	291,300	6	412,320	5
317,456	12	520	Dec. 3.	325,579	3	494	Dec. 5.
894,800	21	526,861	6	1,047,299	17	548,907	4
3,048,325	28	49,069	Dec. 2.	3,831,590	26	49,005	Dec. 9.1.
553,028	14	316,011	18	629,942	14	361,522	14
143,875	36	3,670	13	170,649	19	3,952	8
313,402	8	718	Dec. 2.	314,369	0.3	709	Dec. 1.
761,413	29	220,992	17	919,484	21	236,167	7
756,836	18	245,881	30	826,722	9	283,019	15
581,813	16	1,356	.07	628,947	8	1,327	Dec. 2.
1,955,050	30	25,279	46	2,302,803	18	36,673	45
255,491	61	262,271	35	357,456	40	350,373	34
977,154	44	11,262	57	1,338,710	37	11,428	1
296,718	65	310,808	58	353,899	20	437,404	41
846,034	79	5,436	38	1,704,291	101	7,628	40
426,514	27	345,109	35	526,271	23	437,770	27
592,004	83	90,040	51	1,063,489	80	118,503	32
162,189	110	47,708	134	324,143	100	111,259	133
395,071	87	2,583	265	736,142	88	6,799	163
47,203	69	40,242	52	77,746	65	62,677	56
154,034	-----	58,558	-----	420,891	173	182,921	212
191,881	347	333	77	673,779	251	1,069	221
304,766	891	635	224	773,693	154	1,171	84
91,635	-----	962	-----	323,177	253	4,086	325
6,038	-----	39	-----	169,305	2705	259	564
18,087	-----	207	-----	52,160	299	128	Dec. 38.
-----	-----	-----	-----	106,390	-----	627	-----
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----	-----	6,812	-----	45	-----
-----	-----	-----	-----	28,696	-----	82	-----
-----	-----	-----	-----	34,231	-----	46	-----
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----	-----	2,576	-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----	-----	11,138	-----	30	-----
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
11,330	-----	50	-----	40,125	254	59	18
61,525	-----	22	-----	82,924	35	85	286
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
19,553,068	38	3,638,808	27	26,922,537	38	4,441,830	22

	POPULATION.			
	White. 1870.	Increase. %	Colored. 1870.	Increase %
District of Columbia.....	88,278	45	43,404	203
Delaware.....	102,221	13	22,794	5
Pennsylvania.....	3,456,609	21	65,294	15
New Jersey.....	875,407	35	30,658	21
Georgia.....	638,926	8	545,142	17
Connecticut.....	527,549	17	9,668	12
Massachusetts.....	1,443,156	18	13,947	45
Maryland.....	605,497	17	175,391	2
South Carolina.....	289,667	Dec. 0.6	415,814	0.9
New Hampshire.....	317,697	Dec. 2	580	17
Virginia.....	712,089	Dec. 32	512,841	Dec. 7
New York.....	4,330,210	13	52,081	6
North Carolina.....	678,470	8	391,650	8
Rhode Island.....	212,219	24	4,980	28
Vermont.....	329,613	5	924	30
Kentucky.....	1,098,692	19	222,210	Dec. 6
Tennessee.....	936,119	13	322,331	14
Maine.....	624,809	Dec. 0.3	1,606	21
Ohio.....	2,601,946	13	63,213	72
Louisiana.....	362,065	1	364,210	4
Indiana.....	1,655,837	24	24,560	115
Mississippi.....	382,896	8	444,201	2
Illinois.....	2,511,096	47	28,762	277
Alabama.....	521,384	Dec. 0.9	475,510	9
Missouri.....	1,603,146	51	118,071	Dec. 0.4
Arkansas.....	362,115	12	122,169	10
Michigan.....	1,167,282	59	11,849	74
Florida.....	96,057	24	91,689	46
Texas.....	564,700	34	253,475	39
Iowa.....	1,188,207	76	5,762	439
Wisconsin.....	1,051,351	36	2,113	80
California.....	499,424	55	4,272	5
Minnesota.....	438,257	159	759	193
Oregon.....	86,929	67	346	170
Kansas.....	346,377	226	17,108	2629
West Virginia.....	424,033		17,980	
Nevada.....	38,959	472	357	693
Nebraska.....	122,117	326	789	862
Colorado.....	39,221	15	456	891
North Dakota.....	12,887	400		
South Dakota.....			94	
Montana.....	18,306		183	
Washington.....	22,195	99	207	580
Wyoming.....	8,726		183	
Idaho.....	10,618		60	
Utah.....	86,044	114	118	100
New Mexico.....	90,393	9	172	102
Arizona.....	9,581		26	
Oklahoma.....				
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>33,589,377</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>4,880,009</b>	<b>10</b>

POPULATION.				POPULATION.			
White. 1880.	Increase.	Colored. 1880.	Increase.	White. 1890.	Increase.	Colored. 1890.	Increase.
	%		%		%		%
118,006	34	59,596	37	154,895	31	75,572	27
120,160	18	26,442	16	140,066	17	28,386	7
4,197,016	21	85,535	31	5,148,257	23	107,596	26
1,092,017	25	38,853	27	1,396,581	28	47,638	23
816,906	28	725,133	33	978,357	20	858,815	18
610,769	16	11,547	19	733,439	20	12,302	7
1,763,782	22	18,697	34	2,215,373	26	22,144	18
724,693	20	210,230	20	826,493	14	215,657	3
391,105	35	604,332	45	462,008	18	688,934	14
346,229	9	685	18	375,840	9	614	Dec. 10
880,858	24	631,616	23	1,020,122	16	635,438	1
5,016,022	16	85,104	25	5,923,952	18	70,062	8
867,242	28	531,277	36	1,055,382	22	561,018	6
269,939	27	6,488	30	337,859	25	7,393	14
331,218	0.5	1,057	14	331,418	0.1	937	Dec. 11
1,377,179	25	271,451	22	1,590,462	15	268,971	Dec. 1
1,138,831	22	403,151	25	1,336,637	17	430,678	7
646,852	4	1,451	Dec. 10	659,263	2	1,190	Dec. 18
3,117,920	20	79,900	26	3,584,805	15	87,110	9
454,954	26	483,655	33	558,395	23	559,193	16
1,938,798	17	39,228	60	2,146,736	11	45,215	15
479,398	25	650,291	46	544,851	14	742,559	14
3,031,151	21	46,368	61	3,768,472	24	57,028	23
662,185	27	600,103	26	833,718	26	678,489	13
2,022,826	26	145,350	23	2,528,458	25	150,184	3
591,531	63	210,666	72	818,752	38	309,117	47
1,614,560	38	15,100	27	2,072,884	28	15,223	1
142,605	48	126,690	38	224,949	58	166,180	31
1,197,237	112	393,384	55	1,745,935	46	488,171	24
1,614,600	36	9,516	65	1,901,066	18	10,685	12
1,309,618	25	2,702	28	1,680,473	28	2,444	Dec. 10
767,181	54	6,018	41	1,111,672	45	11,322	88
776,884	77	1,564	106	1,296,159	67	3,683	135
163,075	88	487	41	301,758	85	1,186	144
952,155	175	43,107	152	1,376,553	45	49,710	15
592,537	40	25,886	44	730,077	23	32,690	26
53,556	37	488	37	39,084	Dec. 27	242	50
449,764	268	2,385	202	1,046,888	133	8,913	274
191,126	387	2,435	434	404,468	112	6,215	155
183,147	933	401	327	182,123	283	914	128
85,385	93	346	89	327,290	260	1,490	331
67,199	203	325	57	127,271	407	1,602	393
19,437	123	298	63	340,513	205	922	209
29,013	173	53	Dec. 12	59,275	183	201	279
142,423	66	232	97	82,018	45	588	153
108,721	20	1,015	490	205,899	31	1,956	93
85,160	267	155	496	142,719	58	1,357	775
				58,826		2,973	
43,402,970	29	6,580,793	35	54,983,890	27	7,470,040	14





Nashville Tennessee, Sept. 18, 1893.  
To Hon. James M. Ashley,  
Colo do Ohio,

Dear Sir:— By  
direction of The Afro-American  
League of Tennessee, we have  
the pleasure of transmitting  
to you, this souvenir, compiled  
and prepared under its di-  
rection for presentation to  
you, as a token of the  
Negro's recognition of your  
distinguished services in  
their behalf.

Bishop B. W. Arnett is per-  
sonally charged with the  
presentation of this souvenir.

Very Respectfully,

Wm. A. Crockett  
Secretary

Wm. Henderson Young,  
President

Nashville, Tenn., Sept. 18, '93.

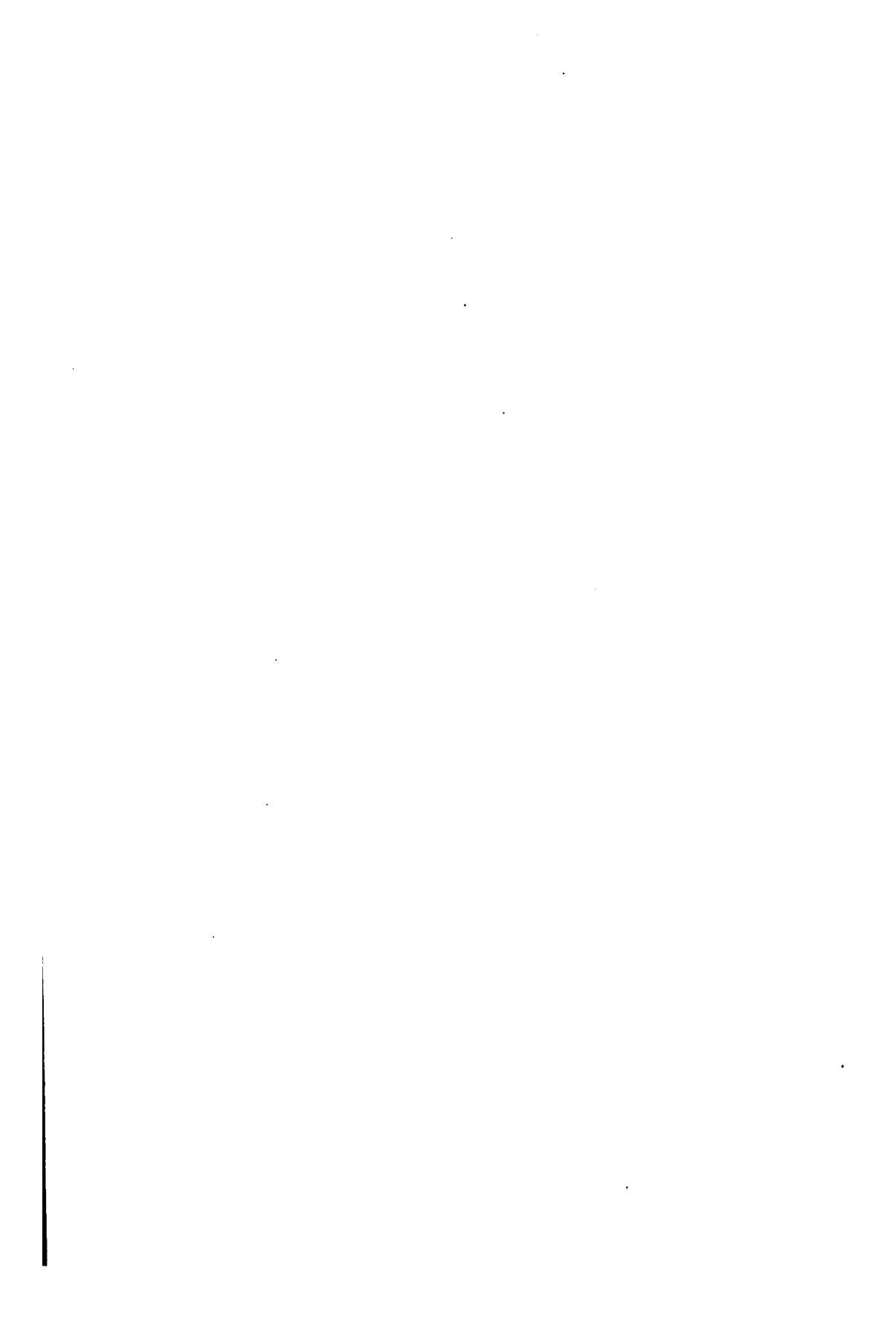
To Mrs James McAshley,  
Cledo, Ohio,

Esteemed Madam:

By direction of "The Afro-American League" of Tennessee, we have the honor to transmit to you, this companion copy of the souvenir, prepared for, and presented by it to your honored husband.

Very Respectfully,  
Wm Henderson Young,

President.





## APPENDIX.

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The "Souvenir" presentation was made on Emancipation Day, September 22nd, 1893, at the Art Palace in Chicago, in Columbian Hall of the World's Parliament of Religions, in the presence of not less than five thousand people.

In this edition of the Souvenir, we add the appeal made to the public by the Publication Committee; the address of Hon. Wm. H. Young, President of the Afro-American League of Tennessee, and Bishop Arnett's able address, with the short speech of his little son, Master Daniel Payne Arnett, and Governor Ashley's admirable response.

This appendix when added to the matter in the original Souvenir, makes a complete record and an invaluable historic volume.

THE ADDRESS OF  
BISHOP BENJAMIN WILLIAM ARNETT, D. D.,  
OF WILBERFORCE, OHIO.

---

AT CHICAGO, ILL., SEPTEMBER 22, 1893,

---

ON PRESENTING A SOUVENIR VOLUME, IN BEHALF OF THE AFRO-  
AMERICAN LEAGUE OF TENNESSEE, AND OF THE FRIENDS  
OF HUMAN LIBERTY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

---

TO THE HON. JAMES M. ASHLEY, OF TOLEDO, OHIO,

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IN ART PALACE AND IN THE PRESENCE OF THE PARLIAMENT  
OF RELIGIONS. THE REV. JOHN HENRY BARROWS, D. D.,  
PRESIDING.

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MR. PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE PARLIAMENT OF RE-  
LIGIONS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF  
HUMANITY :

In the name of my countrymen and fellow-sufferers of the  
past I come with greetings and rejoicings this night, that  
our night has turned to day, our former prison has become a  
mansion, and we are now the legitimate heirs of the heritage  
of American freemen. We are to congratulate ourselves that



*Bishop B. W. Arnett, D.D.*



this gathering is not only to be a mount of toleration and cordiality, but is to be one of gratitude and thanksgiving to God, and to one of the foremost heroes in the battle of freedom. This is one of the greatest honors of my life, to be spokesman of the Tennessee League and of 7,500,000 of my fellow-countrymen. It will be my privilege to review the work of the race for the past thirty years, and to follow some of the steps that have led to the marvelous triumphs of thirty years of labor in field, study and schoolhouse. We are also to honor one to whom honor is due, and let him and his friends know that we are not unmindful of the workmen of the past. The battle of human freedom has been fought in all lands for all races.

#### THE VICTORIES WON.

Fourteen hundred and ninety-one years before the Star of Bethlehem was hung in the vaulted skies, or the celestial orchestra sung the natal song of the "Infant Redeemer of Man," Moses, the servant of God, the lawgiver of the centuries, the first to unite in his person, human and divine law, led Israel, the children of God, beneath a banner of vapor and fire from the house of bondage, to Mt. Nebo, in sight of the land of liberty. Joshua, his successor, lifted up the banner, drew the sword, rallied his forces, crossed the Jordan, Jericho fell; he moved on to Aiai in the plain of Gilgal, erected the first monument to the triumph of liberty, with the stones brought from the Jordan by the priests of the living God. It became their "Triumphal Arch," and our "Bow of Hope," and Joshua spoke to the children of Israel, saying: "When your children shall ask their fathers in time to come, saying, 'What mean these stones?' then shall ye let your children know, saying Israel came over this Jordan on dry land."

And in the future men and women shall inquire, "What means this day, the 22d of September?"

When our children and their children's children shall inquire of their moral and religious teachers, why the 22d of

September is set down in the calendar as the day of hope and joy to the negro, then will you answer them and say :

When your father's father was in bondage there was a great war between the northern and southern States of the Union ; at times one army was successful, and at times the other was successful.

A great and good man was the President of the United States. The party of men that elected him were opposed to the extension of slavery, and many of them believed in universal freedom ; others of them believed in the emancipation of the slaves, while another class believed that the normal condition of the negro was to be a slave to the white man.

There was a division among the people and the statesmen in regard to the powers of the State and General Government. One party believed that the General Government was superior to the State government. The Southerners believed that the State government was superior to the National Government ; the logical conclusion of this was that a part was greater than the whole. Finally on the twelfth day of April, 1861, the American flag was fired upon at Fort Sumter, and the fort was compelled to surrender, and the American flag was lowered. Thus came the great war known as the Rebellion.

The leaders on both sides lifted up their standard, and hundreds of thousands rallied around them. Brave, trained and skilled men were appointed to lead them. The contest was long, bloody and dreadful. The war-cloud hung low and dark from sea to sea. Soldiers were vigilantly guarding the frontiers of liberty on one side, and those of slavery on the other. Every man was brave as though his face was brass, his muscles of iron and his fingers of steel. The minie-ball whistled its favorite song of death ; cannons spoke to cannons in the voice of thunder ; the earth heard and trembled, and the sky frowned upon the scene, grape and canister flew like birds through the air, bombs like meteors spread destruction in their path. The nights were made hideous by shells screaming and screeching like wild beasts of prey, contending with each other. The midnight air was burdened with groans of the wounded and the wails of the dying. Again could be heard the shouts of the advancing

army amid the din of battle. The curses of the retreating foe could be heard, mingling with the shouts of triumph and victory. The bass voice of the artillery and the heavy tramp of the cavalry were broken by the shrill cries of the commanders urging their men to victory. Doubtful as to the way the battle was going, the President of the United States issued a proclamation, inviting all Christians and people to assemble in their churches and places of worship to pray to the God of the armies of heaven, that He might reinforce the armies of the Union by His ever-conquering legions. The people obeyed, prayer was offered, and the answer from on High was awaited by the nation.

On the 16th of April, 1862, the first victory was gained for freedom and justice. The slaves of the District of Columbia were emancipated, and the jubilant shouts were heard throughout the land. In the camp, in the prison and on the march the bands played, and the soldiers sang, "John Brown's body lies moldering in the grave, but his soul goes marching on ; glory, glory hallelujah," etc. [Applause.]

While this and other songs were filling the homes, hearts and tents of the land, the President of the United States, the commander of the Union army, stood upon the rock of military necessity, and gave the confederate army 100 days to surrender and renew their allegiance to the Constitution and the Union, attaching as a military penalty, "If they failed to comply he would on the first day of January, 1863, emancipate all slaves in certain designated States and Territories of the country, and promising protection to all who might come within the lines of the Union army, whether as laborers, teamsters or servants." Freedom was to be their reward.

Thus this man hung the bow of promise over the prison of the negro, and bade the bondmen believe, pray and hope. Within the prison, the South, prayers ascended daily and nightly from the cabin, field and woods. In the North, daily and nightly meetings were held, speeches and prayers alternating with each other ; prayers to God, and petitions to men.

The negro wanted the Union saved, he wanted the Union flag to triumph, but not till the first day of January, 1863, had

passed. Days increased their weary marches ; weeks dragged themselves along, appearing to be months in length, and three months rolled along as though they were three years to the weary, trusting and hopeful bondmen; in fact, the whole negro race lived a lifetime over, between the 22d of September, 1862, and the first day of January, 1863, for the liberty of the generations, the prosperity and happiness of millions, and the destiny of a nation hung upon the issue of the hour and the resolve of the President of the United States.

Of this proclamation, Mrs. Harper says :

“It shall flash through coming ages,  
It shall light the distant years,  
And eyes now dim with sorrow  
Shall be brighter through their tears.”

When the first of January, 1863, came, the proclamation went forth, and millions of the slaves were made freemen in one day. The hut of the bondman was deserted, and the freedman, with his wife and with his children, was banished from the old homestead, and they started to a land they knew not of ; but with faith in God, and a trust in His word, and with a lively hope in the final triumph of right, truth and justice, they began their weary march to the land of liberty. There was joy and there was sadness ; joy that the hour of deliverance had come ; sorrow that they had to leave behind their associates. They started out not as the Israelites from Egypt, with the clothes and jewels of the Egyptians, for they had only the garments that they wore in bondage, and their only jewel was the jewel of freedom.

The scene was sad and joyful ; millions of people without a foot of land to stand upon, without a house or home to protect them from the storm of winter or the heat of the summer. In fact, they were landless, houseless and nameless, because hitherto they had borne the names of their masters ; now having no masters, they had no names, and each family had to choose a new name of freedom, and they named their children after the generals, the majors, the colonels and captains of the Union army, so that the roster



of the army of the Union is the key to the genealogical record of the new sons and daughters of freedom, and the two were bound together forever and forever, the deliverer and the delivered. [Great applause.]

Thirty years have passed away with all of their scenes of hope and joy, life and death, peace and war, and the inhabitants of the city of the living have been transferred to the city of the dead, and there await their final summons to appear at the bar of judgment. A generation of men and women have appeared on the stage of human activities, have entered the conflict between right and wrong, justice and injustice, have conquered and received their crown of reward, while others are yet contending for the faith once delivered to the saints, and for which the saints of goodness and the heroes of virtue have died.

The question now is, "What has the negro done with his thirty years of freedom?" The following are some of his achievements in the field of politics and government.

Hundreds and thousands have served in ward meetings, city meetings, county and state conventions; hundreds have attended the national conventions, which nominate the President of the United States; and John R. Lynch and others have presided over the national convention.

In thirty years the negro has been elected, and served with honor to himself and to his race in city councils, on boards of aldermen, in State legislature, in State senate, in national Congress and in the United States Senate, and in each of the deliberative bodies has he presided with dignity. What race can show a better record than this? I challenge comparison and wait for a parallel, either from history, tradition, observation or experience.

Since the negro left the house of bondage he has been elected, and has acted as mayor of a town, he has been constable and marshal, the county 'squire and the city justice of peace, the county sheriff and the United States marshal, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and lieutenant-governor, presiding over the State senate, acting as Governor of Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina, approving the laws, liberating convicts, commuting sentences of death to

that of life, the embodiment of law and order for a commonwealth.

He has presided over the national House of Representatives, and filled the chair of Vice-President of the United States with honor and dignity. The Hon. B. K. Bruce was register of the United States treasury and stamped his name upon the currency of our country, and gave the negro's consent to pay the nation's debt in silver and gold, or in greenbacks.

In thirty years the negro went from field, shop and hotel, and has been elected and served as secretary of state, auditor of state, treasurer of state, attorney-general of state, superintendent of public schools in county and state; and the negro in the days of reconstruction laid the foundation of the public school system of the South, and to-day it stands a monument of his love of education and of posterity.

Since 1862 the negro has studied law, been admitted to the bar, has been elected city judge, has presided in the supreme court of South Carolina. He has acted as prosecuting attorney and persecuting attorney too. He has been admitted to practice in the district, circuit and supreme courts. Thus the negro is able to plead his cause from the police courts to the Supreme Court of the United States.

The Hon. James M. Townsend and D. P. Roberts have acted as recorders of the general land offices of the United States, one of the most important offices in the gift of the President, for not one foot of public land can be sold or transferred without the signature of the recorder of the lands. He is the custodian of the great seal of the land office, and when he signs his name and stamps with the seal, he represents the wishes of 62,500,000 people.

The Hon. Frederick Douglass, the greatest of all American negroes, acted as marshal of the District of Columbia; he was the representative of law and order of the Government, and in a city where less than thirty years ago his kindred were bought and sold. What a wonderful triumph! What marvelous progress has been made in recognizing the rights of the new-made freeman! [Great applause.]

Again, inside of thirty years the negro has been appointed by the President of the United States to serve the Gov-

ernment as consul in Madagascar, San Domingo, minister resident and consul general to Hayti, the morning star of negro independence and negro reign; and to Liberia, Africa, the lone star of hope to more than 200,000,000 of men, women and children, bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh. The negro has assisted in framing the organic laws of many States of the Union, since his freedom. He was an important factor in the reconstruction conventions, and has assisted in embodying in the organic law of the land the principles of justice and right.

WHAT PROGRESS HAS THE NEGRO MADE IN EDUCATION ?

That education is essential to the success of an individual, family, race or country is a common axiom, and it is said on every side, "We must educate or perish." This is relatively and absolutely true with us as a race. Therefore we desire to see what progress we have made since our chains have been broken, and we stepped out into freedom. The following communication from Hon. W. T. Harris, Commissioner of Education of the United States, tells the story of thirty years of freedom and education.

NUMBER OF SCHOOLS FOR THE COLORED RACE.

THE ENROLLMENT OF THEM BY INSTITUTIONS WITHOUT REFERENCE TO STATES.

	Teachers.	Schools.	Enrollment.
Public schools.....	22,956	21,520	1,327,822—'89
Normal schools.....	316	41	7,462
Institutions of secondary instruction.....	354	53	11,480
Universities and colleges....	238	22	1,010
Schools of theology.....	89	22	1,008
Schools of law.....	15	4	42
Schools of medicine.....	30	3	241
Schools of deaf, dumb and blind.....	30	9	287
Total.....	24,038	21,674	1,327,822—'89
Grand total in all schools of all grades.....			1,353,352

#### IN COLLEGE AND SEMINARY.

The students in our colleges and seminaries in the pursuit of their studies have acquitted themselves nobly. They have made excellent records in the study of the classics, in the study of the higher mathematics, in the contests for class honors they have been very successful, and have won victories against great odds.

In thirty years they have captured the oratorical prize in century-crowned Harvard; have borne aloft the palm of victory in Boston University. In all these institutions distinguished for their learning, the negro student has shown that the intellectual power of the race is equal to that of the Anglo-Saxon, in the acquisition of knowledge, and I firmly believe that time and circumstances will prove that he possesses the power of applying his knowledge in the world of thought and matter. It is only a question of time, for time is an essential element, until the latent powers of the race will manifest themselves in the organization, and in the subsidizing of the moral and mental forces, and utilizing them for the advancement of science and the development of art, and in the fostering of the higher culture of our young men and our young women to such an eminent degree that the doubt that hangs over the possibilities of the race will be removed, and confidence and trust and hope will then illumine the path of the future, to such an extent that the seekers after truth will be permitted to join in the excursions of investigation and study, regardless of race and color.

#### THE NEGRO ON THE PLATFORM.

Before the war and before freedom, it was a strange thing to hear of a negro upon the platform, or a platform of political parties, for he has had some connection with the platform of political parties, from the organization of our Government. I have reference to the public platform where an individual stands before an audience, presents facts of history, illustrates by instances of biography or recites events connected

with his own personal observation or experience, or discusses principles, men and policies of government, approving one party and disapproving another, using every argument of moral suasion to have an individual follow the standard of an organization or a party, and to accomplish his end, uses logic, rhetoric and elocution, playing upon the passions, prejudice and sympathies of his audience as the musician touches the keys of his instrument.

In thirty years the negroes have produced a number of spell-binders or orators as they are called in common parlance, among whom are the Hon. Frederick Douglass, old man eloquent of the old school; Rev. J. C. Price, of the new school; Rev. W. B. Derrick, a "child of the Tropics"; the Hon. Jno. R. Lynch, a product of the Sunny South; Hon. J. Madison Bell, the man that sounded the key-note of freedom, on the morning of emancipation at the Golden Gate. Bishop T. M. D. Ward, whose voice and speech have alike cheered the miner in the Sierra Nevada, and the new made freedmen in the savannah and the everglades of Florida, whose words were as beautiful as the magnolia, and as sweet as the orange-blossom.

Time fails me to speak, for the coming orators are too numerous. 'Twould require a volume to record their names, their hopes, their ambitions; but whether in religious or political connections, at home or abroad, the platform orators of the negroes have been heard and felt within thirty years.

#### THE STAGE.

The negro has appeared upon the stage, and the dramatic power of the race has been tested, weighed and has not been found wanting. Several stars have appeared above the horizon in the dramatic sky, their brilliant light softened the midnight darkness, and became a guide to those struggling to rise from horizon to zenith, until we now have a constellation appearing to the joy of all:

Madame Selika, the queen of song; Miss Hallie Q. Brown, the queen of elocutionists; Miss Henrietta Vinton Davis, the gifted and matchless, magic, emotional and

humorous reader; Miss Sisseretta Jones, the black Patti, has delighted thousands in the East and West in the United States, and has won laurels for herself and for the race in the West Indies and in foreign lands; Miss Daisy Nahar, with wonderful skill, instructs and delights those who have had the pleasure of listening to her entertainments.

#### THE NEGRO AS A PHYSICIAN.

The doctor is one of the necessary and one of the indispensable members of a community. The healing art is one of the most important of professions. It is so intimately connected with life and death, health and sickness, that a skillful physician is a blessing to his fellow-men.

Everybody is interested in his success. The happiness of homes, the success of enterprises, the prosperity of the community depend upon the health of its inhabitants. When the negro race assumed the responsibilities of freemen, we had no physicians of our own; we had to depend on others to care for our sick and to relieve our ills. But since that day our young men have entered college, have graduated with honor and now are practicing with eminent success.

We have physicians who are not only practitioners, but are eminent as surgeons and oculists. Among the many who have distinguished themselves for learning and skill are: Drs. Purvis, Cook, Francis and Powell, of Washington City; Dr. Ray, of Brooklyn; Dr. Thompson, of New York; Dr. Darnes, of Jacksonville, Fla.; Dr. Buckner, of Cincinnati, Ohio; Dr. D. H. Williams, the founder of Provident Hospital and Training School, of Chicago, and one of the surgeons of the World's Fair. Dr. Boyd, of Nashville, and many others whose names time fails me to mention.

The following figures will give some idea as to the number of colored physicians of the United States of thirty years of freedom, for when freedom came we had only Dr. Delaney, and one or two others.

The Mahary College has graduated in 1891, 132 physicians.

Howard University, 1891, graduated being 112 colored and 216 whites.

The Leonard Medical School in 1891, had graduated 30 students and had 54 on the way.

The Louisville National Medical College has graduated 11 persons and had an enrollment of 23.

The New Orleans University graduated 4 in 1892, and a large number have graduated from Ann Arbor, and Chicago and other places.

There are a large number of dentists in the country, and pharmacists.

The number of young men is increasing in those professions.

#### THE MUSIC OF OUR FATHERS.

One of the distinguishing marks of a people is its music and language. The last things of a race to die are its songs and its language. There is something of immortality stamped upon the heart and the human soul. They being immortal, their utterances are immortal.

Our fathers in their bondage crystallized their sorrows and their woes into songs and into hymns. The words were stamped on the memory of the generations, and their songs were impressed upon the souls of the old and the young, and when freedom came, and they marched out of their prison into the sunlight of liberty, the songs of the night were blended with the songs of the day. The minor of despair and the major of hope were set to the music of liberty and joy, and the music of the freedmen became the hymns of liberty. The songs were so unique, the music so original, that the children of the fathers gave concerts to the multitudes, thus transmitting the songs of the fathers to the hymns of the children.

Temples of education were needed, the fathers were poor and the children were without money, so a company was organized and named the "Fisk Jubilee Singers." They sang in the East, West, North and South; finally they went to Europe and collected means and built a temple to Christian

education. Other companies have been organized, the Wilberforce Concert Co.; the Hampton Singers, who sang in the interest of Hampton College; the Tennesseans, who sang in the interest of Tennessee College; the F. J. Loudin Co., who sang in Europe, America and Australia, returning by way of the Hawaiian Islands and San Francisco, thus circumnavigating the globe. Thus, within thirty years, the children have sung the songs of the fathers to the common people of the eastern, western and southern hemispheres.

They also appeared in the royal presence of kings and queens, and of aristocrats in England, Germany, Spain, Portugal and Russia, bringing tears from the eyes of the distinguished of many lands as they sang, "Steal Away to Jesus."

The people of the South Sea were delighted to hear the children sing their father's song of "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot, Coming to Carry You Home." Thus the broken music of the slave became the harmony of the children of freedom, and everybody delights to hear the plantation melodies, the only original music of America.

#### DOMESTIC ECONOMY.

What are we doing toward training our daughters? Have we done our duty in the past, and are we doing it now?

A race cannot be greater than its women. The women are the teachers and molders of the thought and sentiment of the rising generation. A woman is the teacher at the fireside, the priest at the family altar, and what mother or sister says cannot be changed by what any one else says.

Hence it is important to have mothers and sisters who are intelligent and refined. The influence of woman is not limited by the sides of the house or the boundaries of the premises, but she is one of the principal instructors of our Sunday-schools. In fact, they form a large majority of our moral and religious teachers in this and all other civilized countries, and I am told that she is the principal instructor in the semi-civilized countries, and the general sentiment is—I have many sisters, many wives, but only one mother.



The work that the women of the race have had to perform in the past thirty years ; they have had heavy burdens to bear, difficult tasks to perform, intricate subjects to consider and difficult questions to decide. They were moved from hut to hut of slavery to the house of freedom, without furniture, without any preparation. They had to leave many things behind that they desired to bring with them ; they brought with them many things that they ought to have left behind.

Thus embarrassed and surrounded, they began the home work of reconstruction without a model or a teacher. It is true that a few noble women of the North came down, visited the cities and instructed our women how to arrange a home for free men and free women, and gave lessons in training boys and girls for usefulness in this life, and for preparing them for usefulness in serving God through eternity.

Thirty years have made a wonderful change in our homes and in the social circles ; our women have made wonderful progress. To-day the model home of the negro is a place of refinement, culture, a home of song, a temple of industry, a sanctuary of religion, the citadel of virtue and the altar of patriotism, where obedience to human and divine law is taught in theory and practice.

God bless our mothers, sisters, wives and daughters. The progress they have made, the advancement they are making, is a marvel in our sight, and a source of joy to every man who loves his race and his country.

#### THE NEGRO AS A SOLDIER.

One of the highest qualities of manhood is that which makes a soldier. It requires obedience, courage and love of country to constitute a good soldier. He must obey without questioning authority ; he must endure fatigue without complaining ; he must leave his mother or wife and children behind without grieving ; he must run and not weary ; he must walk and not faint.

At the close of the Revolutionary war the negro was denied the right to bear arms in many of the States, which was against the Constitution of the country. But he bore it

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with patience, trusting in God, hoping for the final triumph of right. When the civil war broke out, he offered his services to the governors of the States to help fill the quotas of the State. He received answer that "this is a white man's war, and that the negro has nothing to do with it." But times changed, and after numerous defeats to the Union army, the leaders were convinced that the white man could not settle the war, and the negro was called in as an umpire; but he would not enter without conditions, and one of the conditions was: "Give us a flag, all free without a slave, and we will defend it as our fathers did so brave."

When the conditions were complied with, the refrain was caught up by the negro, east, west, north and south, and he sang:

"Onward, boys, onward,  
This is the year of jubilee  
God bless America,  
The land of liberty."

And during the civil war in America, from 1861 to 1865, there were 178,975 negro soldiers who enrolled in the United States volunteer army. Of this number 99,337 were enlisted by the authority of the National government, 79,638 by the States and Territories, 36,847 soldiers died in the service of the country, and in the 449 engagements in which they participated they proved themselves worthy to be entrusted with the nation's flag and honor. And it has become a proverb in military parlance that the colored troops fought nobly, and the children of the soldiers have sung and continue to sing:

"We have stood and fought like demons,  
Upon the battlefield.  
Both slave and valiant freemen  
Have faced the glittering steel.  
Our blood beneath the banner  
Has mingled with the whites',  
And beneath its folds we now demand

Our just and equal rights.  
We fed the Union soldier  
When fleeing from the foe.  
We led him through the mountains,  
Where white men dared not go.  
Our hoecake and our cabbage  
And our pork we freely gave,  
That this old flag might be sustained,  
Now let it proudly wave.  
Let it wave, let it wave,  
But never over a slave."

After the war had closed the Grand Army of the Republic was organized. The negro was admitted as a comrade, and to-day he is received as other comrades in the Grand Army of the Republic, sometimes in separate posts, sometimes together; be it as it may, they have one flag and one country. When the National Guard was organized the negro was received as a soldier, and is treated as all other members of this important branch of public service.

We have companies, regiments, battalions of infantry, cavalry and of artillery. Colored men to-day bear commissions as captains, majors, colonels and generals, as well as chaplains.

Among the best military organizations in the country are those in South Carolina, Georgia, Ohio, and other Northern States have encouraged and supported these organizations. In thirty years we have had several young men to attend West Point and graduate, also to attend the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, Md. We have a number of regular troops in the regular army. In the last Indian war one of the colored companies distinguished itself for bravery and saved the army from defeat and destruction. They were commended by the commanding general, thanked by the Secretary of War, and transferred from the field in the west to Washington, D. C., as a mark of honor and distinction for their bravery, and to-day they are guarding the nation's capital.

All this within thirty years.

## SKILLED LABOR.

The mechanic is an important factor in every community. Skilled labor is more effective than unskilled labor. Brain and muscle combined can do more than brain alone or muscle alone. The man or race that has the largest amount of brain in the hand and the fingers will be more serviceable to humanity than the one with no brain in his hand. Therefore it is the duty of every father and guardian to so train the children that they can perform the greatest amount of skilled labor. In order to do this we must encourage the industrial schools by sending our children to them, by contributing of our means, by making friends for them.

We must be able to build our own houses, make our own furniture, weave our own carpets. We must teach our boys to make brick; to be blacksmiths; to be tanners; to be wagon and carriage makers.

We have now a large number of young men who are being trained in the mechanical arts at Pine Bluffs, Ark.; at Tuskegee, Ala.; at Normal, Ala.; at Kittrell, N. C.; at Paul Quinn, Waco, Tex.; and at Wilberforce, Ohio.

Our boys throughout the country have awakened to the situation and are preparing themselves for the future. The following figures will give the number of teachers and pupils engaged in the work of mechanical instruction:

## THE ARENA.

Man is a physical, intellectual and moral being, composed of mind and matter. The culture of the physical man was the care of the ancient. Greece and Rome cultivated the physical and the mental man to the neglect of the moral and the spiritual, while the Jews cultivated the moral and spiritual to the neglect of the physical and mental.

The racer, the boxer and the gladiator were the greatest of physical men, or the athlete, as the model physical man is called.

In the intellectual world the greatest are orators, rhetoricians, grammarians, mathematicians, poets, dramatists and philosophers. Pericles, of Athens, was the patron and defender of this class of men to a greater extent than any of his predecessors or his successors.

Christianity, recognizing man to be a tripartite being, has encouraged and fostered the development of the body, mind and soul to their uttermost. For 200 years or more the race has not had systematical culture or training, but that which has come incidentally through work in the field and shop.

Within the past thirty years the race has had time to train the muscles, the arms, the legs and the feet. Hart has been known as the champion walker. Pugilist Dixon wears the champion belt of his class; Peter Jackson stands with the champion of the world, for the champion of the world failed to conquer Jackson; he fought a draw with Jackson, then challenged the champion of the world, and after defeating him still has Jackson to conquer. Thus Jackson and Corbett are champions of the world.

#### THE NEGRO IN THE PULPIT.

The pulpit is one of the great forces in the elevation of the race. The growth of the church since the war has been marvelous. The Christian ministry has been the leader of the people in church and in state; but now we are getting leaders in other branches of activity.

The following is the status of the Methodist churches :

**NEGRO METHODISM IN THE UNITED STATES, 1892.**

CHURCH.	Pastors.	Local Ministers.	Members.	Adher'nts	Sunday Schools.	Officers and Teachers.	Scholars.	Churches.	Church and School Property.
In M. E. Church-----	1,627	3,800	247,439	960,000	3,297	19,830	179,832	2,890	\$5,434,230
A. M. E. Church-----	4,150	9,913	475,565	1,483,000	4,275	41,958	325,000	4,069	7,772,284
A. M. E. Zion Church--	3,650	7,926	425,000	1,253,750	3,200	30,580	300,000	3,500	5,000,000
C. M. E. Church-----	1,800	4,024	130,824	490,590	1,961	7,731	78,455	3,196	1,200,000
U. M. E. Church-----	115	75	3,869	14,475	115	1,151	9,200	115	50,000
Minor bodies-----	92	50	7,031	25,000	75	740	6,560	82	30,000
	11,434	25,738	1,289,728	4,216,815	12,923	101,970	899,047	13,852	19,486,514

**RECAPITULATION.**

**MEMBERSHIP AND SUNDAY-SCHOOLS.**

Pastors-----	11,434	Teachers and officers-----	101,970
Local preachers-----	25,738	Scholars-----	899,047
Members-----	1,289,728	Total teachers and scholars-----	1,001,017

Total ministers and members----- 1,326,960

Houses of worship----- 13,047  
Church and school property----- \$19,486,514

**RECAPITULATION.**

**INSTITUTION OF LEARNING FROM TABLES IV. AND VI.**

CHURCHES.	Schools.	Teachers.	Students.	Property.	Endowments.
In M. E. Church-----	22	225	5,396	\$1,285,500	\$606,500
A. M. E. Church-----	38	134	4,014	502,650	21,000
A. M. E. Z. Church-----	1	13	275	75,000	-----
C. M. E. Church-----	4	16	415	42,000	25,000
Total-----	65	388	10,100	\$1,905,150	\$652,500

### THE NEGRO AS AN AUTHOR.

The race is now producing some very fine books, among them the Hon. G. W. Williams's "History of the Negro Race;" "The History of A. M. E. Church," by Bishop D. A. Payne; "The Voice from the South," by Mrs. A. J. Cooper; "The Divine Logos," by Rev. H. T. Johnson; "Theology," by Rev. J. C. Embry, and many others are the first crop of authors in thirty years. I have in my own library ninety-two, and the list covers more than 100.

### THE NEGRO PRESS.

The press is a power. It was formerly used against the interest of the negro, but now the negro has his own papers and can speak for the race, demand his rights and present his wrongs to the world. The Christian Recorder is the oldest religious press in this country. Rev. H. T. Johnson is its editor. It is the organ of the A. M. E. Church. The A. M. E. Church Review, Rev. L. J. Cooper, editor, and the A. M. E. Zion Church Review, Hon. J. C. Dancy, editor, are doing good work. We have now about 150 newspapers, pleading the cause of the race every week, all since the emancipation.

After having reviewed the progress of the race for thirty years, and witnessed the advance it has made, it is with more than ordinary satisfaction that I appear in the presence of this great audience to discharge the very pleasant duty which has been assigned me and to show the world that we are not a race of ingrates, nor are we forgetful of the blessings received, nor is our memory bad when recording the wrongs we have suffered in this land of freedom.

Now, Hon. James M. Ashley, when in 1865 I sat in the gallery of the House of Representatives and witnessed your successful leadership in the last great congressional battle for freedom, I did not think that I would be called on to perform so pleasant a duty as this. I was there when the Speaker announced that the 13th amendment had passed. I

joined in the song of "My Country, 'Tis of Thee." I heard the cannons in the city carrying the glad tidings in the air. The bells of the city shouted for joy. Having done your duty at all times—and the present generation of black men are aware of it—and in their name and on their behalf I have headed the committee of compilation. It has been a work of love and pleasure to collect your orations and speeches which in their day were our army and battle axes, and became our victory and liberty. [Applause.]

In all you then said or did in our behalf, we have found no word or thought or act, which we or any black man could wish to change or blot. [Applause.] In 1864, when you said (and we have preserved it in this Souvenir) "that if true to the cause of freedom, the very stones cast at you would one day be made into your monument," you uttered a prophecy which to-night is fulfilled. [Applause.]

To fulfill that prophecy we thought that to collect your speeches and put them in a volume, to be read for many generations, would be better than a shaft of marble or a statue of bronze, for the marble would crumble beneath the weight of years and the bronze would tarnish in the breath of time, but this volume will be sent to the public libraries of this and other lands and be read by the coming generations.

Accept this token from the present generation, and on behalf of the coming generation I thank you for what you have done for them, and with you I rejoice that the door of our prison is closed forever and the gateway of freedom is opened for all the generations to come. [Applause.]



The following presentation address was prepared by the Hon. Wm. H. Young, President of the Afro-American League of Nashville, Tennessee.

As Mr. Young was unavoidably detained at home, we publish this address in full.

Bishop Arnett (with the aid of his little son, Daniel Payne Arnett) took Mr. Young's place.

#### MR. YOUNG'S ADDRESS.

MR. PRESIDENT: As the representatives of the Afro-American League of Tennessee, we have met this evening, in this great city, the Mecca toward which the heart of civilization has been turned during this Columbian jubilee occasion, to erect a monument founded in the gratitude of the ex-slaves and their children of the United States of America.

The spirit which actuated us in the movement, whose consummation we shall this night witness, impelled the nation to dedicate monuments to the champions of the cause of the Union, and the devotees of States' sovereignty to foster as an abiding possession the memory of heroes whose convictions were dearer to them than life.

Forty years ago the social fabric of our great country consisted of four distinct threads:—

(1) The slave, who by nativity, residence and conquest had become an essential part of the nation;

(2) The abolitionist, who stood upon the broad doctrine announced by the revolutionary fathers, that "all men are created free and equal;"

(3) A large element, who professed to believe that "there were races" who could be chattelized without sin or crime.

And (4) a larger number who cared little for the equality

of men, so long as their own rights remained intact, and the integrity of the National Government was undisturbed.

In the struggle which followed the slave remained for a time a passive quantity.

The abolitionist demanded the emancipation of the slaves.

The devotees of States' rights maintained that the slave, being property, was wholly within the jurisdiction of the States, and that any infringement upon property rights by the National Government would justify a dissolution of the Union.

This dictum left to the unconditional Unionist but one alternative, a coalition with the abolitionist for the purpose of saving the Union.

The war is ended. Its results and subsequent legislation are enshrined in the nation's history.

Under Providence, the Union is restored, slavery is abolished and the entire nation, North and South, rejoices in the accomplishment of both.

We are not here to revive the unpleasant memories of the past, nor to rekindle the camp-fires which are possessions of the dead past; but we are here to crown the head of him from the fullness of whose great heart the second declaration of independence sprung :

‘ Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.’

This declaration contains the essential element of democratic institutions; and secures the perpetuity of the American republic.

Mr. Lincoln was the mouth-piece of Unionism; Mr. Davis of State sovereignty, Mr. Ashley of freedom.

The two former championed the cause of peculiar forms of government, the latter the cause of humanity.

The followers of Lincoln have seen the Union re-established.

The followers of Mr. Davis have seen State sovereignty maintained in part with the exception of the right of secession.

The followers of Mr. Ashley have seen the freedom of all men acknowledged in theory at least.

Each has his reward in the gratitude of his chosen constituency.

The images of Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Davis are perpetuated in marble and bronze as a lasting reminder to the generations to come.

But to-night we erect a unique monument of the charter of "the Tribune of the people."

We come not as partisans, but as freedmen and citizens, the immediate beneficiaries of the crowning act of Mr. Ashley's noble life.

We come to snatch from the consummate statesman, patriot, philanthropist and benefactor, the chill and gloom of ingratitude and to reinvest his being with new life.

We come to reassure him that the years of strife, turmoil, and self-abnegation spent for a despised race were "as bread cast upon the water."

We come to remind him that we to-night intend that his name and life-work shall be a precious legacy to our children's children.

That they shall rise up and call him blessed.

We have come to announce to the world that henceforth he who shall merit our gratitude shall not go unrewarded.

This souvenir is the tribute of the Afro-Americans to the Hon. Jas. M. Ashley.

## PRESENTATION.

At the conclusion of Bishop Arnett's address, he invited Gov. Ashley to arise.

Thereupon Master Daniel Payne Arnett, the Bishop's little son, stepped forward and presented him the volume and said:

Gov. ASHLEY:—I present you this volume in the name of the coming generations, thanking you for what you have done for us in the past. May God bless you and give you long life.

Gov. Ashley's response to Master Arnett's speech was as follows :

This is indeed a welcome surprise, and I take this book from your little son's hand with mingled feelings of satisfaction and delight.

To me childhood is the connecting link between man and his Creator. When Jesus said "Suffer little children to come unto me," He touched all unperturbed human hearts.

My little man, your speech and act touches my heart with pleasurable emotions which words cannot fully express. May you always remember with pride the occasion on which you represented President Young of the Afro-American League of Tennessee, and when you reach man's estate may you appreciate in all its length and breadth the work of the Grand Men, who were the recognized Leaders of this great Parliament of Religions. As a citizen may you prove worthy of the priceless heritage secured to you by the heroism and valor of the liberating Army of Anti-Slavery Heroes, and worthy of the noble man for whom you were named.





*Master Daniel F. Arnett.*



*Hon. J. M. Ashley.*





## MR. ASHLEY'S RESPONSE

TO BISHOP ARNETT AND PRESIDENT YOUNG.

MR. PRESIDENT AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Some seer or sage has said, "that the unexpected always happens." That the unexpected OFTEN happens, you and all observing men can testify. Certainly, in my most impassioned and vividly illuminated moments, when denouncing this nation, as I often did, for its great crime against the negro, and describing him after he should be FREE, as in my mind's eye I then saw him liberated and marching in solid black columns of advancing civilization, I did not comprehend, in all its moral power and stately grandeur, that which greets me as a living reality to-night.

Here in this magnificent building, on an occasion made forever memorable and historic, I am told that in the vast audience before me, I can look upon eleven negro bishops and not less than 150 regularly ordained negro clergymen of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, representing an actual membership of five hundred thousand souls.

And I am told that there are here present negro clergymen from all branches of the Christian church, representing nearly a million communicants more, and that in addition to these clergymen, there are before me representatives of numerous schools and colleges, and editors, lawyers, physicians and authors, with many men of recognized ability in artistic, mechanical and business pursuits; and last though not least, a large representation of organized wage-workers, and of negro farmers and planters.

This is indeed a convocation of black men, such as the world has never before witnessed, and such as the most sanguine of the "old liberty guard," never expected to live long enough to see. [Applause.]

Fellow-Citizens : On a day such as this, filled with historic memories, it is proper that I should say to you, that I did not want Mr. Lincoln to issue his one hundred days preliminary proclamation. I knew that such a proclamation would strengthen me personally and politically in the congressional contest of that year, and beyond doubt secure my re-election. But I was not fighting for a personal triumph, nor was I fighting to save the Union with slavery. I was fighting for freedom and national unity, and national peace through the liberation and enfranchisement of the negro. I believed then, as I believe now, that no union could be honorable and enduring whose government was administered over the prostrate form of Justice. [Applause.]

As soon as the result of our State election in 1862 was known, Mr. Lincoln invited me to come to Washington. The morning after reaching the city, I walked over from the Treasury Department with Mr. Chase to the White House. The President, Mr. Stanton, and others who were present, cordially congratulated me on my re-election (I was the only Republican member of the Ohio delegation who withstood the mad political cyclone of that year), and they were all anxious to know how I escaped. I answered: "It was your proclamation, Mr. President, that did it." In a moment or two, Mr. Lincoln said: "Well, General, how do you like the proclamation?" I answered: "That had I been commander-in-chief, I should not have given the enemy one hundred days' notice of my purpose to strike him in his weakest and most vulnerable point, nor would I have made an apology for doing so just and noble an act." And I added by way of quiet protest against recognizing the slave-baron conspirators as entitled to any such consideration, "That I certainly should not have given General Lee one hundred days' notice of my purpose to move on the weakest point of his fortifications around Richmond, and publicly designate that point as this proclamation does." Mr. Lincoln enjoyed my way of answering him, and acknowledged my "hit," as he called it.

But though I did not want the one hundred days proclamation issued, I nevertheless hailed it with joy, because I knew that it was a step in the right direction, and one from which there could be no retreat. I felt confident, that the slave

barons in their blindness and madness would not accept its terms, and that on the expiration of one hundred days, the promised proclamation must be issued if Mr. Lincoln lived. Many of us were at that time apprehensive that he would be assassinated, or that some unexpected and untoward event might happen, to postpone or defeat the issuing of the final proclamation. It was because of this fear and anxiety, that I preferred to have but one proclamation issued, and I was persistent, as all know, that it should be issued at once. [Applause.]

Certainly you and all honest men understand that I was thankful, as were the great body of Union men, for the promise which that one hundred days proclamation gave! I hoped that the Confederates, like the Egyptians of old, would harden their hearts, and refuse to accept Mr. Lincoln's offer of peace, and believing that they would do so, this one hundred days' delay did not at any time shake my faith as to the final result, and they were to me days of hopefulness and thankfulness.

I am a born optimist. No matter how dark the cloud my hopeful vision penetrates it and my eyes catch early glimpses of the golden light beyond. [Applause.]

Mr. President, often during the war, a number of my associates in Congress were wont to say, "that when Wendell Phillips blew a blast upon his bugle horn, 'twas worth a thousand men!"

After the first of January, 1863, we all came to know, that Mr. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation was worth a hundred thousand men. As we now look back, we all realize, that when Mr. Lincoln blew a blast upon his bugle horn, the nation paused, and listened and approved.

At Springfield, Illinois, in 1858, Mr. Lincoln said, "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free." The people heard him, and believed him and made him President.

In closing his immortal Emancipation Proclamation, he spoke in language that will live in history forever! These are his golden words: "And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution

upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

This blast upon his bugle horn reverberated from center to circumference, and was hailed with joy by all patriotic Americans. It was also heard and welcomed by the friends of liberty all around the world. [Applause.]

Mr. President, I am glad your committee has preserved in this volume a speech of mine made in Congress before Mr. Lincoln's inauguration. It was made against the amazing surrender of the House Committee, known in those days as the "Union Saving Committee of 33." That committee proposed a compromise which they intended should silence for all time, the troublesome abolitionist, and give the slave barons the ease and peace, the security and perpetual power they sought. This so-called final compromise, was an amendment to our national Constitution, which reads as follows:

"ARTICLE 12. No amendment shall be made to the Constitution, which shall authorize or give Congress the power to abolish or interfere within any State, with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service, by the laws of such State."

As an American, I blush to state that this proposed amendment passed both Houses of Congress, with the active support of President Buchanan, two days before Mr. Lincoln's inauguration. Had it been ratified by the requisite number of States, it would have made the chattelization of men, everywhere beneath our flag, whether white or black, constitutional and perpetual. In all coming time, this humiliating and shameless proposition will confront us, as the blackest act proposed by the American Congress during all our dark history! Nor need I add, that its passage by Congress completed our national degradation.

I cannot describe to you how this appalling weakness of loyal men in our own ranks, who voted with the conspirators for this abomination of abominations, oppressed and overwhelmed me with shame and sorrow. Often in my agony I cried out:

"God give us men! A time like this demands  
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands;

Men whom the lust of office does not kill;  
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;  
Men who possess opinions and a will;  
Men who have honor; men who will not lie;  
Men who can stand before a demagogue,  
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking.  
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog  
In public duty and in private thinking."

[Applause.]

On page 126 of this volume may be found what I said in Congress on the 17th of January, 1861, against this Christless proposition of the Committee of 33:

"The basis of the new Union is to be the recognition of slaves as property by constitutional provision, unalterable except with the consent of every slave State." . . .

"That such demands will ever be acceded to by the people of the United States I do not believe possible. BUT WHATEVER MAY BE THE COURSE OF OTHERS, BE THE CONSEQUENCES WHAT THEY MAY, BY NO ACT OR VOTE OF MINE SHALL THE CONSTITUTION OF MY COUNTRY EVER BE SO AMENDED AS TO RECOGNIZE PROPERTY IN MAN." [Applause.]

Contrast the proposed amendment of the Compromise Committee of 33, with the 13th amendment, introduced by me in the House of Representatives on the 14th of December, 1863, which reads:

#### ARTICLE 13.

"SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist in the United States, or any place subject to its jurisdiction.

"SEC. 2. THE Congress shall have power to enforce this article by LAW DULY ENACTED."

This amendment, with the changes stated by me on page 331 of this volume, is now part of our national Constitution, and you and I know that it will remain there forever. [Applause.]

If, when delivering the earlier speeches, which your publication committee has compiled in this volume before me, the announcement had been publicly made, that within the life-time of their author, the four million or more of black men who were then in bondage would so soon thereafter be liberated and made citizens, and that out of their poverty and helplessness they would be advanced in civilization so rapidly as to accomplish all the black man in the FIRST quarter of a century after his freedom has accomplished, and that in their gratitude they would compile and publish, as they have done in this book, some of the appeals made for their liberation and enfranchisement, such an announcement would have been received by a majority of my countrymen, as "mid-summer madness." And yet if the interpretations put upon some of my utterances by your Bishop are not purely imaginative, I seem before the war, by a process of reasoning satisfactory to myself, to have comprehended something of the magnitude of the impending conflict and its results. [Applause.]

Mr. President, in every period of the world's history and among all peoples, there have been those who unconsciously were illuminated with what the poet calls "the inner light," those whose eyes were permitted to look into the future and to behold the glory of the coming day, before the breaking of the dawn, and to see visions, such as come to human souls only when lighted with the glory of regions celestial. Such was the "inner light," which illuminated the great men of the Revolution of 1776, when they launched our ship of state, and promulgated our immortal Declaration of Independence and formed our national Constitution.

This is the "inner light" which illuminated the souls of all the leaders of our great anti-slavery revolution. "A pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night," it inspired the faith of every living and of every dying anti-slavery hero. [Applause.]

It inspired John G. Whittier, our beloved Quaker poet; and Frederick Douglass, the negro's matchless representative. It inspired William Lloyd Garrison, and Wendell Phillips, James G. Berney and Nathaniel P. Rogers, Gerrit Smith and William Leggett, Cassius M. Clay and John G. Fee, Gamaliel Bailey

and William Goodell, Theodore Parker and Samuel J. May, Henry Ward Beecher and Wm. Cullen Bryant, Horace Greeley and Wm. H. Seward, John P. Hale and Robert Rantoul, Salmon P. Chase and Charles Sumner, Joshua R. Giddings and Benjamin F. Wade, George W. Julian and David Wilmot ; the martyred Lovejoy and the immortal Lincoln ; and I must not omit to name with these memorable men, such illustrious women as Harriet Beecher Stowe, Lydia Maria Child, Lucretia Mott and Julia Ward Howe, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Miss Susan B. Anthony.

To this recognized galaxy of matchless men and women must be added a large number whom no man can name in one short address, names worthy of our profoundest regard and grateful remembrance. This wonderful army was made up of the grandest men and women who ever walked the earth, and made it better for having lived in it. I mean the great body of anti-slavery men and women whom we always designated as "the old liberty guard." These are the men and women who never bowed the knee to the Moloch of Slavery, nor voted to compromise with that indescribable villainy, and who practically made the creed, and gave life and dignity and glory to the Republican party, and to each of whom, in the dark days of slavery domination, there came in full measure the faith they sought, so that at times they were illuminated with the "inner light" from realms beyond our reach, and were thus able to prophesy our impending triumph. [Applause.]

Mr. President, the memory of the 22d of September, 1862, ought to make jubilant our hearts and quicken our footsteps. On that day, eventful to every black man and to the lovers of liberty in every land, Abraham Lincoln issued his preliminary proclamation of emancipation! It proved to be a day ever memorable in our history, and a day of thanksgiving to every bondman. But the day of its issue was also a day of anxiety and fear to millions, and this fear and anxiety was especially oppressive to the impassioned leaders of the "old anti-slavery guard." All the long dark night of that one hundred days, they endured the Gethsemane which evermore comes to all great souls, and in prayerful supplication walked with the nation through the valley of the shadow of

death. They knew that without the liberation of the negro the republic was doomed! They believed that with the President's Proclamation of Emancipation, it could be saved and redeemed. In this sublime and patriotic faith they walked with unflinching tread, until the year 1862 expired, and the immortal proclamation of January 1, 1863, was born. [Applause.]

When this welcome proclamation appeared, the soul of the nation, out of its sackcloth and ashes, was uplifted to heaven in an all-forgiving aspirational thanksgiving, and the long pent-up hopes of our old anti-slavery champions broke forth in songs of joy and shouts of triumph.

Whittier declared, that there were no words in his Quaker vocabulary, with which he could fittingly express in crisp terms, the emotions of his heart, and that he was compelled to use the short, but comprehensive and favorite exclamation of his Methodist brethren, and simply shout, "Glory to God."

I do not know what words my friend Douglass used, but I am sure they were strong and clear and true. Every loyal soul broke forth in words of thankfulness and gladness, as on that memorable day, the bells rang out the old and rang in the new order of things! In memory, I now hear the glad booming of cannon, the wild roll of drums, and the quickened and determined footsteps of our triumphal army, and tonight feel like shouting again as I did then: "Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth to good-willing men." On that day, in every loyal church and around every loyal hearthstone, songs of triumph and tears of joy were melted into one united hallelujah!

What wonder then, after so long a strain, that these shouts and songs, mingled with the peals of cannon and the chiming of bells, thrilled our glad hearts as they did, with a triumphal melody, akin to the

"Songs of praise, that awoke the morn,  
When the Prince of Peace was born."

[Applause.]



Mr. President, monuments are usually erected by friends or by the public long after men are dead. Never, so far as I know, has there been erected a monument to the memory of a public man during his lifetime ! But I who (barring accidents) have fifteen or twenty years of fighting material in me yet, find myself at this moment confronted with what President Young and your Bishop are pleased to call my monument, and you appear by your approval to recognize the claim which each has made. I certainly recognize the fact, that in compiling and publishing this volume, the American negro has builded me a monument more enduring than any which my family or my friends can erect, after I shall have quit this mortal life ; a monument more appropriate and welcome than the one which your Bishop says was foreshadowed in the quotation which he made a few moments ago from one of my addresses in this volume, an utterance which he affirms is a prophecy now fulfilled, and certainly, if he claims that his interpretation is authoritative, I shall not, on an occasion like this, undertake to question it. [Laughter and applause.]

But whether authoritative or not, I can truthfully and with propriety say, that this "Souvenir" is to me a more desirable monument than any other which my colored friends could have designed or presented to me, for I recognize that it was conceived by generous and grateful hearts, and built with honest hands. I accept it as the black man's tribute and testimony. It is a monument which the maligner cannot misinterpret, nor vandals deface, nor the hired assassin destroy, for I am told you are to duplicate it by thousands !

And now, what shall I say to my friends of the "Afro-American League of Tennessee," and to the gentlemen of the Publication Committee, who from the public records and from the voluminous yet fragmentary material placed in their hands, have with such care and fidelity compiled this volume, in which is reflected so faithfully from my lips and pen the views held by me and the measures which I advocated, prior to and during the war of the rebellion, and since.

The truth is, that I do not know what to say ! To make fitting answer I should have need of golden-voweled words, the poet's prophetic vision and the thoughts of a philosopher.

As I have them not, I simply say I thank you. Again and again, out of a full heart, I thank both the "Afro-American League of Tennessee," and your able and painstaking Publication Committee. The declaration of your Bishop, "that your Publication Committee found no word or thought or vote of mine, which they or any black man, could wish to change or blot"—gives me a satisfaction so pure and unalloyed that no words at my command can fittingly express the emotions that stir my heart. Certainly, when these speeches and orations were delivered, I did not expect to have this priceless testimony come to me. [Applause.]

Mr. President, as I interpret this occasion and this testimony it also means much for the negro. It means, a testimony of his fidelity and gratitude! It means, that however poor or however black, "A man's a man for a' that." It means, that everywhere beneath that flag crime and wrong against your race must cease. It means, a recognition of the Fatherhood of God — and the brotherhood of man.

It means that your long dark night of sorrow will soon be over, that the day is dawning and that the hour now draweth nigh, in which the children of Ethiopia may stretch forth their glad hands to their Creator and to ours, and with confidence claim fulfillment of the Divine promise delivered to the world by His Apostles and Prophets.

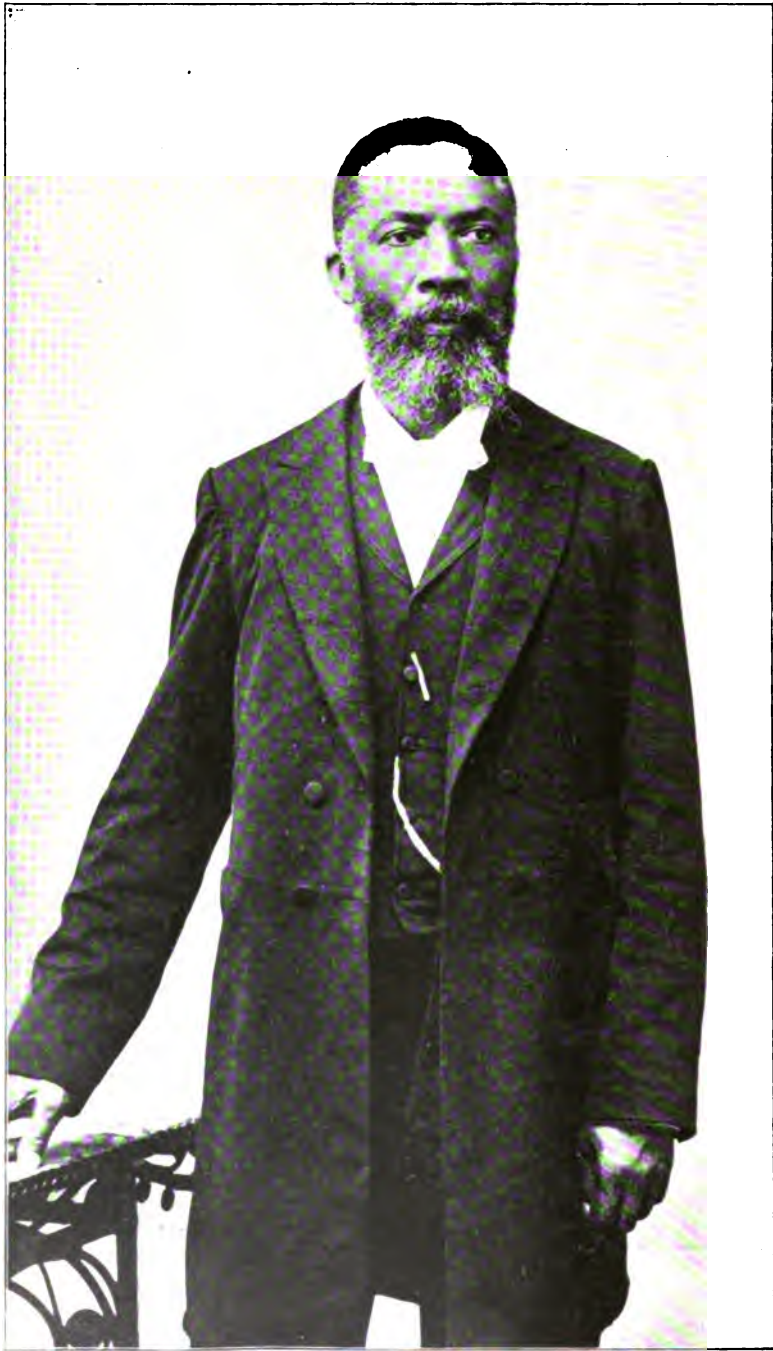
"O, clear-eyed Faith, and Patience, thou  
So calm and strong!  
Lend strength to weakness; teach us how  
The sleepless eyes of God look through  
This night of wrong."

[“Amen” and “amen” and applause.]

At the conclusion of this masterly address the whole audience rose to their feet with cheers, and united in singing Mrs. Julia Ward Howe's Battle Hymn of the Republic.

This hymn may be found in full on page 262 of this volume.





*The Rev. O. J. Ross.*

Bishop Arnett called Rev. O. P. Ross, of Vicksburg, Mississippi, who presented a duplicate volume of the Souvenir to Rev. John Henry Barrows, D. D., President of the Parliament of Religions of the World, and also presented one to the Hon. C. C. Bonny, President of the Columbian Auxiliary Congresses, in the name of the Afro-American League of Tennessee, and the lovers of human liberty throughout the world.

## THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

### TO THE PUBLIC :

The personal correspondence on pages 9 to 12 inclusive is self-explanatory. In addition thereto, it is proper to state, that after the material for this book had been compiled, and made ready for the printer, we obtained from Mr. Ashley his consent to have the matter thus selected, electrotyped as it was set up, so that a book which should be an exact duplicate copy of the "Souvenir," as to its contents, might be copyrighted by us, published from the electrotyped plates and sold to the public at moderate cost.

The only conditions prescribed by Mr. Ashley were that the net proceeds arising from the sale of the book should be applied to preparing young men and women of our race to become teachers in the public and private negro schools of the South.

Our purpose was, that the book when published should be within the reach of all, and be especially for use in Afro-American public libraries and in the libraries of our own colleges and public and private schools, also for the home libraries of all our people and of our lawyers and clergymen and members of other liberal professions.

It will be observed, that a number of the speeches and addresses selected, were made by Mr. Ashley when he was a very young man, and that they were made at a time when the champions of slavery were masters of the nation, as well as our masters.

The high moral tone of all the speeches, addresses and orations contained in the book, their earnestness and ability, can not fail to command the attention and respect of even the most partisan political opponent.

In the light of history, the reader will recognize that the time and conditions under which these speeches were delivered, stamp them as both masterly and prophetic.

In these speeches will be found a living reflex of Mr. Ashley's life and character and a faithfully condensed history of the great battle waged for our liberation.

They are calm and eloquent appeals for the rights of our race and of all races of men.

No one of these speeches contains a partisan appeal or an appeal in behalf of any clique or faction nor for himself. Firm, faithful and just -- they are as potent now for liberty protected by law, and for the equal rights of all men before the law, as they were at the time of their delivery.

We know of no book in which can be found grander appeals for the rights of man, and in which there appears no word or thought that the negro could wish to change or blot.

For a clearer and more specific statement of the contents and value of the book, we beg to refer to the "Introduction," written by Hon. Frederick Douglass and to the letters which appear as editorial foot-notes, written by some of our ablest men. These notes with the likenesses of some of the writers are interspersed throughout the book. We respectfully commend this book to our race and to the liberal statesmen of America.

BENJAMIN W. ARNETT,  
Wilberforce, Ohio,  
Chairman Publication Committee.

BISHOP BENJAMIN F. LEE,  
Waco, Texas.

REV. CHARLES S. SMITH,  
Nashville, Tennessee.

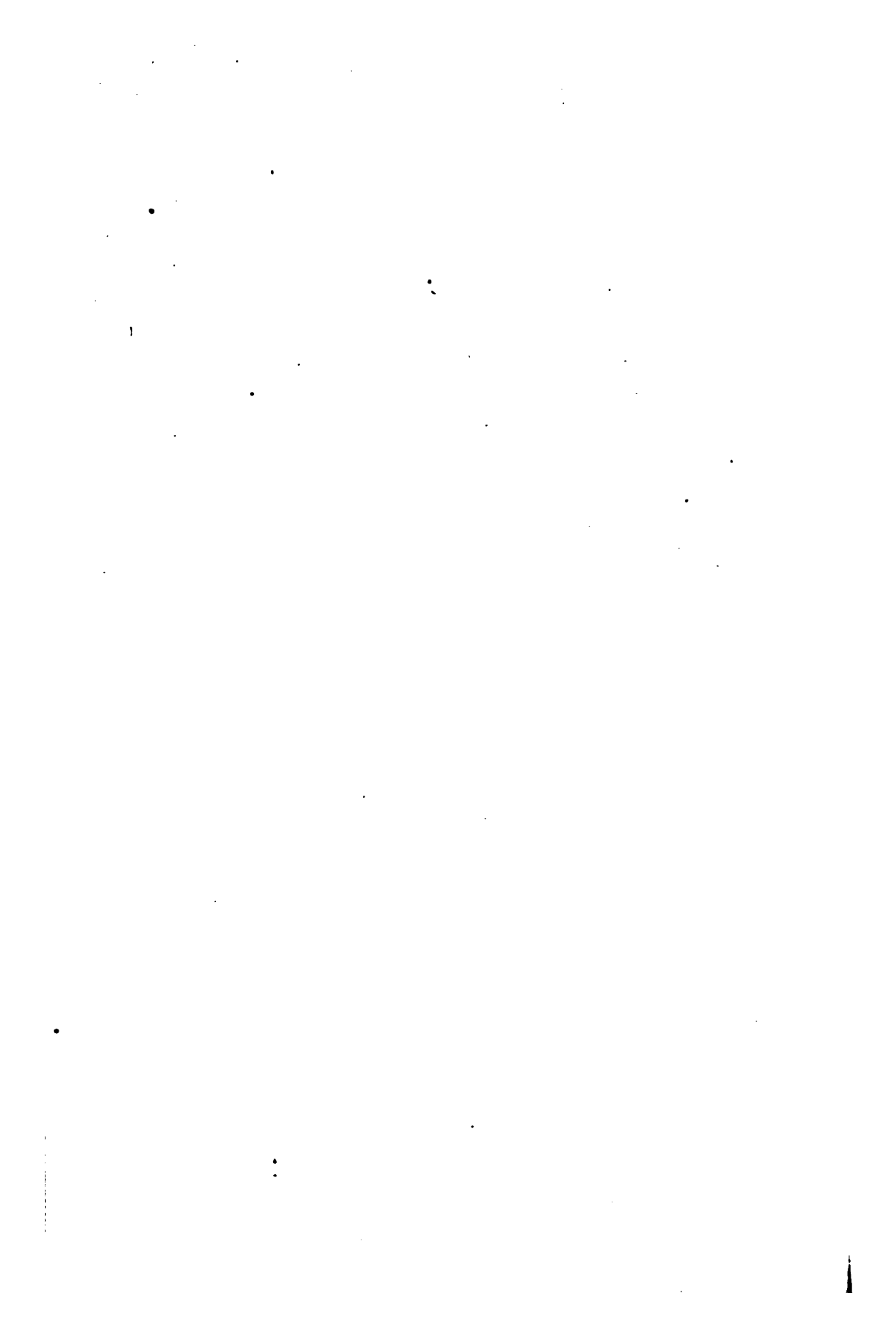
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Atlanta, Ga.

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Philadelphia, Pa.

REV. A. H. ROSS,  
Cynthiana, Ky.

PROF. B. W. ARNETT, JR.,  
Little Rock, Ark.

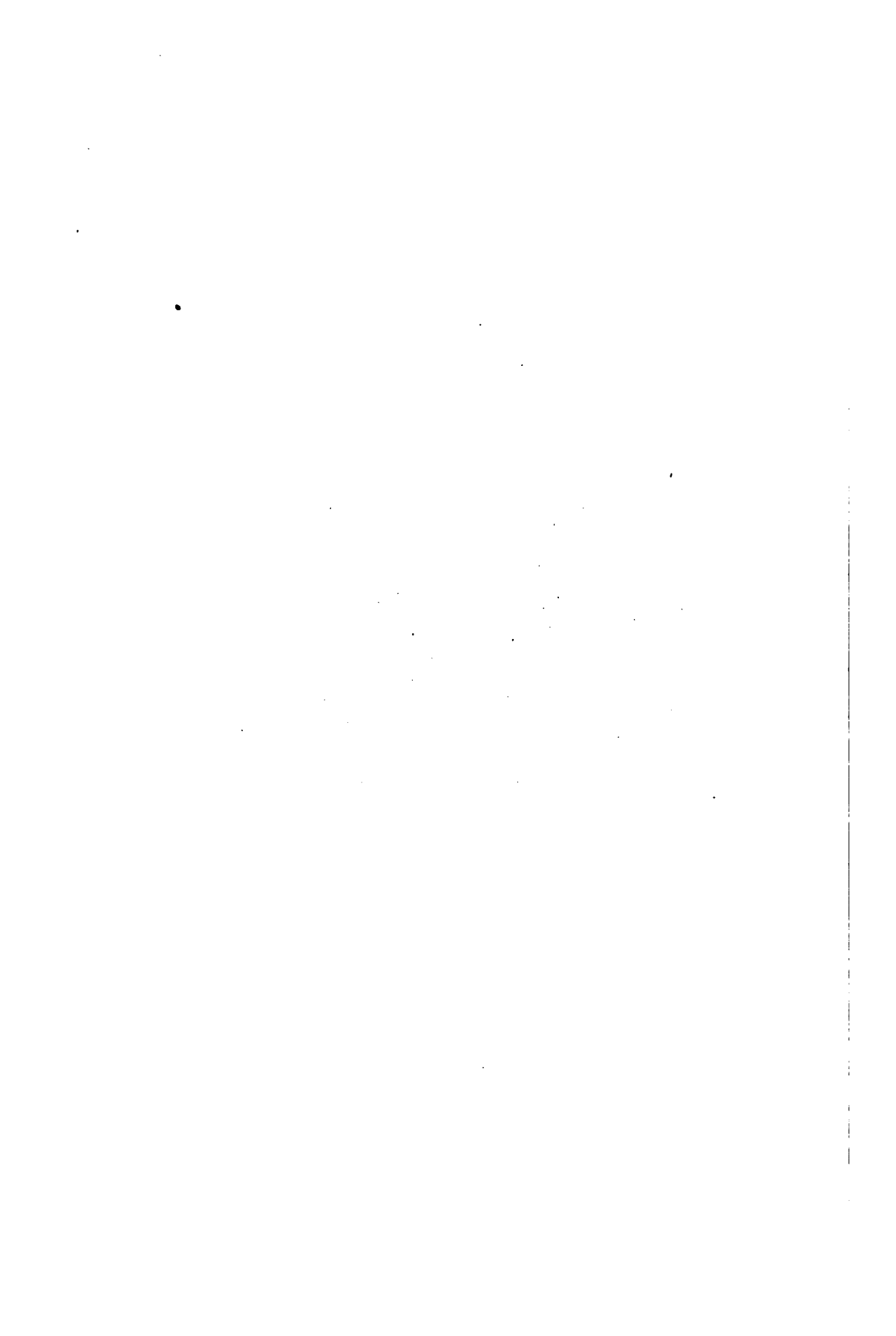






Truly yours  
James M Ashley

*As he Appears now.*



## THE PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS

MET IN CHICAGO, ILL., IN CONNECTION WITH THE WORLD'S  
FAIR.

The 22d of September, 1893, was set apart to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln, which liberated over 3,500,000 slaves in 1863. The occasion was thought to be appropriate to take notice of the fact that there was not a legal slave on the American continent—every man, woman and child were the sons and daughters of freedom. This occasion was made historic by the Afro-American League of Tennessee, who presented to the Hon. James M. Ashley a souvenir, as a token of the regard of the Afro-Americans for his work in the interest of universal freedom, and especially in the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, 1865.

The program was arranged under the direction of Bishop B. W. Arnett, who acted for the general committee.

Friday evening, at eight o'clock, Columbus Hall was crowded with an audience of not less than five thousand persons, from all parts of the world.

Rev. John Henry Barrows was president. Bishop Daniel A. Payne, D. D., LL. D., acted as the chairman.

The choirs of Quinn Chapel and Bethel A. M. E. Church furnished the anthems of freedom.

Prof. John T. Layton, Washington, D. C., sang an original solo.

Madam Flora Batsen Burgan, of Chicago, sang a solo.

Prof. T. P. Morgan, of Chicago, and Rev. B. F. Watson, of Kansas, led the Battle Hymn of Freedom and other choruses.

Father Slatterly, of Baltimore, read a paper, "The Catholic Church and the Colored Race."

Bishop Benjamin William Arnett delivered the oration on the Principles of Liberty, and also delivered the presentation address in behalf of the Afro-American League, to Hon. J. M. Ashley.

The following will give the reader some idea of the composition of the Parliament of Religions, and the distinguished persons who were in attendance. We also give an account of the opening of the Congress of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and the names of the distinguished men and women who were in attendance. It was these two distinguished bodies that met to celebrate the jubilee of freedom, and to present the volumes to the Hon. James M. Ashley. It was the most distinguished body that has ever met on the American continent, or in the world.

A writer has given the following description of the meeting of the Parliament, September 11, 1893:

“Under the banner of a common hope met yesterday the strangest gathering of men the world has seen. No tie of blood bound them. Jew sat by Gentile; Russian by Hindoo; Greek by negro; Saxon by Gaul. There were black faces and white; yellow and red; bearded and shaven.

“No great scheme of universal power or conquest held them. Men were on that platform who owe allegiance to the kings of twenty empires. Yet some of them had traveled 13,000 miles around the world to meet under the bare rafters of the Hall of Columbus.

“To the eye they had nothing in common. They were men of many tongues; of all races. They wore strange robes; turbans and tunics; crosses and crescents; flowing hair and tonsured scalps. There were spots of Oriental color and bits of Occidental gloom.

“From the four corners of the earth these men had come together to forward the cause of a common humanity here and hereafter. They had come to demonstrate by their presence the vital power of that universal spirit which drives men everywhere to look upward at a star. They had come to teach the ancient lesson, professed but never practiced, that men are brothers and all the world is kin. They had come

to make memorable the most historic day of all this latest century.

“It was the peaceful gathering of warring creeds; the parliament of the world’s religions. Proselytism and persecution were forgotten. New England Puritan shook hands with a Prince of the Roman Catholic Church. The high priest of the Brahmins, oldest of all religions, leaned upon the shoulder of a Bishop of the Reformed Episcopal Church, himself the founder of the sect. Over them all was lifted the common idea of a great Divinity, and in that idea they were one.

#### DISCIPLES OF ALL CREEDS.

“Many notable gatherings have the gray walls of the Art Institute sheltered since the opening of the world’s congresses. Leaders in every line of human effort and endeavor have met and laid before the world the ripest fruits of their toil. Great men have told how nature was being robbed of her secrets; how the lightning was tamed; how the ocean was bridged; how the stars were measured.

“But, on the platform met disciples of Christ, disciples of Mohammed, disciples of Buddha, disciples of Brahma, and, standing together in the name of a common God, asked a blessing upon mankind and all the works of man. It was the crown upon the head of gathered nations; the climax the Columbian Exposition has made possible.

“The people felt the importance of the day. Early they moved toward the Art Palace. They filled the great Hall of Columbus.

“Before ten o’clock, the hour set for the great congress to open, men and women were turned away to fill other halls where overflow meetings were held. In the splendid audience, numbering all of 4,000, were hundreds of notable men. They were scholars, teachers, dreamers, men who have looked forward to the day when the united religionists of the world might move forward, unbroken, against the forces of infidelity and disbelief. They were broad-minded, liberal men, who have worked their lives through to forward the coming of that day. To them the opening of the World’s

Parliament of Religions was like the dawning of a long-expected sun. When the long line of delegates, many of them in splendid robes, moved forward to the platform, tears of joy glistened in many earnest eyes.

ALL JOIN IN THE DOXOLOGY.

“But wait! From the grand organ peal the inspiring strains of ‘Praise God from Whom All Blessings Flow.’ All are on their feet. Men of all religions are singing the doxology. Then his Eminence, James, Cardinal Gibbons, splendid in the scarlet and black robes of his office, steps to the front of the platform. He lifts his thin white hands above the bowed heads. “Our Father, who art in Heaven,” he begins. Thousands follow him in repeating the Lord’s Prayer, among them many of the distinguished delegates upon the platform. Already the men of all religions have found a common creed.

“But if the deep significance of the great parliament was stirring in the hearts of men, no less striking and picturesque was the scene set before their eyes when the delegates sat down in long triple lines upon the platform. In the middle a flash of flaming scarlet reflected from the robes of the Cardinal; at his right the lavender and black lace gown, which set off the beauty of the President of the Board of Lady Managers; at his left the high black peaked cap, the trailing robes and the golden chains of the Bishop of the Greek Church; further on, the green and garnet velvet tunics of East Indian Punjabs; here the single violet orange garment of a Hindoo monk; there the pinks of a Japanese Bishop and his suite; on one side black and royal purple where sit a group of Archbishops of the Catholic Church; on the other, the gorgeous red and gold of a member of a Hindoo Sisterhood — a confusion of colors, as strange as the confusion of tongues, of races and of religions.

“Through all the addresses of welcome and many responses ran one clear note. It spoke of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man. From the great leaders of all religions came the same message.



*Bishop D. A. Payne, D.D., L.L.D.*





“It was an imposing procession that filed upon the platform of the Hall of Columbus, led by President Bonney, escorting the head of the Catholic Church in America, Cardinal Gibbons. There were Caucasians, Mongolians and Ethiopians, men from all the nations of the earth, representing all the religions of the earth. They seated themselves closely together upon the huge platform, the strangers from the farther points of the world with their picturesque garbs, in front. Those upon the platform were :

“ Bishop D. A. Payne, A. M. E. Church, of Wilberforce, O. ; Siddhu Ram, appeal writer, Mooltan Punjab, East India ; Carl von Bergen, Ph. D., President of the Swedish Society for Psychical Research, Stockholm, Sweden ; Birchard Raghavji Gandhi, B. A., Honorary Secretary to the Jain Association of India, Bombay ; Sward Vivekananda, a monk of the orthodox Brahminical religion ; the Rev. B. B. Nagarkar, minister, Brahma Somaj of Bombay, India ; the Rev. P. C. Mazoomdar, minister and leader of the Brahma Somaj of India, Calcutta ; Jinda Ram, a lawyer, President of the Temperance Society, Vedic, Muzaffargarh, India ; the Rev. P. G. Phiambolis, Oeconomus, a priest of the Greek Church ; his Grace the Archbishop of Zante, of the Greek Church ; Homer Peratis, Archdeacon of the Greek Church ; Reiiich Shibata, President of one of the Shinto sects, Tokio, Japan ; Ashitsu Zitsuzen, representative from the Tendai sect, Omi, Japan ; Banrin Yatsubuehi, President of Hoju Buddhist Society, Hamemsto, Japan ; Shaka Soon, Archbishop of one of the Buddhist sects, Kamakura, Japan ; Horin Toki, Professor of Shingen sect, and its Bishop, Sanuki, Japan ; Noguchi and Negura, interpreters, Tokio, Japan ; Dharmapala, General Secretary, Maha Bodhi Society, Calcutta ; Prof. G. N. Chakravarti, Allahabad, India ; Dr. F. A. Noble, Prince Serge Wolkonsky of Russia ; D. G. Crandon, Secretary of the Free Religious Society of Boston ; the Rev. J. H. Ma-cauber, chaplain U. S. A., Angel Island, Cal. ; Yungkwai, China, Miss Jeanne Serabji K. Langrana ; G. Benet Maury, Professor a la Faulite de Theologic, Paris ; Prince Momolu Massaquoi of Liberia ; Bishop Jenner, Anglican Free Church ; the Rev. Augusta J. Chapin, D. D., Chicago ; Mrs. Potter Palmer, Mrs. Charles Henrotin, Cardinal Gibbons, Arch-

bishop Feehan, Archbishop Ryan, Archbishop Redwood, of New Zealand; President C. C. Bonney, Dr. Adolf Bredbeck, Count Bernsterff, Z. Zmigrowski, John W. Hoyt, Bishop Keane, H. N. Higinbotham, W. J. Onahan, the Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Bishop B. W. Arnett, Bishop J. A. Handy, Principal Grant, of Canada, the Rev. Alfred Williams Momerie, D. D., the Rev. Maurice Phillips of Madras, India ; Prof. N. Valentine, William T. Harris, Commissioner Education of United States, Dr. Ernest Faber, the Rev. Geo. T. Candlin, Prof. Kosahi, Bishop Cotter, of Winona; Prof. Chakravarti, Rt. Rev. Banrin Yatsubuchu, Hon. Pung Quang Yu, Chinese Legation."

September 22d, 1893, was the day of the meeting of the African M. E. Congress. At an early hour the men, women and children of the church were seen making their way to Art Palace. The reception room of Hon. C. C. Bonney was given us for a place of meeting. When the bishops, general officers, presiding elders, elders, members and friends of the church met, a procession was formed and all marched to the Hall of Washington. There we found a large audience waiting for us, who cheered as the procession marched on the platform.

The organist played a march, and choruses were sung and a song of praise to God was sung, and when we were all seated on the stage all joined in singing "Praise God from whom all blessings flow." It was a grand sight to see men and women of every nation and race joining with the chorus of freedom and with the children of freedom in singing songs of praise to God.

The following are some of the distinguished persons present :

Bishop D. A. Payne, Wilberforce, Ohio; Bishop A. W. Wayman, Baltimore, Md.; Bishop H. M. Turner, Atlanta, Ga.; Bishop W. J. Gaines, Atlanta, Ga.; Bishop B. T. Tanner, Philadelphia, Pa.; Bishop A. Grant, Atlanta, Ga.; Bishop J. A. Handy, Kansas City, Kan.; Bishop B. W. Arnett, Wilberforce, Ohio; Bishop Walters, D. D., A. M. E. Zion Church; Hon. C. C. Bonney, Chicago, Ill.; Hon. C. E. Young; Hon. Frederick Douglas, LL. D., Washington, D. C.; Prince Serge Wolkonsky, St. Petersburg, Russia; Mrs.

Isabella B. Hooker, Connecticut; Rev. S. P. Mercer, Chicago, Ill.; Rev. J. C. Embry, D. D., Philadelphia, Pa.; Rev. L. J. Coppin, D. D., Philadelphia, Pa.; Rev. H. T. Johnson, D. D., A. M., Ph. D., Philadelphia, Pa.; Rev. Wm. D. Johnson, D. D., Atlanta, Ga.; Rev. C. S. Smith, D. D., Nashville, Tenn.; Rev. W. B. Derrick, D. D., New York, N. Y.; Rev. J. H. Armstrong, D. D., Philadelphia, Pa.; Rev. A. M. Green, D. D., New Orleans, La.; Mrs. Bishop B. W. Arnett, Wilberforce, Ohio; Mrs. Bishop B. T. Tanner, Philadelphia, Pa.; Mrs. Bishop H. M. Turner, Atlanta, Ga.; Mrs. Bishop A. W. Wayman, Baltimore, Md.; Mrs. Dr. W. H. Yeocum, Camden, N. J.; Mrs. Rev. G. W. Prioleau, Wilberforce, Ohio; Mrs. Rev. G. L. Jackson, Nashville, Tenn.; Mrs. Rev. J. H. Armstrong, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Rev. A. A. Whitman, Lawrence, Kan.; Mrs. Rev. O. P. Ross, Vicksburg, Miss.; Mrs. Rev. C. H. Thomas, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. Rev. D. A. Graham, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. S. J. W. Earley, Nashville, Tenn.; Mrs. Landonia Williams, Indianapolis, Ind.; Mrs. Louisa White, Portsmouth, Ohio; Prince Momo Massaqua, Africa; Mrs. Grace Offer, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Mrs. E. J. Page, Cincinnati, Ohio; Mrs. E. J. Thompson, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Mrs. Eudora Duncan, Toledo, Ohio; Mrs. Henrietta Morgan, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. W. R. Rodger Webb, Texarkana; Mrs. Sattie Tyree, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. J. A. Davis, Nashville, Tenn.; Mrs. J. A. Brown, Cleveland, Ohio; Rev. W. H. Mixon, Selma, Ala.; Rev. W. A. Moore, Lincoln, Neb.; Rev. J. W. Beckett, Baltimore, Md.; Rev. Jno. Coleman, Portsmouth, Ohio; Rev. A. A. Whitman, Lawrence, Kan.; Hon. Jas. Madison Bell, Toledo, Ohio; Prof. J. P. Shorter, Wilberforce, Ohio; Rev. Geo. W. Prioleau, Wilberforce, Ohio; Rev. S. A. Hardison, Clinton, Iowa; Rev. Jas. M. Townsend, Chicago, Ill.; Rev. Henry Brown, Springfield, Ill.; Rev. I. S. Lee, Baltimore, Md.; Rev. Jno. Hurst, Baltimore, Md.; Rev. Cornelius Asbury, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Rev. S. R. Reed, Memphis, Tenn.; Rev. B. F. Watson, Wichita, Kan.; Rev. Jno. G. Mitchell, Wilberforce, Ohio; Rev. W. A. J. Phillips, Little Rock, Ark.; Rev. W. J. Davis, Champaign, Ill.; Rev. C. H. Thomas, Chicago, Ill.; Rev. W. H. Yeocum, Camden, N. J.; Rev. J. A. Davis, Nashville, Tenn.; Rev. Chas. H. Sheen, Cairo, Ill.; Rev. J. H. Morgen, Orange, N. J.; Rev. Jno.

T. Jenifer, Washington, D. C.; Rev. Jno. B. Dawison, Evans-  
ton, Ill.; Rev. D. S. Bentley, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Rev. P. A. Hub-  
bard, Denver, Col.; Rev. S. A. Johnson, Washington, D. C.;  
Rev. G. W. Gaines, St. Paul, Minn.; Rev. E. H. Bolden, Ports-  
mouth, Va.; Rev. O. D. Robinson, Baltimore, Md.; Rev. Jas.  
T. Evans, Carlisle, Pa.; Hon. I. T. Montgomery, Mound  
Bayou, Miss.; Rev. R. McDaniel, Indiana; Rev. Walter S.  
Lewis, Memphis, Tenn.; Rev. W. H. Brown, New Brighton,  
Pa.; Rev. S. B. Jones, Ottumwa, Iowa; Rev. Jno. A. Collins,  
Grand Rapids, Mich.; Rev. Walter S. Lowery, Pittsburgh,  
Pa.; Rev. J. H. McGee, Chicago, Ill.; Rev. D. Franklin Tay-  
lor, Palestine, Texas; Rev. C. H. Johnson, Washington C. H.,  
Ohio; Rev. J. C. Anderson, Rockford, Ill.; Rev. Anderson  
Hunter, Troup, Texas; Rev. F. T. Harvery, Decatur, Ill.;  
Rev. Jno. M. Henderson, Detroit, Mich.; Rev. T. W. Hender-  
son, Indianapolis, Ind.; Prof. F. H. Steward, Wisconsin; Miss  
Ida B. Wells, Chicago, Ill.; Miss F. E. W. Harper, Chicago,  
Ill.; Miss Mary Harper, Chicago, Ill.; Daniel Payne Arnett,  
Wilberforce, Ohio; Hon. James Hill, Jackson, Miss.; Rev.  
W. W. Beckett, Charleston, S. C.; Rev. S. F. Flegler, Sum-  
merville, S. C.; Rev. John H. Welsh, Charleston, S. C.; Rev.  
M. B. Parks, Omaha, Neb.; Rev. O. P. Ross, Vicksburg,  
Miss.; Prof. W. S. Scarborough, LL. D., Wilberforce, Ohio.